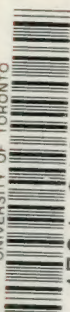


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Allen Ramsay.

J. Rogers.

DAVID HUME.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

from the Text of

HUME AND SMOLLETT;

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY THOMAS GASPEY, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF FRANCE," &c.



Death of William Rufus.



THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

FROM THE TEXT OF

H U M E A N D S M O L L E T T

TO THE

REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD;

AND THENCE CONTINUED TO INCLUDE THE

RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN FRANCE,

THE

Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations,

AND THE

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

By THOMAS GASPEY, Esq.

VOL. I.

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ON THE MATERIALS FOR ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE lapse of ages renders everything obsolete ; and new histories of old events, in the progress of human affairs, become absolutely necessary. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the narratives of those who were contemporary with the facts they relate must necessarily be the best that could be written, and to be preferred for ever. Bacon, Milton, and other great authorities, are opposed to this ; and, without going back to Gildas Brittannicus, to Nennius, or the venerable Bede, and without insisting on the impossibility of rendering the works of the learned monks, from the year A.D. 493 downwards, as originally written, available to the English reader of the nineteenth century, it is obvious, to every reflecting mind, that contemporary writers are not invariably to be relied upon. If they can gain access to the actors in the scenes they describe, they cannot always guard against being imposed upon by dissimulation ; and their own predilections often render it impossible for them to be impartial. Many circumstances may disqualify them from furnishing such a relation as ought to satisfy posterity. The author of "Paradise Lost" has assured us that "Wise men, and of best ability, have forborne to write the acts of their own days." By the arrangement here to be adopted, as will be subsequently explained, it must be seen, that every precaution is intended to be used to avoid justifying the bitter remark of Gibbon, that "The voice of history is little more than the organ of hatred or flattery."

It is in the nature of things that many political transactions of moment should be but imperfectly explained to that generation whose welfare they most immediately affect. They, indeed, are acutely felt ; but the springs of action are concealed. The march of time slowly unveils what was long merely suspected, or wholly unknown. Within the last century, vast additions have been made to our historical treasures, of which no industry, no talent, could enable former annalists to possess themselves. It is not to detract from the merit of those who have gone before to say that their labours are incomplete, because particular interests withheld from them matters since revealed by death or accident ; "*Annorum series et fuga temporum.*"

In the present compilation, the celebrated history of Hume is followed to the Revolution of 1688. His active, inquiring spirit, was well employed in arranging that most important chapter of the story of mankind, and his high character was a guarantee for the honesty of his design. But, when he had completed his task, these qualifications could not immediately unite in his favour those who had to sit in judgment on the work, or even gain for the author moderate praise

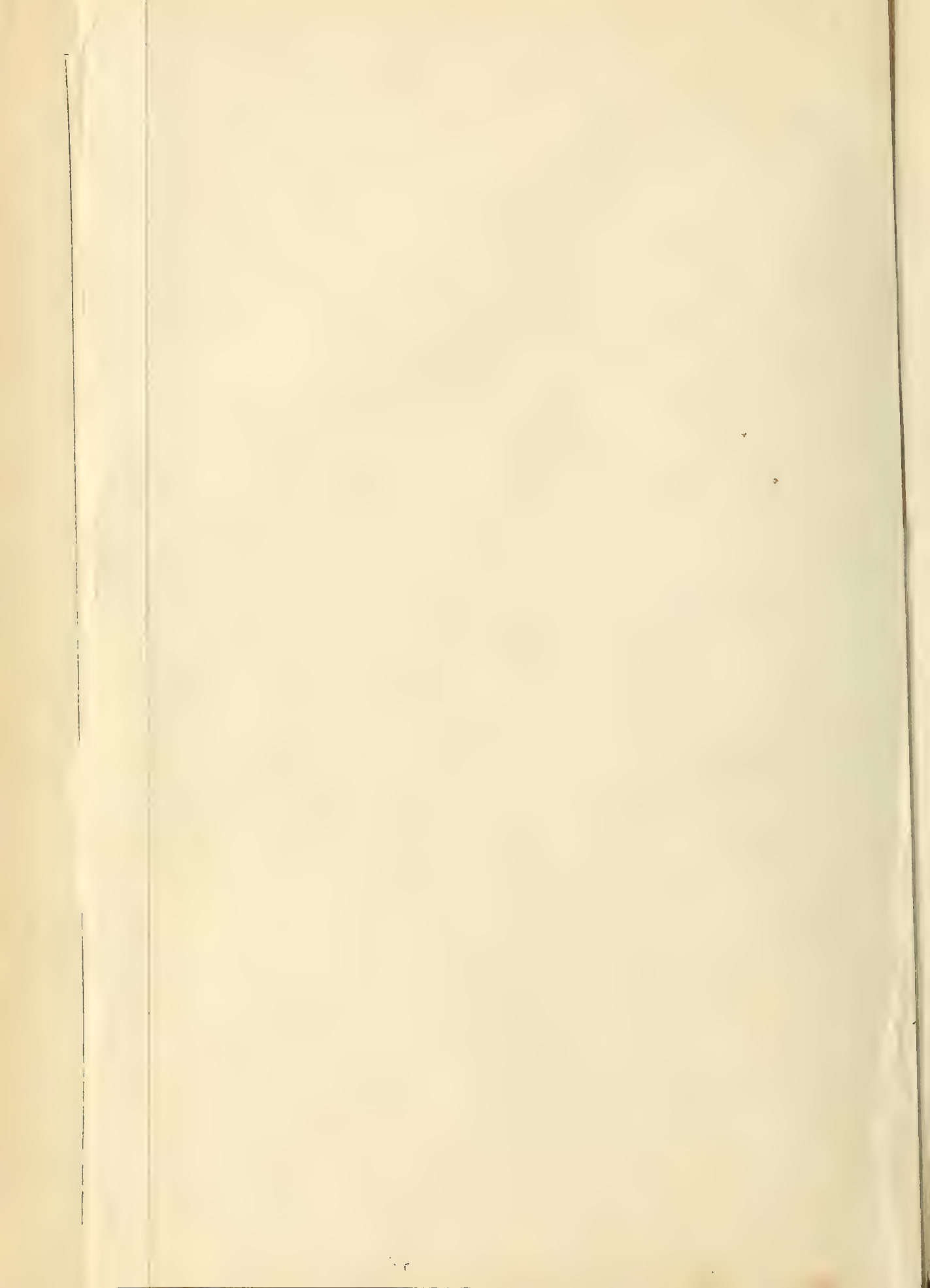
their way to the cabinet of their sovereign, there to stand upon a footing of equality with the proudest aristocracy of the land." To follow the career of these eminent persons cannot fail to delight the friends of true constitutional principles. It is among the bright spots of our system, that, in the words of the statesman just named, "a political creed, which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign, and to influence the people," cannot always prevail, to the exclusion "from the management of public affairs all who are not illustrious from birth, or powerful from hereditary opulence."

Strict impartiality, to which all pretend, will here be evinced, by enabling the reader, as far as possible, from public documents and other unquestionable vouchers, to form an unbiassed judgment for himself, on the characters of statesmen, and the objects and effects of their measures. No effort will be made to gain the favour of one class, by mortifying the pride and wounding the feelings of another. The spirit of a priest, slavishly bound to maintain the privileges of his order, at the expence of his fellow-men, will not be indulged; nor will that of the anarchist, envious of all the distinctions which the necessities of society have created, seek to excite general indignation against "the powers that be." A simple, unaffected narrative, resting on vouchers of undoubted authenticity, and stores of information become recently accessible, will be submitted. Our object, an honest one, may be fearlessly avowed, and will be resolutely pursued. It is not sordidly to curry favour with the great, nor artfully to inflame the humble; it is not to defend the unhallowed and insatiate claims of a favoured body, and to preach tame acquiescence in wrong; nor is it to goad mad violence to rebel against order and religion: the aim here constantly kept in view, will be to give, in intelligible language, correct representations of the past, which may serve as lessons for the future: like the pilgrims of honest John Bunyan, at *Vanity Fair*, "we seek the truth."

It is almost superfluous to add, that a brilliant additional feature will be furnished by the wars in India. There, where righteous vengeance has requited monstrous perfidy, and the reckless foes of tranquillity have been made to pay the penalty of discord, it was most fitting that the sword of justice should flash with terrifying lustre on the guilty. Enormous crime, on an unprecedented scale, rendered a solemn example necessary, and fearful slaughter the duty of humanity.

"When by just vengeance guilty mortals perish,
The gods behold the sacrifice with pleasure."

But our reason, and the better feelings of our nature, exult to find in the flush of victory a lofty-minded moderation displayed, to astonish posterity by combining everything that could exalt the achievements of valour, and give Great Britain, affluent of matchless triumphs in the field before, all that remained to swell this mighty empire's imperishable fame.



THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS.—ROMANS.—SAXONS.—THE HEPTARCHY.—THE KINGDOM OF KENT.
OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—OF EAST ANGLIA.—OF MERCIA.—OF ESSEX.
OF SUSSEX.—OF WESSEX.

THE BRITONS.

A. C. 55

THE BRITONS.

THE curiosity entertained by all civilized nations, of inquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction. Ingenious men, possessed of leisure, are apt to push their researches beyond the period in which literary monuments are framed or preserved; without reflecting that the history of past events is immediately lost or disfigured when intrusted to memory and oral tradition, and that the adventures of barbarous nations could afford little or no entertainment to men born in a more cultivated age. The convulsions of a civilized state usually compose the most instructive and most interesting part of its history: but the sudden, violent, and unprepared revolutions, incident to barbarians, are so much guided by caprice, and terminate so often in cruelty, that they disgust us by the uniformity of their appear-

ance; and it is rather fortunate for letters that they are buried in silence and oblivion. The only certain means, by which nations can indulge their curiosity in researches concerning their remote origin, is to consider the language, manners, and customs, of their ancestors, and to compare them with those of the neighbouring nations. Neglecting all traditions, or tales, concerning the more early history of Britain,* we shall only consider the state of the inhabitants as it appeared to the Romans on their invasion of this country: we shall briefly run over the events which attended the conquest made by that empire, as belonging more to Roman than British story: we shall hasten through the obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals; and shall reserve a more full narration for those times when the truth is both so well ascertained and so complete as to promise entertainment and instruction.

All ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled that

History best studied in the language, customs, and manners of nations.

Britain as it was found by the Romans.

Its first inhabitants, a tribe of the Gauls.

* Of these "tales and traditions" much has lately been written, but very little produced that deserves more than the languid commendation given to plausible conjecture. Matter of great seeming pith has engaged the attention of the reader, but all depend-

ing on the often repeated words, "probably" and "perhaps;" and the writers have been forced in candour to admit, that the materials on which reliance could be placed, were too scanty to afford more than mere glimpses of the state of Britain in ancient times."—Ed.

Their language, government, and superstition, but slightly varied.

Tillage and agriculture of the ancient Britons.

island from the neighbouring continent.* Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences which time, or a communication with the bordering nations, must necessarily introduce. The inhabitants of Gaul had acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbours, some refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northwards, and spread but a very faint light over this island. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants (for there were scarcely any other travellers in those ages) brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people; which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, however, of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture,† had there increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture; they were clothed with skins of beasts; they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered; they shifted easily their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy; the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their seats; and as they were ignorant of all the refine-

ments of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes; and, being a military people, whose sole property was their arms, and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, as well as those of the Celtic nations; and the common people seem to have enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions; it was agitated with animosity against neighbouring states: and, while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of youth; they enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes; they possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies among states as well as among private persons; and whoever refused to submit to their decree was exposed to excommunication; he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; and

Governments free, but monarchical.

The Druids were their priests and judges.

* This subject has been much discussed since Hume wrote without leading to any striking result. The conclusion generally come to is that England, at a very remote period, became peopled by considerable emigrations from various parts of the adjacent continent. Germany, no doubt, was among the contributors. Verstegan says: "To begin, the Saxons, the ancestors of our noble English nation, came and took possession of Lhoegria, the best part of Britain, and left unto it the name of England."—Ed.

† Agriculture must have flourished at an early period in England. When the Emperor Julian was rebuilding the ruined cities of Gaul, "Six hundred large barks, framed in the forest of the Ardennes, made several voyages to the coast of Britain; and returning from thence, laden with corn, sailed up the Rhine, and distributed their cargoes to the several towns and fortresses along the banks of the river."

Gibbon adds the following note:

"We may credit Julian himself, (Orat. ad. S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 280.) who gives a very particular account of the translation. Zosimus adds two hundred vessels more, (l. iii. p. 145.) If we compute the

six hundred corn ships of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters, (See Arbuthnot's Weights and measures, p. 237.) and the country which could bear so large an exportation, must already have attained an improved state of agriculture."—*Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 430.

This exportation of corn from Britain is reported to have taken place about the year A.D. 359. After the Roman conquest, it produced corn in such abundance, that Camden tells, on the authority of Alfredus Rhivallensis, "Britain was accounted one of the fairest and most glorious plumes in the triumphant diadem of the Roman Empire, while it was a province under the same; and was truly called by Charles the Great 'The store-house and granary of the whole western world.'"

Richard of Cirencester, speaking of the greater civilization of the ancient inhabitants of the southern part of Britain, describes those beyond as distinguished from them by raising no corn, and subsisting on milk, fruit, and flesh."—*Frumenta non ferebant, sed lacte, fructu, et carne, vivebant*, lib. i. cap. iii.—Ed.

his company was universally shunned, as profane; he was refused the protection of law; and death itself became an acceptable relief from misery. Thus the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were corroborated by the terrors of their superstition.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties, which it was in the power of the ecclesiastics to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls; and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their timorous votaries. They practised their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses: and, in order to throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbade the committing of them to writing, lest they should be exposed to the profane, vulgar. Human sacrifices were practised. The spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures whoever dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offering. These treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion.* No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons. The Romans were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating conquerors.

* Those terrors were certainly formidable. From the history of the Druids in the "Ancient Universal History," "Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities," "Mona Antiqua," and many works of great learning and research, the Druids owed their importance mainly to the horrors associated with their superstitions. Mr. Richard Thomson, in his "Illustrations of the History of Great Britain," has given an animated summary of their usages. The Druidesses seem to have been perfect furies. When the Romans under Suetonius Paulinus reached Anglesey, the residence of the Arch Druid, they were appalled at the spectacle which there presented itself. Attired in funereal habits, with dishevelled hair, the Druidesses passed wildly up and down the British ranks, invoking the most awful curses on the invaders. Nor was this all; when captives were made, they furiously rushed upon the helpless foe, cut them down, and having carried them to a cistern at which a priestess or officiating female of superior importance stood, plunged a long-knife into each of the victims. The bodies were then opened, and the future studied from the quivering entrails.—Ed.

THE ROMANS.

A. C. 55.—A. D. 448.

THE Britons had long remained rude but independent, when Cæsar, having overrun Gaul, first cast his eye on their island. He was not allured by its riches or renown; but, being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, he took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars to invade Britain. After some resistance,† he landed, as is supposed, at Deal; and, having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected their engagements: and that haughty conqueror resolved to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed in the next summer with a greater force; and, though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus,‡ one of their petty princes, discomfited them in every action. He passed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally Mandubratius in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and, having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, returned into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

† From Cæsar's account of the progress of the expedition, it is clear that he met with a more systematic and determined resistance than any barbarian nation could be expected to oppose to Roman discipline. The Britons were not in the rude and helpless state in which many nations have been found in modern times. When, before he came himself, Cæsar sent his ambassador, Comius, to make them acquainted with his design, Comius was seized, and put in irons. To use violence in such a case certainly did not prove any great advance in civilization, but their putting him in fetters, shews that his captors had some knowledge of the mechanical arts.—Ed.

‡ Cassivelaunus, or Cassibelanus, was a British prince or chief, whose capital "was situated amidst woods and marshes;" a town being then, among the Britons, according to Cæsar, "nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and a rampart to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies." It is believed to have stood near the site of St. Alban's.—Ed.

Cæsar lands at Deal, August 20, A.C. 55.

He withdraws, but returns to punish bad faith.

Cæsar returns to Gaul.

Roman
policy.

Caligula
menaces
Britain.

Claudius
visits it.

Ostorius
Scapula
defeats
Caractacus.

The civil wars which prepared the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, saved the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule. And the Britons had now, during almost a century, enjoyed their liberty unmolested; when the Romans, in the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. They sent over an army under Plautius, an able general, who made a considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states; the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes; who inhabited the south-east parts of the island, and whom their possessions rendered willing to purchase peace at the expense of liberty. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus,* still resisted, and the Romans made little progress against them, till Ostorius Scapula was sent over to command their armies. This general advanced the Roman conquests over the Britons; pierced into the country of the Silures, a warlike nation, who inhabited the banks of the Severn; defeated Caractacus in a great battle; took him prisoner, and sent him to Rome; where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than those conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes the Britons were not subdued; and this island

* Caractacus was the king of the Silures, famed as the bravest and most powerful of the British tribes. They inhabited the parts now called Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire, and were in alliance with the Ordovices, who inhabited Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Cærnarvonshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire; and in their country it was, that Caractacus, after a severe struggle, was crushed by the Roman power.—ED.

was regarded by the ambitious Romans as a field in which military honour might still be acquired. Under the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command, and prepared to signalize his name by victories over those barbarians. Finding that the island of Mona, now Anglesea, was the chief seat of the Druids, he resolved to attack it. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct his landing on this sacred island, both by the force of their arms and the terrors of their religion. The women and priests were intermingled with the soldiers upon the shore; and, running about with flaming torches in their hands, and tossing their dishevelled hair, they struck greater terror into the astonished Romans, by their howlings, cries, and execrations, than the real danger from the armed forces was able to inspire. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to despise the menaces of a superstition which they despised, impelled them to the attack; drove the Britons off the field; burned the Druids in the same fires which those priests had prepared for their captive enemies; destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars; and, having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, he thought his future progress would be easy; but was disappointed in his expectations. The Britons, taking advantage of his absence, were all in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, had already attacked with success several settlements of their insulting conquerors.† Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, which was already a flourishing Roman colony; but he found, on his arrival, that it was necessary to abandon that place to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was reduced to ashes; such of the inhabitants as remained in it were cruelly massacred; the Romans and

Suetonius
Paulinus
sent to
Britain by
Nero.

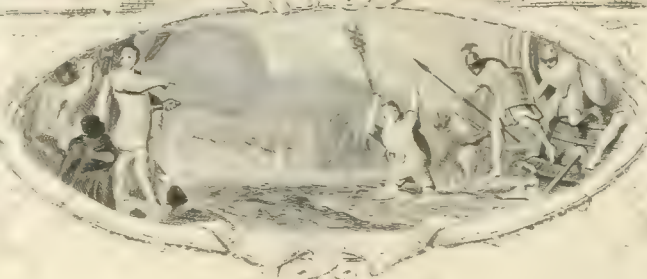
The Druids
oppose him.

Suetonius
burns them
on their
own altars.

London, a
flourishing
colony, re-
duced to
ashes.

† The wrongs of Boadicea were great in the extreme. According to the ancient chroniclers, she drew upon herself the vengeance of the Romans by resenting the wanton and unheard of cruelties which they perpetrated. For this, she, the widow of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, was ordered to be publicly whipped, and her daughters were given up to the rude violence of the soldiers.—ED.







all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were every where put to the sword without distinction ; and the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hope of peace with the enemy. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, where eighty thousand of the Britons are said to have perished ; and Boadicea, herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her own life by poison. Nero soon after recalled Suetonius from a government, where, by suffering and inflicting so many severities, he was judged improper for composing the angry and alarmed minds of the inhabitants. After some interval Cerealis received the command from Vespasian, and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis both in authority and in reputation. But the general, who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola, who governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself in that scene of action.*

This great commander formed a regular plan for subduing Britain, and rendering the acquisition useful to the conquerors. He carried his victorious arms northwards ; defeated the Britons in every encounter ; pierced the forests and mountains of Caledonia ; reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island ; and chased all the men of fiercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war and death itself less intolerable than servitude. He even defeated them in a decisive action, which they fought under Galgacus their leader ; and, having fixed a chain of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he thereby cut off the ruder and more barren parts of the island, and secured the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous inhabitants.

During these military enterprises he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws among the Britons ; taught

them to desire the conveniences of life ; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners ; instructed them in letters and science ; and employed every expedient to render those chains, which he had forged, both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as a part of that mighty empire.

This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans : and Britain, once subdued, gave no further inquietude to the victor. Caledonia alone, defended by its barren mountains, and by the contempt which the Romans entertained for it, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Adrian, who visited this island, built a rampart between the river Tyne and the frith of Solway. Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus Pius, erected one in the place where Agricola had formerly established his garrisons. Severus, who made an expedition into Britain, and carried his arms to the most northern extremity of it, added new fortifications to the wall of Adrian. During the reigns of all the Roman emperors, such a profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian.

But the Roman empire was approaching towards its final dissolution. Italy, and the centre of the empire, removed, during many ages, from all concern in the wars, had entirely lost the military spirit, and were peopled by an enervated race, equally disposed to submit to foreign yoke, or to the tyranny of their own rulers. The emperors found themselves obliged to recruit their legions from the frontier provinces, where the genius of war, though languishing, was not totally extinct : and these mercenary forces, careless of laws and civil institutions, established a military government, no less dangerous to the sove-

* Julius Agricola came to Britain A.D. 78. The Romans had previously sustained considerable reverses, but in the course of six years he vindicated the fame of their arms, crushed the last spark of Bri-

tish liberty, and gained for himself, by introducing civilization, the gratitude of the people he had subdued. The jealous envy of Domitian recalled him, A.D. 84.—ED.

The Britons
acquiesced in
the Roman
yoke.

Adrian
visits Bri-
tain.

By the
tranquillity
of the time of
the Roman
empire.

By the
tranquillity
of the
empire.

Barbarians
admitted
into the
Roman
legions.

They assail
the empire.

Distant
legions
recalled.

Britain no
longer
valued by
the Romans.

reign than the people. The farther progress of the same disorders introduced the bordering barbarians into the service of the Romans: and those fierce nations, having now added discipline to their native bravery, could no longer be restrained by the impotent policy of the emperors, who were accustomed to employ one in the destruction of the others. In the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, they assailed at once all the frontiers of the Roman empire; and, having first satiated their avidity by plunder, began to think of fixing a settlement in the wasted provinces. The more distant barbarians, who occupied the deserted habitations of the former, advanced in their acquisitions, and pressed with their incumbent weight the Roman state, already unequal to the load which it sustained. Instead of arming the people in their own defence, the emperors recalled all the distant legions, in whom alone they could repose confidence; and collected the whole military force for the defence of the capital and centre of the empire. The ancient point of honour, never to contract the limits of the empire, could no longer be attended to in this desperate extremity.*

Britain by its situation was removed from the fury of these barbarous incursions; and, being also a remote province, not much valued by the Romans, the legions which defended it were carried over to the protection of Italy and Gaul. But that province, though secured by the sea against the inroads of the greater tribes of

barbarians, found enemies on its frontiers, who took advantage of its present defenceless situation. The Picts and Scots,† who dwelt in the northern parts beyond the wall of Antoninus, made incursions upon their peaceable and effeminate neighbours. The Picts seem to have been a tribe of the native British race, who, having been chased into the northern parts by the conquests of Agricola, had there intermingled with the ancient inhabitants. The Scots were derived from the same Celtic origin; had first been established in Ireland; had migrated to the north-west coasts of this island; and had long been accustomed to infest the Roman province by piracy and rapine.‡ These tribes, finding their more opulent neighbours exposed to invasion, soon broke over the Roman wall, no longer defended by the Roman arms; and, though a contemptible enemy in themselves, met with no resistance from the unwarlike inhabitants. The Britons, accustomed to have recourse to the emperors for defence as well as government, made supplications to Rome; and one legion was sent over for their protection. This force was an overmatch for the barbarians; repelled their invasion; routed them in every engagement; and having chased them into their ancient limits, returned in triumph to the defence of the southern provinces of the empire.§ Their retreat brought on a new invasion of the enemy. The Britons made again an application to Rome, and again obtained the assistance of a legion, which

The
Britons at-
tacked by
the Picts
and Scots.

They are
incapable of
resistance.

The Ro-
mans come
to their
assistance.

* "Notwithstanding the great estimation the Romans a long time made of this island, yet, at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it, the charge of keeping it being greater than the benefit; for to keep it in subjection they maintained no fewer than four score thousand soldiers in pay."—*Sir Richard Baker*.

† According to Gibbon, the Scots and Picts were distinguished as the men who lived on the hills, and those who dwelt on the plains. As the latter cultivated the earth, they were requited by their wandering neighbours with the nickname of *cruitnich*, or *wheat eaters*. With like courtesy the Picts called the wanderers of the mountains, *Scots*, which in the Celtic tongue is equivalent to *vagrants*.—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iii. 312.—Ed.

‡ Hume, declining to "enter into a detail on so uninteresting a subject," for reasons which he explains in a long note, gives it as his opinion, that "Britain either was originally peopled, or was subdued by the

migration of inhabitants from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain." On the writers he quotes in favour of this position, he owns little reliance can be placed; but pertinently adds, "Happily, the frivolousness of the question corresponds to the weakness of the authorities." From the language of the two countries, he holds it clear, that "the Highlanders and the Irish are the same people," and that there is positive evidence "the former, in the third or fourth century, sprang from the latter."—Ed.

§ Lanquetie in his "Epitome of Chronicles," describes the application of the Britons to the Romans for assistance to have been promptly assented to, "and a capitayne sent, with a legione of knightes; who within a few daies chased theyr enemies out of the lande: and teaching them to make a walle of turver and stakes from the water of Humber to the Scottish sea (wherewith their enemies might bee kept backe out of the lande) toke leave of the Britaines and departed."

proved effectual for their relief. But the Romans, reduced to extremities at home, informed the Britons that they must no longer look to them for succour; exhorted them to arm in their own defence; and urged that, as they were now their own masters, it became them to protect by their valour that independence which their ancient lords had conferred upon them. That they might leave the island with a better grace, the Romans assisted them in erecting anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair;* and, having done this last good office to the inhabitants, they bid a final adieu to Britain about the year 448, after being masters of the more considerable part of it during the course of near four centuries.

THE BRITONS.

THE abject Britons regarded this present of liberty as fatal to them; and were in no condition to put in practice the prudent counsel given by the Romans. Unaccustomed both to the perils of war and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the incursions of the barbarians. Gratian also and Constantine, two Romans, who had a little before assumed the purple in Britain, had carried over to the continent the flower of the British youth; and, having perished in their unsuccessful attempts on the imperial throne, had despoiled the island of those who, in this desperate extremity, were best able to defend it. The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked the northern wall with redoubled forces. The Britons, already subdued by their own fears, found the ramparts but

a weak defence; and, deserting their station, left the country entirely open to the barbarous enemy. The invaders carried devastation and ruin along with them. The unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, which had declared its resolution for ever to abandon them. Ætius, the patrician, sustained, at that time, by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived for a moment, among the degenerate Romans, the spirit, as well as discipline of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen, which was inscribed the 'The Groans of the Britons.' The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. 'The barbarians,' say they, 'on the one hand, chase us into the sea; the sea, on the other, throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves.' But Ætius, pressed by the arms of Attila, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies, whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. The Britons, thus rejected, deserted their habitations; abandoned tillage; and, flying for protection to the forests and mountains, suffered equally from hunger and from the enemy. The barbarians themselves began to feel the pressures of famine in a country which they had ravaged; and, being harrassed by the dispersed Britons, who had not dared to resist them in a body, retreated with their spoils into their own country.†

The Britons returned to their usual occupations; and the favourable seasons, which succeeded, made them soon forget their past miseries. The monkish historians complain of the luxury of the Britons during this period; and ascribe to that vice, not to their cowardice or improvident counsels, all their subsequent calamities.

In the enjoyment of the present interval

* According to Lanquette it was after a second application, A.D. 429, and the Scots and Picts had again been repelled, that the Romans "made a walle of stone of the thicknesse of viii foote, and in heyght xii foote. Whiche thyng whan they had doen, comfortyng the Britaines and admonishing them hereafter to trust to theyr owne manhode and strengthe, they returned agayne to Rome."—Ed.

† On the refusal of Ætius to aid them the Britons were forced "to sende ambassade to Aldroenus, kyng of litle Britayne, to desyre ayde and comforte." This they obtained on condition that when victorious, his brother Constantine should be their king; which accordingly took place, and he is said to have reigned ten years, "with such manhode and policie that he kept it (Britain) in quyetnes and from daungier of strange enemies."—*Epitome of Chronicle*.—L.D.

The Britons again send to Rome.

"The Groans of the Britons."

The Romans refused to aid.

The barbarians return.

Britons in a state of licence.

They make no preparation to resist future invaders.

of peace, they made no provision for resisting the enemy; who, invited by their former timid behaviour, soon threatened them with a new invasion. We are not exactly informed what species of civil government the Romans had left among the Britons; but it appears probable that the great men in the different districts assumed a kind of regal, though precarious, authority; and lived in a great measure independent of each other. To this disunion of counsels were also added the disputes of theology: and the disciples of Pelagius, who was himself a native of Britain, having increased to a great multitude, gave alarm to the clergy, who seem to have been more intent on suppressing them than on opposing the public enemy. Labouring under these domestic evils, and menaced with a foreign invasion, the Britons attended only to the suggestions of their present fears; and, following the counsels of Vortigern, prince of Dumnonium (who, though stained with every vice, possessed the chief authority among them), they sent into Germany a deputation to invite over the Saxons for their protection.

THE SAXONS.

449—585.

OF all barbarous nations, the Germans seem to have been the most distinguished both by their manners and political institutions, and to have carried to the highest pitch the virtues of valour and love of liberty. Kingly government, even when established among the Germans (for it was not universal), possessed a very limited authority; and, though the sovereign was usually chosen from among the royal family, he was directed in every measure by the common consent of the nation over whom he presided. When any important affairs were transacted all the warriors met in arms; the men of greatest authority employed persuasion to engage their consent; the people expressed their approbation by rattling their armour, or their dissent by murmurs; there was no necessity for a nice scrutiny of votes among a multitude, who were usually carried with a strong current to one side or the other; and the measure, thus suddenly chosen by general agreement,

was prosecuted with vigour. Even in war the princes governed more by example than by authority: but in peace the civil union was in a great measure dissolved; and the inferior leaders administered justice after an independent manner, each in his particular district. The warriors of each tribe attached themselves to their leader with the most devoted constancy. They attended him as his ornament in peace, as his defence in war, as his council in the administration of justice. To die for the honour of their band was their chief ambition: to survive its disgrace, or the death of their leader, was infamous. They even carried into the field their women and children, who adopted all the martial sentiments of the men.

The leaders and their military companions were maintained by the labour of their slaves, or by that of the weaker and less warlike part of the community whom they defended. The contributions which they levied went not beyond a bare subsistence; and the honours, acquired by a superior rank, were the only reward of their superior dangers and fatigues. All the refined arts of life were unknown among the Germans; tillage itself was almost wholly neglected; they even seem to have been anxious to prevent any improvements of that nature.

The Saxons had been for some time regarded as one of the most warlike tribes of this fierce people, and had become the terror of the neighbouring nations. They had diffused themselves from the northern parts of Germany and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and had taken possession of all the sea coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland; whence they had long infested by their piracies all the eastern and southern parts of Britain, and the northern of Gaul. In order to oppose their inroads, the Romans had established an officer, whom they called 'Count of the Saxon shore:' and, as the naval arts can flourish among a civilized people alone, they seem to have been more successful in repelling the Saxons than any of the other barbarians by whom they were invaded. The dissolution of the Roman power invited them to renew their inroads: and it was an acceptable circumstance that the deputation

Their prince governed by example.

To survive his fall in battle was infamy.

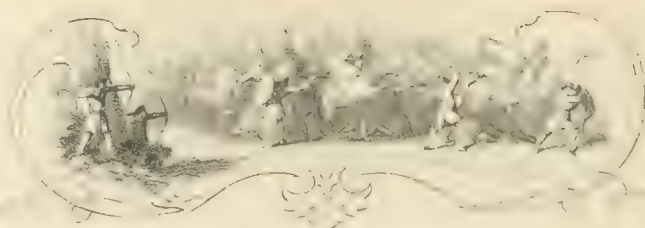
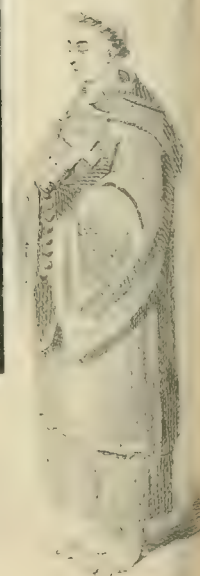
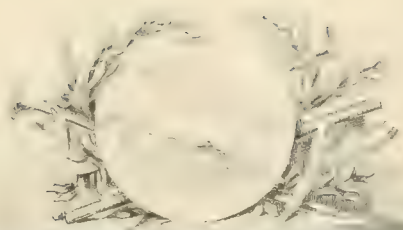
Refinement among the Germans unknown and undesired.

The Saxon one of the fiercest and most powerful tribes.

Threatened with invasion, they claim assistance from the Saxons.

A limited monarchy established among the Germans.





of the Britons appeared among them, and prompted them to undertake an enterprise, to which they were of themselves sufficiently inclined.

Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, possessed great credit among the Saxons, and were much celebrated both for their valour and nobility. They were reputed, as most of the Saxon princes, to be sprung from Woden, who was worshipped as a god among those nations, and said to be his great grandsons; a circumstance which added much to their authority. We shall not attempt to trace any higher the origin of those princes. The dark industry of antiquaries, led by imaginary analogies of names, or by uncertain traditions, would in vain attempt to pierce into that deep obscurity which covers the remote history of those nations.

These brothers, observing the other provinces of Germany to be occupied by a warlike and necessitous people, and the rich provinces of Gaul already overrun by other German tribes, found it easy to persuade their countrymen to embrace the sole enterprise which promised a favourable opportunity of displaying their valour and gratifying their avidity. They embarked their troops in three vessels; and, about the year 449 or 450, carried over sixteen hundred men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and immediately marched to the defence of the Britons against the northern invaders. The Scots and Picts were unable to resist the valour of these auxiliaries; and the Britons, applauding their own wisdom in calling over the Saxons, hoped thenceforth to enjoy peace and security under the powerful protection of that warlike people.

But Hengist and Horsa, perceiving with what facility they might subdue the Britons, were determined to conquer for their own

grandeur, not for the defence of their allies. They sent intelligence to Saxony of the fertility and riches of Britain; and represented as certain the subjection of a people so long disused to arms. The vices and pusillanimity of Vortigern, the British leader, were a new ground of hope; and the Saxons in Germany soon reinforced Hengist and Horsa with five thousand men, who came over in seventeen vessels. The Britons now began to entertain apprehensions of their allies, whose numbers they found continually augmenting; but thought of no remedy, except a passive submission and connivance. This weak expedient soon failed them. The Saxons sought a quarrel, formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, and proceeded to open hostility against the Britons.

The Britons, roused to indignation against their treacherous auxiliaries, took arms; and, having deposed Vortigern, they put themselves under the command of his son, Vortimer.* They fought many battles with their enemies; and, though the victories in these actions be disputed between the British and Saxon annalists, the progress made by the Saxons proves that the advantage was commonly on their side. In one battle, however, fought at Eglesford, now Ailsford; Horsa, the Saxon general, was slain, and left the sole command over his countrymen in the hands of Hengist. This active general, continually reinforced by fresh numbers from Germany, carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain; and, being chiefly anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition, wherever he marched with his victorious forces. The private and public edifices of the Britons were reduced to ashes; the priests were slaughtered on the altars by those

Hengist and Horsa invite over their countrymen.

The Saxons press the Britons into the Picts and Scots.

Vortigern deposed by the Britons, his son Vortimer

The Saxon general, Horsa, is slain.

Hengist unscrupulously attacks the Britons.

* The immediate cause of Vortigern's deposition Hume has omitted to recite, which the old writers have preserved. It is important, as illustrative of the stern morality of the ancient Britons. Rowena, whose marriage with Vortigern he mentions, is represented to have been "a maiden of wonderful beauty and pleasantness, but a miscreant and pagan. For her sake the king repudiated his lawful wife, by the which he had received three sons, for which deed *wel nere all the Britaines forsoke him.*" After this, from the passion he had for his new wife, the Saxons were so largely encouraged, that the Britons felt much

aggrieved. They subsequently, "considering the dayly repayre of the Saxones unto this realme, shewed to theyr king the ieopardie that myht thereof ensue. and advertised him to avoyd the daunger, and expell them out of the realme. But all was in vaine. For Vortigern, by reason of his wife, bore such favour towards the Saxones, that he would in no wyse here the counsaile of his subiects. Wherefore they with one will and mynd deprived him of his royall dignitie. and ordeyned to their kyng his eldest son, Vortimer. when Vortigern had reigned xvi yeres."—*Lanquette*. —Ed.

The persecuted Britons fly to Brittanv.

Vortimer dies.

Vortigern is restored.

Ambrosius unites the Britons against the Saxons.

Hengist settles a tribe of Saxons in Northumberland.

idolatrous ravagers; the bishops and nobility shared the fate of the vulgar; the people flying to the mountains and deserts, were intercepted and butchered in heaps; some were glad to accept of life and servitude under their victors; others, deserting their native country, took shelter in the province of Armorica; where, being charitably received, they settled in great numbers, and gave the country the name of Brittany.

The British writers assign one cause which facilitated the entrance of the Saxons into this island; the love with which Vortigern was at first seized for Rovenia, the daughter of Hengist, and which that artful warrior made use of to blind the eyes of the imprudent monarch.* The same historians add that Vortimer died; and that Vortigern, being restored to the throne, accepted of a banquet from Hengist at Stonehenge, where three hundred of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained captive. But these stories seem to have been invented by the Welsh authors, in order to palliate the weak resistance made at first by their countrymen, and to account for the rapid progress and licentious devastations of the Saxons.

After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius, a Briton, though of Roman descent, was invested with the command over his countrymen; and endeavoured, not without success, to unite them in their resistance against the Saxons. Those contests increased the animosity between the two nations, and roused the military spirit of the ancient inhabitants. Hengist, notwithstanding their opposition, still maintained his ground in Britain; and, in order to divide the forces of the natives, he called over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Ebissa, the son of Octa: and he settled them in Northumberland. He himself remained in the southern parts of the island, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name,

Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surrey. He fixed his royal seat at Canterbury, where he governed about forty years; and he died in or near the year 488, leaving his new acquired dominions to his posterity.

The success of Hengist excited the avidity of the other northern Germans; and under different leaders, they flocked over in multitudes to this island. These conquerors were chiefly composed of three tribes; the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes; who all passed under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, sometimes of Angles: and, speaking the same language, and being governed by the same institutions, they were naturally led to unite against the ancient inhabitants. The resistance became every day more feeble: and their calamities admitted of few intervals, till they were driven into Cornwall and Wales, and received protection from the remote situation or inaccessible mountains of those countries.

The first Saxon state, after that of Kent, which was established in Britain, was the kingdom of South Saxony. In the year 477, Ælla, a Saxon chief, brought over an army from Germany; and, landing on the southern coast, proceeded to take possession of the neighbouring territory. The Britons, now armed, were not expelled, till defeated in many battles by their warlike invaders. The most memorable action, mentioned by historians, is that of Mea-credes-Burn; where, though the Saxons seem to have obtained the victory, they suffered so considerable a loss, as somewhat retarded the progress of their conquests. But Ælla, reinforced by fresh numbers of his countrymen, again took the field against the Britons; and laid siege to Andred-Ceaster, which was defended by the garrison and inhabitants with desperate valour. The Saxons, enraged by this resistance, and by the fatigues and dangers which they had sustained, redoubled their efforts against the place; and, when masters of it, put all their enemies to the sword. This decisive

Death of Hengist.

The Britons fly from the Saxons to Cornwall and Wales.

The Kingdom of South Saxony formed in Britain.

A massacre of the British by Ælla, a Saxon chief.

* Hengist is stated to have obtained from Vortigern as much ground as he could enclose with a bull's hide. He, *of course*, cut the hide into thongs, and thus contrived to describe a spacious circle, within which he built a strong place of defence, which was

called Thong Castle. Hengist then invited Vortigern to a feast, at which the latter became enamoured of the Saxon's daughter, or niece, as some state her to have been, who soon became his wife.—ED.

advantage secured the conquests of Ælla, who assumed the name of king, and extended his dominion over Sussex and a great part of Surrey. He was stopped in his progress to the east by the kingdom of Kent; in that to the west by another tribe of Saxons, who had taken possession of that territory.

These Saxons, from the situation of the country in which they settled, were called the West Saxons; and landed, in the year 495, under the command of Cerdic, and of his son Kenric. The Britons were, by past experience, so much on their guard, and so well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave battle to Cerdic the very day of his landing; and, though vanquished, still defended for some time their liberties. None of the other tribes of Saxons met with such vigorous resistance, or exerted such valour and perseverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic was even obliged to call for the assistance of his countrymen from the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, as well as from Germany; and he was thence joined by a fresh army under the command of Porte, and of his sons Bleda and Megla. Strengthened by these succours, he fought, in the year 508, a desperate battle with the Britons, commanded by Nazan-Leod, who was victorious in the beginning of the action, and routed the wing in which Cerdic himself commanded; but Kenric, who had prevailed in the other wing, brought timely assistance to his father, and restored the battle, which ended in a complete victory gained by the Saxons. Nazan-Leod perished, with five thousand of his army; but left the Britons more weakened than discouraged by his death. The war continued, though

the success was commonly on the side of the Saxons; whose short swords, and close manner of fighting, gave them great advantage over the missile weapons of the Britons. Cerdic was not wanting to his good fortune; and, in order to extend his conquests, he laid siege to Mount Badon or Banedowne, near Bath, whither the most obstinate of the discomfited Britons had retired. The southern Britons in this extremity applied for assistance to Arthur, prince of the Silures, whose heroic valour now sustained the declining fate of his country. This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of Thaliessin and the other British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables, as even to give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But poets, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations.* Certain it is that the siege of Badon was raised by the Britons in the year 520; and the Saxons were there discomfited in a great battle. This misfortune stopped the progress of Cerdic, but was not sufficient to wrest from him the conquests which he had already made. He and his son Kenric, who succeeded him, established the kingdom of the West Saxons, or of Wessex, over the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight; and left their new acquired dominions to their posterity. Cerdic died in 534, Kenric in 560.

While the Saxons made this progress, their countrymen were not less active in other quarters. In the year 527 a great tribe of adventurers, under several leaders, landed on the east coast of Britain; and after fighting many battles, of which history

* That Arthur lived, and was a brave and important personage in his day, there is no reason to doubt. Why such extravagant stories, as those of the art of Merlin having taken his father Uther to the bed of the Lady Igren, wife to the Duke of Cornwall, in the likeness of that noble; and of Arthur having single-handed slain on one occasion eight hundred Saxons, is not easy to determine. The concurring reports of various contemporary authors, Llyarc, Merzin, and Taliesin, may be named; and the mention made of him in the Welsh Triads shew him to have been no fictitious hero, but a British prince, who in the sixth century strove, and in some instances successfully, against the Saxons. He is said to have died A.D. 542. "In the time of king Henry II.," says Baker, "The bones of king Arthur and his wife Guynevoir were found in

the vale of Avelan, under an hollow oak, fifteen foot under ground; the hair of the said Guynevoir being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched it fell into powder, as Fabian relateth." Lanquette sensibly remarks, "Of this Arthur be written many thinges in the englyshe cronicle of small credence, and farre discordant from other wryters." He adds, "But yet all agree that he was a noble and victorious prince in all his deeds: and they testify that he fought xii notable battayles against the Saxones, and was alwaie victour."—"By confounding the Arthur of history with that of mythology, the chroniclers of the middle ages have committed an enormous anachronism; and thus have blended the real facts of the former with the allegorical attributes of the other."

—Ries. — Ed.

Three new kingdoms established in this island by Saxon adventurers,

has preserved no particular account, they established three new kingdoms in this island. Uffa assumed the title of king of the East Angles in 575; Crida that of Mercia in 585; and Erkenwin that of East Saxony or Essex nearly about the same time, but the year is uncertain. This latter kingdom was dismembered from that of Kent; and comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. That of the East Angles, the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of these two kingdoms.

The Saxons, soon after the landing of Hengist, had been planted in Northumberland; but, as they met with an obstinate resistance, and made but small progress in subduing the inhabitants, their affairs were in so unsettled a condition that none of their princes for a long time assumed the appellation of king. At last, in 547, Ida, a Saxon prince of great valour, who claimed a descent, as did all the other princes of that nation, from Woden, brought over a reinforcement from Germany, and enabled the Northumbrians to carry on their conquests. He entirely subdued the county now called Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, as well as some of the south-east counties of Scotland; and he assumed the crown under the title of king of Bernicia. Nearly about the same time Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire and the greater part of Yorkshire, received the appellation of king of Dieri. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethilfrid, grandson of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and, expelling her brother Edwin, established one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms by the title of Northumberland. How far his dominions extended into the country now called Scotland is uncertain: but it cannot be doubted that all the lowlands, especially the east coast of that country, were peopled in a great measure from Germany. The language spoken in those countries, which is purely Saxon, is a stronger proof of this event than can be opposed by the imperfect annals obtruded on us by the Scottish historians.

Ida, a Saxon prince arrives.

He claims the title of King of Bernicia.

The lowlands of Scotland peopled from Germany.

THE HEPTARCHY.

Thus was established, after a violent contest of near a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; and the whole southern part of the island, except Wales and Cornwall, had totally changed its inhabitants, language, customs, and political institutions. The Britons, under the Roman dominion, had made such advances towards arts and civil manners, that they had built twenty-eight considerable cities within their province, besides a great number of villages and country seats: but the fierce conquerors, by whom they were now subdued, threw every thing back into ancient barbarity; and those few natives, who were not either massacred or expelled their habitations, were reduced to the most abject slavery. None of the other northern conquerors, the Franks, Goths, Vandals, or Burgundians, though they overran the southern provinces of the empire like a mighty torrent, made such devastations in the conquered territories, or were inflamed into so violent an animosity against the ancient inhabitants. As the Saxons came over at intervals in separate bodies, the Britons, however at first unwarlike, were tempted to make resistance; and hostilities being thereby prolonged, proved more destructive to both parties, especially to the vanquished. The first invaders from Germany, instead of excluding other adventurers, who must share with them the spoils of the ancient inhabitants, were obliged to solicit fresh supplies from their own country; and a total extermination of the Britons became the sole expedient for providing a settlement and subsistence to the new planters.

So long as the contest was maintained with the natives the several Saxon princes, preserved a union of counsels and interests; but, after the Britons were shut up in the barren counties of Cornwall and Wales, and gave no further disturbance to the conquerors, the band of alliance was in a great measure dissolved among the princes of the Heptarchy. Though one prince seems still to have been allowed, or to have assumed, an ascendant over the whole, his authority was extremely limited; and each state acted

The Heptarchy established.

Civilization thrown back.

The extermination of the Britons deemed necessary.

A prince with limited authority presided over the Heptarchy.

Wars and
evolutions.

as if it had been independent. Wars, therefore, and revolutions, and dissensions, were unavoidable; and these events ought now to become the objects of our attention. But, added to the difficulty of carrying on at once the history of seven independent kingdoms, there is great discouragement to a writer, arising from the uncertainty, at least barrenness of the accounts transmitted to us. The monks, who were the only annalists during those ages, lived remote from public affairs; considered the civil transactions as entirely subordinate to the ecclesiastical; and, besides partaking of the ignorance and barbarity which were then universal, were strongly infected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture. The history of that period abounds in names, but is extremely barren of events. Milton scruples not to declare that the skirmishes of kites or crows as much merited a particular narrative as the confused transactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy. We shall give a succinct account of the successions of kings, and of the more remarkable revolutions in each particular kingdom; beginning with that of Kent, which was the first established.

THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

Escus succeeded his father Hengist in the kingdom of Kent; but seems not to have possessed the military genius of that conqueror. All the Saxons, who sought either the fame of valour or new establishments by arms, flocked to the standard of Ælla, king of Sussex, who was carrying on successful war against the Britons, and laying the foundations of a new kingdom. Escus was content to possess the kingdom of Kent, which he left in 512 to his son Octa; in whose time the East Saxons established their monarchy, and dismembered the provinces of Essex and Middlesex from Kent. His death, after a reign of twenty-two years,

* Supporting himself on the authority of the venerable Bede, Camden says: "This warlike, victorious, stiff, stowt, and vigorous nation, (the Saxons) after it had as it were taken roote heere about one hundred and sixtie yeares, and spread his branches farre and wide, being mellowed and mollified by the mildenes

made room for his son Hermenric in 534; who performed nothing memorable during a reign of thirty-two years, except associating with him his son Ethelbert in the government, that he might secure the succession in his family, and prevent such revolutions as are incident to a turbulent and barbarous monarchy.

Ethelbert revived the reputation of his race; but in his first attempt to aggrandize his country, and distinguish his own name, was unsuccessful. He was twice discomfited in battle by Ceaulin, king of Wessex, and obliged to yield the superiority in the Heptarchy to that ambitious monarch; who preserved no moderation in his victory, and by reducing the kingdom of Sussex to subjection, excited jealousy in all the other princes. An association was formed against him; and Ethelbert, intrusted with the command of the allies, gave him battle, and obtained a decisive victory. Ceaulin died soon after; and Ethelbert succeeded as well to his ascendant among the Saxon states as to his other ambitious projects. He reduced all the princes, except the king of Northumberland, to a strict dependance upon him; and even established himself by force on the throne of Mercia, the most extensive of the Saxon kingdoms. Apprehensive, however, of a dangerous league against him, like that by which he himself had been enabled to overthrow Ceaulin, he had the prudence to resign the kingdom of Mercia to Webba, the rightful heir, the son of Crida, who had first founded that monarchy. But, governed still by ambition more than by justice, he gave Webba possession of the crown on such conditions as rendered him little better than a tributary prince.

But the most memorable event which distinguished the reign of this great prince was the introduction of the Christian religion among the English Saxons.* The superstition of the Germans, particularly that of the Saxons, was of the grossest and most barbarous kind, and Woden†, whom

of the soyle and sweete aire, was prepared, in fulnes of time, for the first spiritual blessing of God, I mean our regeneration in Christ, and our ingrafting into his mysticall bodie by holy baptisme."

† The Saxons had many idols, "yet," says Verstegan, "Seaven among the rest they especially appro-

Hermeric
his son, and
Ethelbert
his grand-
son, follow

Ethelbert
at first un-
fortunate.

Eventually
triumphs
over
Ceaulin.

Ethelbert
resigns
Mercia to
Webba.

Christianity
introduced

Woden, the
supreme
god of the
Saxons.

They be-
lieved in
sorcery.

Christian-
ity extends
among the
northern
nations.

The Christ-
ians dis-
tinguished
by superior
knowledge.

they deemed the ancestor of all their princes, was regarded as the god of war, and by a natural consequence became their supreme deity. They believed that, if they obtained the favour of this divinity by their valour (for they made less account of the other virtues), they should be admitted after their death into his hall; and reposing on couches, satiate themselves with ale from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle. Incited by this idea of paradise, they despised the dangers of war, and increased their native ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices. We know little of the other theological tenets of the Saxons: we only learn that they were polytheists; that they worshipped the sun and moon; that they adored the god of thunder, under the name of Thor;* that they had images in their temples; that they practised sacrifices, and believed firmly in spells and enchantments.

The constant hostilities which the Saxons maintained against the Britons would naturally indispose them for receiving the Christian faith, when preached to them by such inveterate enemies; and perhaps the Britons, as is objected to them by Gildas and Bede, were not over fond of communicating to their cruel invaders the doctrine of eternal life and salvation. But, as a civilized people, however subdued by arms, still maintain a sensible superiority over barbarous and ignorant nations, all the other northern conquerors of Europe had been already induced to embrace the Christian faith; and it was impossible but the Saxons, informed of this event, must have regarded, with some degree of veneration, a doctrine which had acquired the ascendant over all their brethren. However limited in their views, they could not but have perceived a degree of cultivation in the southern countries beyond what they themselves possessed, and it was natural for them to yield to that superior knowledge, as well as zeal, by which the inhabitants of the Christian kingdoms were even at that time distinguished.

priated vnto the seaven days of the week." That each ordinarily received honours on one day more than on the rest. Woden was the deity of the fourth day of the week; from his name Wednesday is derived. He had been a victorious warrior. Prisoners taken in battle

But these causes might long have failed of producing any considerable effect, had not a favourable incident prepared the means of introducing Christianity into Kent. Ethelbert, in his father's lifetime, had married Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, King of Paris, one of the descendants of Clovis, the conqueror of Gaul: but, before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to stipulate that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion; a concession not difficult to be obtained from the idolatrous Saxons. Bertha brought over a French bishop to the court of Canterbury; and had been very assiduous in her devotional exercises, had supported the credit of her faith by an irreproachable conduct, and had employed every art of insinuation and address to reconcile her husband to her religious principles. Her popularity in the court, and her influence over Ethelbert, had so well paved the way for the reception of the Christian doctrine, that Gregory, surnamed the Great, then Roman pontiff, began to entertain hopes of effecting a project, which he himself, before he mounted the papal throne, had once embraced, of converting the British Saxons.

It happened that this prelate, at that time in a private station, had observed in the market place of Rome some Saxon youth exposed to sale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory asked to what country they belonged; and, being told they were Angles, he replied that they ought more properly to be denominated angels: it were a pity that the prince of darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beautiful a frontispiece should cover a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Inquiring farther concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was Deïri, a district of Northumberland. 'Deïri!' replied he, 'that is good! They are called to the mercy

were sacrificed at the altar of Woden to induce the departed chief to give his votaries new triumphs.—ED.

* The name of this idol is perpetuated in Thursday, which was the day on which his worshippers tendered him their homage.—ED.

Ethelbert
marries
Bertha.

She favo-
Christ-
ianity.

Pope Gre-
gory aim-
at conver-
ing the
Britons.

He is in-
ved by t-
fair app-
ance.



of God from his anger (de ira). But what is the name of the king of that province?' He was told it was Ælla or Alla. 'Alleluia!' cried he, 'We must endeavour that the praises of God be sung in their country.' Moved by these allusions, which appeared to him so happy, he determined to undertake, himself, a mission into Britain; and, having obtained the pope's approbation, he prepared for that perilous journey. But his popularity at home was so great, that the Romans, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged, for the present, to lay aside all farther thoughts of executing that pious purpose.

The controversy between the pagans and the Christians was not entirely cooled in that age; and no pontiff, before Gregory, had ever carried to greater excess an intemperate zeal against the former religion. He had waged war with all the precious monuments of the ancients, and even with their writings; which, as appears from the strain of his own wit, as well as from the style of his compositions, he had not taste or genius sufficient to comprehend. Ambitious to distinguish his pontificate by the conversion of the British Saxons, he pitched on Augustine, a Roman monk, and sent him with forty associates to preach the gospel in this island. These missionaries, terrified with the dangers which might attend their proposing a new doctrine to so fierce a people, of whose language they were ignorant, stopped some time in France; and sent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties before the pope, and crave his permission to desist from the undertaking. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere in their purpose; advised them to choose some interpreters from among the Franks, who still spoke the same language with the Saxons; and recommended them to the good offices of queen Brunehaut, who had at this time usurped the sovereign power in France. This princess, though stained with every vice of treachery and cruelty, either possessed or pretended great zeal for the cause; and Gregory acknowledged

that to her friendly assistance was, in a great measure, owing the success of that undertaking.*

Augustine, on his arrival in Kent, in the year 597, found the danger much less than he had apprehended. Ethelbert, already well disposed towards the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the Isle of Thanet; and soon after admitted him to a conference. Apprehensive, however, lest spells or enchantments might be employed against him by priests, who brought an unknown worship from a distant country, he had the precaution to receive them in the open air, where he believed the force of their magic would be more easily dissipated. Here Augustine, by means of his interpreters, delivered to him the tenets of the Christian faith; and promised him eternal joys above, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would be persuaded to receive that salutary doctrine. "Your words and promises," replied Ethelbert, "are fair; but because they are new and uncertain, I cannot entirely yield to them, and relinquish the principles which I and my ancestors have so long maintained. You are welcome, however, to remain here in peace; and I will supply you with all necessaries, and permit you to deliver your doctrine to my subjects."

Augustine, seeing now a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel to the Kentish Saxons. He attracted their attention by the austerity of his manners, by the severe penances to which he subjected himself, by the abstinence and self denial which he practised: and, having excited their wonder by a course of life which appeared so contrary to nature, he procured more easily their belief of miracles, which it was pretended he wrought for their conversion. Numbers of the Kentish men were baptised; and the king himself was persuaded to submit to that rite of Christianity. His example had great influence with his subjects; but he employed no force to bring them over to the new doctrine. Augustine assumed the appearance of the greatest lenity: he told Ethelbert

St. Augustine
first preached
in Kent.

He conferred
with Ethelbert.

He is permitted
to preach the
gospel.

The king
becomes a
Christian.

* "Elle faisait passer en angletterre les missionnaires envoyes par Gregoire le Grand, et le pontife lui

écrivait qu apres Dieu, etait à elle que l'Angleterre était redevable de sa conversion."—Burette.

that the service of Christ must be entirely voluntary, and that no violence ought ever to be used.*

The intelligence received of these spiritual conquests afforded great joy to the Romans; who now exulted as much in those peaceful trophies as their ancestors had ever done in their most splendid victories. Gregory wrote a letter to Ethelbert; in which, after informing him that the end of the world was approaching, he exhorted him to display his zeal in the conversion of his subjects, to exert rigour against the worship of idols, and to build up the good work of holiness by every expedient of exhortation, terror, blandishment, or correction. The pontiff answered some questions which the missionary had put. Besides other queries, which it is not material here to relate, Augustine asked 'Whether cousin-germans might be allowed to marry?' Gregory answered that that liberty had indeed been formerly granted by the Roman law; but that experience had shewn that no issue could ever come from such marriages: and he therefore prohibited them. Augustine asked 'Whether a woman pregnant might be baptized?' Gregory answered that he saw no objection. 'How soon after the birth the child might receive baptism?' It was answered, 'Immediately, if necessary.' 'How soon a husband might have commerce with his wife after her delivery?' 'Not till she had given suck to her child;' a practice to which Gregory exhorts all women. 'How soon a man might enter the church, or receive the sacrament, after having had commerce with his wife?' It was replied that, unless he had approached her without desire, merely for the sake of propagating his species, he was not without sin: but in all cases it was requisite for him, before he entered the church, or communicated, to purge himself by prayer and ablution; and he ought not, even after using these precautions, to participate immediately in the sacred duties. On

the whole, it appears that Gregory and his missionary were better calculated than men of more refined understandings for making a progress with the ignorant and barbarous Saxons.

The more to facilitate the reception of Christianity, Gregory enjoined Augustine to remove the idols from the heathen altars, but not to destroy the altars themselves; because the people, he said, would be allured to frequent the Christian worship when they found it celebrated in a place which they were accustomed to revere. And, as the pagans practised sacrifices, and feasted with the priests on their offerings, he also exhorted the missionary to persuade them, on Christian festivals, to kill their cattle in the neighbourhood of the church, and to indulge themselves in those cheerful entertainments to which they had been habituated. These political compliances shew that he was not unacquainted with the arts of governing mankind. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches; and received the pall, a badge of ecclesiastical honour, from Rome. Gregory also advised him not to be too much elated with his gift of working miracles; and, as Augustine, proud with the success of his mission, seemed to think himself entitled to extend his authority over the bishops of Gaul, the pope informed him that they lay entirely without the bounds of his jurisdiction.

The marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, and much more his embracing Christianity, begat a connexion of his subjects with the French, Italians, and other nations on the continent; and tended to reclaim them from their gross ignorance and barbarity, in which all the Saxon tribes had been hitherto involved. Ethelbert enacted, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, a body of laws; the first written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors: and his reign was in every re-

* Ethelbert, according to the old historians, became most zealous in the cause of Christianity, and his pious labours effected the conversion of Sebert, King of the East Angles. This monarch has the credit of founding the cathedral church of St. Paul, and Westminster Abbey. St. Augustine, to whom King Ethel-

bert had given his palace at Canterbury, made that the cathedral of the see. He was believed to have brought from Rome some reliques of no common value; parts of Aaron's rod, and Christ's seamless coat being among them.—ED.

The Romans exult in their religious triumphs.

Gregory instructs Augustine.

Matrimonial obscenities.

Idols ordered to be removed.

Substitutes for sacrifices.

Augustine made Archbishop of Canterbury.

The first written laws.

spect glorious to himself, and beneficial to his people. He governed the kingdom of Kent fifty years; and, dying in 616, left the succession to his son Eadbald. This prince, seduced by a passion for his mother-in-law, deserted for some time the Christian faith, which permitted not incestuous marriages.* His whole people immediately returned with him to idolatry. Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, found the Christian worship wholly abandoned; and was prepared to return to France, in order to escape the mortification of preaching the gospel without fruit to the infidels. Mellitus and Justus, who had been consecrated bishops of London and Rochester, had already departed the kingdom; when Laurentius, before he should entirely abandon his dignity, made one effort to reclaim the king. He appeared before that prince; and, throwing off his vestments, shewed his body all torn with bruises and stripes, which he had received. Eadbald, wondering that any man should have dared to treat in that manner a person of his rank, was told by Laurentius that he had received this chastisement from St. Peter, the prince of the apostles; who had appeared to him in a vision, and, severely reproofing him for his intention to desert his charge, had inflicted on him these visible marks of his displeasure. Whether Eadbald was struck with the miracle, or influenced by some other motive, he divorced himself from his mother-in-law, and returned to the profession of Christianity. His whole people returned with him. Eadbald reached not the fame or authority of his father, and died in 640, after a reign of twenty-five years; leaving two sons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert, though the younger son by Emma, a French princess, found means to mount the throne. He is celebrated by

Bede for two exploits; for establishing the fast of Lent in his kingdom, and for utterly extirpating idolatry. He reigned twenty-four years; and left the crown to Egbert his son, who reigned nine years. This prince is renowned for his encouragement of learning; but infamous for putting to death his two cousin-germans, sons of Erminfrid his uncle. The ecclesiastical writers praise him for his bestowing on his sister Domnona some lands in the Isle of Thanet, where she founded a monastery.

The bloody precaution of Egbert could not fix the crown on the head of his son Edric. Lothaire, brother of the deceased prince, took possession of the kingdom; and, in order to secure the power in his family, he associated with him Richard his son in the administration of the government. Edric, the dispossessed prince, had recourse to Edilwach, king of Sussex, for assistance; and, being supported by that prince, fought a battle with his uncle, who was defeated and slain. Richard fled into Germany; and afterwards died in Lucca, a city of Tuscany. William of Malmesbury ascribes Lothaire's bad fortune to two crimes; his concurrence in the murder of his cousins, and his contempt for reliques.

Lothaire reigned eleven years, Edric his successor only two. Upon the death of the latter, which happened in 686, Widred his brother obtained possession of the crown: but, as the succession had been of late so much disjointed by revolutions and usurpations, faction began to prevail among the nobility; which invited Cedwalla, king of Wessex, with his brother Mollo, to attack the kingdom. These invaders committed great devastations in Kent; but the death of Mollo, who was slain in a skirmish, gave a short breathing time to that kingdom. Widred restored the affairs of Kent; and

His successor Ercombert extirpates idolatry.

Egbert murders his two cousins.

Edric, Egbert's son, deprived of the crown.

Edric overcomes Lothaire.

Edric dies. His brother Widred reigns.

* The fickle-minded conduct of these apostates may not unreasonably be ascribed to the discord which prevailed in the church of Rome. When the new converts saw those who claimed to exercise the most sacred functions in the church engaged in a virulent contest for objects dear only to worldly pride, they ceased to appreciate the advantages of Christianity. John, the patriarch of Constantinople, wished to be styled the *Universal Bishop*. Gregory sternly resisted such pretensions, and denounced him, as having first brought the example of anti-christ into the

church, by claiming the title of universal bishop, to the derogation of all others. It was urged that the council of Carthage, which sat in the year A.D. 419, where two hundred and seventeen bishops were present, had decreed that none should be called the chief bishop, but only the bishop of the chief see. This, however, did not prevent the quarrel from being prosecuted with great rancour, any more than it did the popes subsequently raised to the chair from calling themselves the head of the universal church, Christ's vicar on earth, &c.—Ed.

The death of Wulfred extinguishes the royal family of Kent.

The Saxon Heptarchy dissolved.

Adelfrid gains ascendancy in the Heptarchy, and exiles Edwin.

He besieges Chester, which surrenders.

after a reign of thirty-two years, left the crown to his posterity. Eadbert, Ethelbert, and Alric, his descendants, successively mounted the throne. After the death of the last, which happened in 794, the royal family of Kent was extinguished; and every factious leader, who could entertain hopes of ascending the throne, threw the state into confusion. Egbert, who first succeeded, reigned but two years; Cuthred, brother to the king of Mercia, six years; Baldred, an illegitimate branch of the royal family, eighteen; and, after a troublesome and precarious reign, he was, in the year 823, expelled by Egbert, king of Wessex, who dissolved the Saxon Heptarchy, and united the several kingdoms under his dominion.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

ADELFRID, king of Bernicia, having married Acca, the daughter of Ælla, king of Deïri, and expelled her infant brother Edwin, had united all the counties north of the Humber into one monarchy, and acquired a great ascendant in the Heptarchy. He also spread the terror of the Saxon arms to the neighbouring people; and, by his victories over the Scots and Picts, as well as Welsh, extended on all sides the bounds of his dominions. Having laid siege to Chester, the Britons marched out with all their forces to engage him; and they were attended by a body of twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor, who stood at a small distance from the field of battle, in order to encourage the combatants by their presence and exhortations. Adelfrid, inquiring the purpose of this unusual appearance, was told that these priests had come to pray against him. 'Then are they as much our enemies,' said he, 'as those who intend to fight against us.' And he immediately sent a detachment, who fell upon them, and did such execution, that only fifty escaped with their lives. The Britons, astonished at this event, received a total defeat. Chester was obliged to surrender; and Adelfrid, pursuing his victory, made himself master of Bangor, and entirely demolished the monastery; a building so

extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another; and it contained two thousand one hundred monks, who are said to have been there maintained by their own labour.

Notwithstanding Adelfrid's success in war, he lived in inquietude on account of young Edwin, whom he had unjustly dispossessed of the crown of Deïri. This prince, now grown to man's estate, wandered from place to place in continual danger from the attempts of Adelfrid; and received at last protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles; where his engaging and gallant deportment procured him general esteem and affection. Redwald, however, was strongly solicited by the king of Northumberland to kill or deliver up his guest: rich presents were promised him if he would comply, and war denounced against him in case of his refusal. After rejecting several messages of this kind, his generosity began to yield to the motives of interest; and he retained the last ambassador till he should come to a resolution in a case of such importance. Edwin, informed of his friend's perplexity, was yet determined, at all hazards, to remain in East Anglia; and thought that, if the protection of that court failed him, it were better to die than prolong a life so much exposed to the persecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour and friendship, with his other accomplishments, engaged the queen on his side; and she effectually represented to her husband the infamy of delivering up to certain destruction their royal guest, who had fled to them for protection against his cruel and jealous enemies. Redwald, embracing more generous resolutions, thought it safest to prevent Adelfrid before that prince was aware of his intention, and to attack him while he was yet unprepared for defence. He marched suddenly with an army into the kingdom of Northumberland, and fought a battle with Adelfrid; in which that monarch was defeated and killed, after avenging himself by the death of Regner, son of Redwald. His own sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, yet infants, were carried into Scotland; and Edwin obtained possession of the crown of Northumberland.

He is disturbed by Edwin.

Edwin flies to Redwald, king of the East Angles.

Redwald is inclined to give up Edwin to Adelfrid.

He adopts a more generous resolution.

Adelfrid is defeated by Redwald, and slain.

Edwin the
last
monarch of the
heptarchy.

heptarchy
the king
Wessex.

Edwin
a devoted
Lilla.

Edwin re-
sides the
son of the
of Angles

Edwin
marries
Ethelburga,
daughter of
Ethel.

Edwin was the greatest prince of the Heptarchy in that age; and distinguished himself, both by his influence over the other kingdoms, and by the strict execution of justice in his own dominions. He reclaimed his subjects from the licentious life to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying that, during his reign, a woman or child might openly carry every where a purse of gold without any danger of violence or robbery. There is a remarkable instance transmitted to us of the affection born him by his servants. Cuichelme, king of Wessex, was his enemy; but, finding himself unable to maintain open war against so gallant and powerful a prince, he determined to use treachery against him, and he employed one Eumer for that criminal purpose. The assassin, having obtained admittance by pretending to deliver a message from Cuichelme, drew his dagger, and rushed upon the king. Lilla, an officer of his army, seeing his master's danger, and having no other means of defence, interposed his own body between the king and Eumer's dagger; which was pushed with such violence that, after piercing Lilla, it even wounded Edwin: but, before the assassin could renew his blow, he was dispatched by the king's attendants.

The East Angles conspired against Redwald, their king; and, having put him to death, they offered their crown to Edwin, of whose valour and capacity they had had experience while he resided among them. But Edwin, from a sense of gratitude towards his benefactor, obliged them to submit to Earpwald, the son of Redwald; and that prince preserved his authority, though on a precarious footing, under the protection of the Northumbrian monarch.

Edwin, after his accession to the crown, married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent. This princess, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been the instrument for converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paullinus, a learned bishop, along with her; and, besides stipulating a toleration for the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, she used every reason to persuade the king to embrace it. Edwin, after a serious and long

inquiry, declared in favour of the Christian religion. The people soon after imitated his example. Besides the authority and influence of the king, they were moved by another striking example. Coifi, the high priest, being converted after a public conference with Paullinus, led the way in destroying the images which he had so long worshipped, and was forward in making this atonement for his past idolatry.

This able prince perished, with his son Osfrid, in a great battle which he fought against Penda, king of Mercia, and Cædwalla, king of the Britons. That event, in the forty-eighth year of Edwin's age and seventeenth of his reign, divided the monarchy of Northumberland, which that prince had united in his person. Eanfrid, the son of Adelfrid, returned, with his brothers Oswald and Osway, from Scotland, and took possession of Bernicia, his paternal kingdom. Osric, Edwin's cousin-german, established himself in Deïri, the inheritance of his family; but to which the sons of Edwin had a preferable title. Eanfrid, the elder surviving son, fled to Penda, by whom he was treacherously slain. The younger son, Vuscfraë, with Yffi, the grandson of Edwin by Osfrid, sought protection in Kent; and, not finding themselves in safety there, retired into France to king Dagobert, where they died.

Osric, king of Deïri, and Eanfrid of Bernicia, returned to paganism, and the whole people seem to have returned with them; since Paullinus, who was the first archbishop of York, and who had converted them, thought proper to retire with Ethelburga, the queen dowager, into Kent. Both these Northumbrian kings perished soon after; the first in battle against Cædwalla the Briton, the second by the treachery of that prince. Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, of the race of Bernicia, united again the kingdom of Northumberland in the year 634, and restored the Christian religion in his dominions. He gained a bloody and well disputed battle against Cædwalla; the last vigorous effort which the Britons made against the Saxons. Oswald is much celebrated for his sanctity and charity by the monkish historians; and they pretend that his reliques wrought

She converts the
king to
Christiani-
ty.

He is killed
with his son
Osfrid in
battle.

The monar-
chy is de-
vided.

Paganism
returns.

Christiani-
ty again tri-
umphs un-
der Oswald

miracles, particularly the curing of a sick horse, which had approached the place of his interment.*

He is killed
in battle.

He died in battle against Penda, king of Mercia, and was succeeded by his brother Osway; who established himself in the government of the whole Northumbrian kingdom by putting to death Oswin, the son of Osric, the last king of the race of Deïri. His son Egfrid succeeded him; who perished in battle against the Picts, without leaving any children, because Adelthrid, his wife, refused to violate her vow of chastity. Alfred, his natural brother, acquired possession of the kingdom, which he governed for nineteen years; and he left it to Osred his son, a boy of eight

A series of
irregular
successions
and mur-
ders.

years of age. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, was murdered by Kenred his kinsman; who, after enjoying the crown only a year, perished by a like fate. Osric, and after him Celwulph the son of Kenred, next mounted the throne; which the latter relinquished in the year 738, in favour of Eadbert his cousin german; who, imitating his predecessor, abdicated the crown, and retired into a monastery. Oswolf, son of Eadbert, was slain in a sedition a year after his accession to the crown; and Mollo, who was not of the royal family, seized the crown. He perished by the treachery of Ailred, a prince of the blood; and Ailred, having succeeded in his design upon the throne, was soon after expelled by his subjects. Ethelred, his successor, the son of Mollo, underwent a like fate. Celwold, the next king, the brother of Ailred, was deposed and slain by the people; and his place was filled by Osred his nephew; who, after a short reign of a year, made way for Ethelbert, another son of Mollo, whose death was equally tragical with that of almost all his predecessors.

Continued
violences.

Anarchy
prevails in
Northum-
berland.

After Ethelbert's death an universal anarchy prevailed in Northumberland; and eventually the people were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke; which

Egbert, king of Wessex, finally imposed upon them.

THE KINGDOM OF EAST ANGLIA.

THE history of this kingdom contains nothing memorable, except the conversion of Earpwold, the fourth king, and great grandson of Uffa, the founder of the monarchy. The authority of Edwin, king of Northumberland, on whom that prince entirely depended, engaged him to take this step: but soon after his wife, who was an idolatress, brought him back to her religion; and he was found unable to resist those allurements which had seduced the wisest of mankind. After his death, which was violent, like that of most of the Saxon princes that did not early retire into monasteries, Sigebert, his successor and half brother, who had been educated in France, restored Christianity, and introduced learning among the East Angles. Some pretend that he founded the university of Cambridge, or rather some schools in that place. It is almost impossible, and quite needless, to be more particular in relating the transactions of the East Angles. What instruction or entertainment can it give the reader to hear a long bead-roll of barbarous names; Egric, Annas, Ethelbert, Ethelwald, Aldulf, Elfwold, Beorne, Ethelred, Ethelbert; who successively murdered, expelled or inherited from, each other, and obscurely filled the throne of that kingdom? Ethelbert, the last of these princes, was treacherously murdered by Offa, king of Mercia, in the year 792; and his state was thenceforth united with that of Offa, as we shall relate presently.

King Earp-
wold con-
verted to
Christiani-
ty.

He return-
ed to idolatry.

Christiani-
ty restored
by Sigebert.

East Ang-
lia united to
Mercia by
the murder
of Ethel-
bert.

THE KINGDOM OF MERCIA.

MERCIA, the largest kingdom of the Heptarchy, comprehended all the middle counties of England; and, as its frontiers extended to those of all the other six kingdoms as

* Celwulph, or Cednulp, as he is sometimes called, "after eight years reign, left his royal robes, and put on the habit of a monk, in the isle of Lindesfarne, or Holy Island. Unto this king the venerable Bede, a Saxon and a priest in the monastery of Peter and

Paul, at Werimouth, near to Durham, dedicated his work of the English History, which he continued from the first entrance of the Saxons into this island to the year 751, containing, after his own account, 283 years."—*Sir Richard Baker*.—ED.

well as to Wales, it received its name from that circumstance. Webba, the son of Crida, founder of the monarchy, being placed on the throne by Ethelbert, king of Kent, governed his paternal dominions by a precarious authority; and, after his death, Ceorl his kinsman was, by the influence of the Kentish monarch, preferred to his son Penda, whose turbulent character appeared dangerous to that prince. Penda was fifty years of age before he mounted the throne; and his temerity and restless disposition were found nowise abated by time, experience, or reflection. He engaged in continual hostilities; and, by his injustice and violence, rendered himself equally odious to his own subjects and to strangers. Sigebert, Ederic, and Annas, three kings of East Anglia, perished successively in battle against him: as did also Edwin and Oswald, the two greatest princes that had reigned over Northumberland. At last Oswy, brother to Oswald, having defeated and slain him in a decisive battle, freed the world from this sanguinary tyrant. Peada his son mounted the throne of Mercia in 655, and lived under the protection of Oswy, whose daughter he had espoused. This princess was educated in the Christian faith, and she employed her influence with success in converting her husband and his subjects to that religion. Thus the fair sex have had the merit of introducing the Christian doctrine into all the most considerable kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. Peada died a violent death. His son Wolfhere succeeded to the government: and, after having reduced to dependance the kingdoms of Essex and East Anglia, he left the crown to his brother Ethelred; who, though a lover of peace, shewed himself not unfit for military enterprises. Besides making a successful expedition into Kent, he repulsed Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had invaded his dominions; and he slew in battle Elfwin, the brother of that prince. Desirous, however, of composing all animosities with Egfrid, he paid him a sum of money as a compensation for the loss of his brother. After a prosperous reign of thirty years he resigned the crown to Kendred, son of Wolfhere, and retired into the monastery of Bardney. Kendred

returned the present of the crown to Ceolred, the son of Ethelred; and making a pilgrimage to Rome, passed his life there in penance and devotion. The place of Ceolred was supplied by Ethelbald, great-grandnephew to Penda by Alwy his brother; and this prince, being slain in a mutiny, was succeeded by Offa, who was a degree more remote from Penda by Eawa another brother.

This prince, who mounted the throne in 755, had some great qualities, and was successful in his warlike enterprises against Lothaire, king of Kent, and Kenwulph, king of Wessex. He defeated the former in a bloody battle at Otford upon the Darent, and reduced his kingdom to a state of dependance. He gained a victory over the latter at Bensington in Oxfordshire; and, conquering that county, together with that of Gloucester, annexed both to his dominions. But all these successes were stained by his treacherous murder of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, and his violent seizing of that kingdom. This young prince, who is said to have possessed great merit, had paid his addresses to Elfrida, the daughter of Offa; and was invited, with all his retinue, to Hereford, in order to solemnize the nuptials. Amidst the joy and festivity of these entertainments he was seized by Offa, and secretly beheaded: and, though Elfrida, who abhorred her father's treachery, had time to give warning to the East Anglian nobility, who escaped into their own country, Offa, having extinguished the royal family, succeeded in his design of subduing that kingdom. The perfidious prince, desirous of re-establishing his character in the world, paid great court to the clergy, and practised all the monkish devotion so much esteemed in that superstitious age. He gave the tenth of his goods to the church; and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his great riches could not fail of procuring him the papal absolution. The better to ingratiate himself with the sovereign pontiff, he engaged to pay him a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome; and, in order to raise the sum, he imposed a tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. This imposition, being afterwards

Offa succeeds to the crown and is successful in war.

He murders king Ethelbert.

Offa subdues the kingdom of the East Angles.

He pays great court to the clergy.

Offa establishes the impost called "Peter's pence."

He dies A.D. 794.

Offa the friend and ally of Charlemagne.

Heresy of Felix condemned by the Council of Francort.

Several princes murdered in succession.

levied on all England, was commonly denominated Peter's pence; and, though conferred at first as a gift, was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff. Carrying his hypocrisy still farther, Offa, feigning to be directed by a vision from heaven, discovered at Verulam the reliques of St. Alban the martyr, and endowed a magnificent monastery in that place. Moved by all these acts of piety, Malmesbury, one of the best of the old English historians, declares himself at a loss to determine whether the merits or crimes of this prince preponderated. Offa died, after a reign of thirty-nine years, in 794.

This prince was become so considerable in the Heptarchy, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him. That Emperor being a great lover of learning and learned men, Offa, at his desire, sent him over Alcuin, a clergyman much celebrated for his knowledge; who received great honours from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor. The chief reason why he had at first desired the company of Alcuin, was that he might oppose his learning to the heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgil in Catalonia; who maintained that Jesus Christ, considered in his human nature, could more properly be denominated the adoptive than the natural Son of God. This heresy was condemned in the council of Francfort, held in 794, and consisting of three hundred bishops. Such were the questions which were agitated in that age, and which employed the attention not only of cloistered scholars, but of the wisest and greatest princes.

Egfrith succeeded to his father Offa, but survived him only five months; when he made way for Kenulph, a descendant of the royal family. This prince waged war against Kent; and, taking Egbert the king prisoner, he cut off his hands and put out his eyes; leaving Cuthred, his own brother, in possession of the crown of that kingdom. Kenulph was killed in an insurrection of the East Anglians, whose crown his predecessor Offa had usurped. He left his son Kenelm a minor; who was murdered the same year by his sister Quendrade, who had entertained the ambitious views of assuming the government. But she was supplanted

by her uncle Ceolulf; who, two years after, was dethroned by Beornulf. The reign of this usurper, who was not of the royal family, was short and unfortunate: he was defeated by the West Saxons, and killed by his own subjects, the East Angles. Ludican, his successor, underwent the same fate; and Wiglaff, who mounted this unstable throne, and found everything in the utmost confusion, could not withstand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy.

Egbert unites all the Saxon kingdoms into one monarchy.

THE KINGDOM OF ESSEX.

THIS kingdom made no great figure in the Heptarchy; and the history of it is very imperfect. Sleda succeeded to his father Erkinwin, the founder of the monarchy; and made way for his son Sebert; who, being nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent, was persuaded by that prince to embrace the Christian faith. His sons and conjunct successors, Sexted and Seward, relapsed into idolatry, and were soon after slain in a battle against the West Saxons. To shew the rude manner of living in that age, Bede tells us that these two kings expressed great desire to eat the white bread distributed by Mellitus, the bishop, at the communion: but, on his refusing them unless they would submit to be baptized, they expelled him their dominions. The names of the other princes, who reigned successively in Essex, are Sigebert the little, Sigebert the good, who restored Christianity, Swithelm, Sigheri, Offa. This last prince, having made a vow of chastity, notwithstanding his marriage with Keneswitha, a Mercian princess, daughter to Penda, went in pilgrimage to Rome, and shut himself up during the rest of his life in a cloister. Selred, his successor, reigned thirty-eight years; and was the last of the royal line; the failure of which threw the kingdom into great confusion, and reduced it to dependance under Mercia. Switherd first acquired the crown by the concession of the Mercian princes; and his death made way for Sigeric, who ended his life in a pilgrimage to Rome. His successor Sigered, submitted to the victorious arms of Egbert.

Kings of Essex.

They expelled a bishop opposing their wish.

Several princes reigned, until Sigeric, last of the line, submitted to Egbert.

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His son In-
reigns with
success and
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His reign
the most
prosperous
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alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascertained; and, though he was disturbed by some insurrections at home, his long reign of thirty-seven years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous of the Heptarchy. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and, after his return, shut himself up in a cloister, where he died.

Adelard his
brother-in-
law ascends
the throne.

Though the kings of Wessex had always been princes of the blood, descended from Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, the order of succession had been far from exact. Ina, having no children, and lying much under the influence of Ethelburga his queen, left by will the succession to Adelard her brother, his remote kinsman.

Sigebert
succeeds
him and is
dethroned
by Cenulph.

Oswald, a prince more nearly allied to the crown, took arms against Adelard; but, he being suppressed, and dying soon after, the title of Adelard was not any farther disputed; and in the year 741 he was succeeded by his cousin Cudred. The reign of this prince was distinguished by a great victory which he obtained, by means of Edelhun his general, over Ethelbald, king of Mercia. His death made way for Sigebert, his kinsman; who governed so ill that his people rose in an insurrection, and dethroned him, crowning Cenulph in his stead. The exiled prince found a refuge with Duke Cumbran, governor of Hampshire; who, that he might add new obligations to Sigebert, gave him many salutary counsels for his future conduct, accompanied with some reprehensions for the past. But these were so much resented by the ungrateful prince that he conspired against the life of his protector, and treacherously murdered him. After this infamous action he was forsaken by all the world; and, sculking about in the wilds and forests, was at last discovered by a servant of Cumbran's, who instantly took revenge upon him for the murder of his master.

Sigebert
murders
duke Cum-
bran his
protector,
and is him-
self put to
death.

Cenulph
reigns with
various for-
tune

Cenulph, who had obtained the crown on the expulsion of Sigebert, was fortunate in many expeditions against the Britons of Cornwall; but afterwards lost some repu-

tation by his ill success against Offa, king of Mercia. Kynehard also, brother to the deposed Sigebert, gave him disturbance, and, though expelled the kingdom, he hovered on the frontiers, and watched an opportunity for attacking his rival. The king had an intrigue with a young woman who lived at Merton in Surry, whither having secretly retired, he was on a sudden environed, in the night time, by Kynehard and his followers: and, after making a vigorous resistance, was murdered, with all his attendants. The nobility and people of the neighbourhood, rising next day in arms, took revenge on Kynehard for the slaughter of their king, and put every one to the sword who had been engaged in that criminal enterprise. This event happened in 784.

He is
murdered
by Kyne-
hard, the
brother of
Sigebert.

Kynehard
is slain.

Brithric next obtained possession of the government, though remotely descended from the royal family; but he enjoyed not that dignity without inquietude. Eoppa, nephew to king Ina by his brother Ingild, who died before that prince, had begot Eta, father to Alchmond; from whom sprung Egbert, a young man of the most promising hopes, who gave great jealousy to Brithric, the reigning prince; both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and because he had acquired, to an eminent degree, the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brithric, secretly withdrew into France, where he was well received by Charlemagne. By living in the court, and serving in the armies, or that prince, the most able and most generous that had appeared in Europe during several ages, he acquired those accomplishments which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne. And familiarizing himself to the manners of the French; who, as Malmesbury observes, were eminent both for valour and civility above all the western nations, he learned to polish the rudeness and barbarity of the Saxon character.

Brithric b-
comes king.

Prince E-
bert dis-
turbs Brit-
ric.

Egbert
serves in
the army
of Char-
lemagne.

It was not long ere Egbert had opportunities of displaying his natural and acquired talents. Brithric, king of Wessex, had married Eadburga, natural daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a profligate woman,

equally infamous for cruelty and for incontinence. Having great influence over her husband, she often instigated him to destroy such of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and, where this expedient failed, she scrupled not being herself active in traitorous attempts against them. She had mixed a cup of poison for a young nobleman, who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealousy; but unfortunately, the king drank of the fatal cup along with his favourite, and soon after expired.* This tragical incident, joined to her other crimes, rendered Eadburga so odious that she was obliged to fly into France;† whence Egbert was at the same time recalled, in order to ascend the throne of his ancestors. He attained that dignity in the last year of the eighth century.

In the kingdoms of the Heptarchy the reigning prince was continually agitated with jealousy against all the princes of the blood whom he still considered as rivals, and whose death alone could give him entire security. From this fatal cause, together with the admiration of the monastic life, the royal families had been entirely extinguished in all the kingdoms except that of Wessex: and the emulations, suspicions, and conspiracies, which had formerly been confined to the princes of the blood alone, were now diffused among all the nobility in the several Saxon states. Egbert was the sole descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the supreme divinity of their ancestors. But that prince, though invited by this favourable circumstance to make attempts on the neighbouring Saxons, gave them for some time no disturbance, and rather chose to turn his arms against the Britons in Cornwall, whom he defeated in several battles. He was recalled from the conquest of that country by an invasion

made upon his dominions by Bernulf, king of Mercia.

The Mercians, before the accession of Egbert, had very nearly attained the absolute sovereignty in the Heptarchy: they had reduced the East Angles under subjection, and established tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. Northumberland was involved in anarchy: and no state of any consequence remained but that of Wessex; which, much inferior in extent to Mercia, was supported solely by the great qualities of its sovereign. Egbert led his army against the invaders: and, encountering them at Ellandum in Wiltshire, obtained a complete victory; and, by the great slaughter which he made of them in their flight, gave a mortal blow to the power of the Mercians. Whilst he himself, in prosecution of his victory, entered their country on the side of Oxfordshire, and threatened the heart of their dominions, he sent an army into Kent, commanded by Ethelwolp, his eldest son; and expelling Baldred, the tributary king, soon made himself master of that country. The kingdom of Essex was conquered with equal facility; and the East Angles, from their hatred to the Mercian government, which had been established over them by treachery and violence, and probably exercised with tyranny, immediately rose in arms, and craved the protection of Egbert. Bernulf, the Mercian king, who marched against them, was defeated and slain; and two years after Ludican, his successor, met with the same fate. These insurrections and calamities facilitated the enterprises of Egbert; who advanced into the centre of the Mercian territories, and made easy conquests over a dispirited and divided people. In order to engage them more easily to submission, he allowed Wiglef, their countryman, to retain the title of king, while he himself exercised the real powers of sovereignty. The anarchy which prevailed

The Mercians reduced the East Angles.

Egbert subdued the Mercians.

Kent and Essex are conquered.

Egbert gains further advantages.

* For which deed (the poisoning of her husband) the nobles ordained that from thenceforth the kings' wives should not be called queens, nor suffered to sit with them in places of state. — *Epitome of Chronicles*.

† Of Eadburga, we are further told, on reaching France, the king, struck with her dazzling beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his son in marriage.

On her preferring the latter, the monarch was so shocked at her decision, that she was not allowed to unite herself with either. Further to punish her offence, she was confined in a monastery; and, finding an opportunity of sinning against the rules of the establishment, she was expelled and died in miserable poverty. — Ed.

Northumberland submits to him.

in Northumberland tempted him to carry still farther his victorious arms: and the inhabitants, unable to resist his power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies; who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. Egbert, however, still allowed to Northumberland, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing a king, who paid him tribute, and was dependent on him.

All the kingdoms of the Heptarchy united.

Thus were united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in one great state, near four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain. Egbert's territories were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called England; and a favourable prospect was afforded to the Anglo Saxons of establishing a civilized monarchy, possessed of tranquillity within itself, and secure against foreign invasion. This great event happened in the year 827.

The Saxons still in a barbarous state.

The Saxons, though they had been so long settled in the island, seem not as yet to have been much improved beyond their German ancestors, either in arts, civility, knowledge, humanity, justice, or obedience to the laws. Even Christianity, though it opened the way to connexions between them and the more polished states of Europe, had not been very effectual in banishing their ignorance, or softening their manners. As they received that doctrine through the corrupted channels of Rome, it carried along with it a great mixture of credulity and superstition, equally destructive to the understanding and to morals. The reverence towards saints and reliques seems to have almost supplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being; monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues; bounty to the church atoned for every violence against society; and the remorse for cruelty, murder, treachery, assassination, and the more robust vices, were appeased, not by

Superstition prevails.

* These nobles in their retirement had good company. Nine Saxon monarchs are enumerated by ancient writers, who had descended from their thrones to become monks. The commentators on their conduct hesitate whether to praise their prudence in flying from temptation, or to reprove their want of

amendment of life, but by penances, servility to the monks, and an abject and illiberal devotion. The reverence for the clergy had been carried to such a height that, wherever a person appeared in a sacerdotal habit, though on the highway, the people flocked around him; and, shewing him all marks of profound respect, received every word he uttered as the most sacred oracle. Even the military virtues, so inherent in all the Saxon tribes, began to be neglected; and the nobility, preferring the security and sloth of the cloister to the tumults and glory of war, valued themselves chiefly on endowing monasteries, of which they assumed the government.* The several kings, too, being extremely impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, to which the states of their kingdoms had weakly assented, could bestow no rewards on valour or military services, and retained not even sufficient influence to support their government.

Extravagant reverence for the clergy

The military virtues neglected

Another inconvenience, which attended this corrupt species of Christianity, was the superstitious attachment to Rome, and the gradual subjection of the kingdom to a foreign jurisdiction. The Britons had conducted all ecclesiastical government by their domestic synods and councils: but the Saxons, receiving their religion from Roman monks, were taught at the same time a profound reverence for that see, and were naturally led to regard it as the capital of their religion. Pilgrimages to Rome were represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion. Not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey; but kings themselves, abdicating their crowns, sought for a secure passport to heaven at the feet of the Roman pontiff. New reliques, perpetually sent from that endless mint of superstition, and magnified by lying miracles invented in convents, operated on the astonished minds of the multitude. And every prince has attained the eulogies of the monks, the only historians

Corrupted Christianity received from Roman monks.

False miracles.

courage, for not daring to meet and conquer it. Besides the tranquillity and luxury which are usually found in a monastery, it offered a convenient and grateful retreat to a prince who was indifferently prepared to resist a foreign foe, or quell a domestic faction, however doubtful the benefit to his soul.—ED.

of those ages, not in proportion to his civil and military virtues, but to his devoted attachment towards their order, and his superstitious reverence for Rome.

The sovereign pontiff, encouraged by this blindness and submissive disposition of the people, advanced every day in his encroachments on the independence of the English churches.* Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisferne, the sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, increased this subjection in the eighth century, by his making an appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod, which had abridged his diocese by the erection of some new bishoprics. Agatho, the pope, readily embraced this precedent of an appeal to his court; and Wilfrid, though the haughtiest and most luxurious prelate of his age, having obtained with the people the character of sanctity, was thus able to lay the foundation of this papal pretension.

The great topic, by which Wilfred confounded the imaginations of men, was that St. Peter, to whose custody the keys of heaven were intrusted, would certainly refuse admittance to every one, who should be wanting in respect to his successor. This conceit, well suited to vulgar conceptions, made great impression on the people during several ages; and has not even at present lost all influence in the catholic countries.†

Had this abject superstition produced general peace and tranquillity, it had made some atonement for the ills attending it; but, besides the usual avidity of men for power and riches, frivolous controversies in theology were engendered by it. The disputes excited in Britain were of the most ridiculous kind, and entirely worthy of those ignorant and barbarous ages. There were some intricacies, observed by all the Christian churches, in adjusting the day of keeping Easter; which depended on a complicated consideration of the course of the

sun and moon: and it happened that the missionaries, who had converted the Scots and Britons, had followed a different calendar from that which was observed at Rome when Augustine converted the Saxons. The priests also of all the Christian churches were accustomed to shave part of their head; but the form given to this tonsure was different in the former from what was practised in the latter. The Scots and Britons pleaded the antiquity of their usages; the Romans, and their disciples the Saxons, insisted on the universality of theirs. That Easter must necessarily be kept by a rule, which comprehended both the day of the year and age of the moon, was agreed by all; that the tonsure of a priest could not be omitted without the utmost impiety was a point undisputed: but the Romans and Saxons called their antagonists schismatics; because they celebrated Easter on the very day of the full moon in March, if that day fell on a Sunday, instead of waiting till the Sunday following; and because they shaved the fore part of their head from ear to ear, instead of making that tonsure on the crown of the head, and in a circular form. In order to render their antagonists odious, they affirmed that once in seven years they concurred with the Jews in the time of celebrating that festival: and, that they might recommend their own form of tonsure, they maintained that it imitated symbolically the crown of thorns worn by Christ in his passion, whereas the other form was invented by Simon Magus, without any regard to that representation. These controversies had from the beginning excited such animosity between the British and Romish priests, that, instead of concurring in their endeavours to convert the idolatrous Saxons, they refused all communion together, and each regarded his opponent as no better than a pagan. The dispute lasted more than a century; and was at last finished, not by men's discovering the

Disputes on the form of the tonsure.

The Romans and Saxons condemn each other as schismatics.

Violent animosities.

They continue for more than a century.

* The degrading subjection of England to the pope, it will be seen, at least that portion of the yoke which was afterwards felt to be most intolerably galling to the nation, was imposed by the selfishness of an English bishop seeking aid from the successor of St. Peter. Such a precedent, both here and at Rome, found through many ages prelates who were careful to follow it with great exactness.—ED.

† The popes themselves greatly relied on the words of Jesus addressed to his disciples: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." "In what chapter or leafe in all the Byble," asks John Foxe, "doth the Lord command the see of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome?"—ED.

CHAPTER II.

827—979.

EGBERT — ETHELWOLF — ETHELBALD AND
 ETHELBERT — ETHERED — ALFRED THE
 GREAT — EDWARD THE ELDER — ATHEL-
 STAN — EDMUND — EDRED — EDWY — ED-
 GAR — EDWARD THE MARTYR.

E G B E R T.

827—838.

THE kingdoms of the heptarchy, though united by so recent a conquest, seemed to be firmly cemented in one state under Egbert; and the inhabitants of the several provinces had lost all desire of revolting from that monarch. Their language was nearly the same, their customs, laws and institutions, civil and religious; and, as the race of the ancient kings was totally extinct in all the subjected states, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince who seemed to merit it by the splendour of his victories, the vigour of his administration, and the superior nobility of his birth. A union in government opened to them the agreeable prospect of future tranquillity; and it appeared more probable that they would henceforth become formidable to their neighbours than be exposed to their inroads. But these flattering views were soon overcast by the appearance of the Danes, who, during some centuries, kept the Anglo Saxons in perpetual inquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages upon them, and at last reduced them to grievous servitude.

The emperor Charlemagne, though naturally humane, had been induced to exercise great severities upon the pagan Saxons in Germany, whom he subdued: and, besides ravaging their country with fire and sword, he in cool blood decimated all the inhabitants for their revolts; and obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a seeming compliance with the Christian doctrine. That religion, which had easily made its way among the British Saxons by insinuation and address, appeared shocking to their German brethren when imposed on them by violence; and the more gene-

folly of it, which would have been too great an effort for human reason to accomplish, but by the entire prevalence of the Romish ritual over the Scotch and British. Wilfrid, bishop of Landisferne, acquired great merit, both with the court of Rome and with all the southern Saxons, by expelling the quarto-deciman schism, as it was called, from the Northumbrian kingdom, into which the neighbourhood of the Scots had formerly introduced it.

Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, called; in the year 680, a synod at Hatfield, consisting of all the bishops in Britain; where was accepted and ratified the decree of the Lateran council, summoned by Martin, against the heresy of the Monothelites. The council and synod maintained, in opposition to these heretics, that, though the divine and human nature in Christ made but one person, yet had they different inclinations, wills, acts, and sentiments; and that the unity of the person implied not any unity in the consciousness. This opinion it seems somewhat difficult to comprehend; and no one, unacquainted with the ecclesiastical history of those ages, could imagine the height of zeal and violence with which it was then inculcated. The decree of the Lateran council calls the Monothelites impious, execrable, wicked, abominable, and even diabolical; and curses and anathematizes them to all eternity.

The Saxons, from the first introduction of Christianity among them, had admitted the use of images;* and perhaps that religion, without some of those exterior ornaments, had not made so quick a progress with these idolaters: but they had not paid any species of worship or address to images; and this abuse never prevailed among Christians till it received the sanction of the second council of Nice.

* One of the most remarkable idols worshipped by the Saxons, was called Flynt. His province, from the description given of him by Verstegan, must have been to terrify. He was formed "lyke the Image of death and naked saue only a sheet about him. In his right hand hee held a torche, or as they termed it, a fyre-blase. On his head a lion rested his two fore-feet, standing with the one of his hinder feet vpon his left shoulder, and with the other in his hand: which to support, he lifted vp as high as his shoulder."—Ed.

The Romish practice prevails.

A synod at Hatfield.

Decree of the Lateran council.

Worship of images.

The kingdoms of the Heptarchy firmly united

The Danes make their appearance

Severities of Charlemagne.



EDWARD THE MARTYR

Norman en-
terprises.

They occa-
sionally vi-
sit England.

Norman in-
vaders com-
mit out-
rages and
withdraw.

The Danes
are
not and.

rous and warlike of these pagans had fled into Jutland, to escape his persecutions. Meeting there with a people of similar manners, they soon stimulated the natives to concur in enterprises, which both promised revenge, and afforded subsistence to those numerous inhabitants with which the northern countries were now overburdened. They invaded the provinces of France, which were exposed by the degeneracy and dissensions of Charlemagne's posterity; and, being there known under the general name of Normans, which they received from their northern situation, they became the terror of all the maritime and even of the inland countries. They were also tempted to visit England; and, being able, by sudden inroads, to make great progress over a people who were not defended by any naval force, who had relaxed their military institutions, and who were sunk into a superstition which had become odious to the Danes and ancient Saxons, they made no distinction in their hostilities between the French and English. Their first appearance in this island was in the year 787, when Brithric reigned in Wessex. A small body of them landed; and, when the magistrate of the place questioned them concerning their enterprise, and summoned them to appear before the king, they killed him, and, flying to their ships, escaped. The next alarm was given to Northumberland in the year 794, when a body of these pirates pillaged a monastery; but, their ships being much damaged by a storm, and their leader slain in a skirmish, they were at last defeated by the inhabitants, and the remainder of them put to the sword. Five years after Egbert had established his monarchy the Danes landed in the Isle of Shepey; and, having pillaged it, escaped with impunity. They were not so fortunate in their next year's enterprise, when they disembarked from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert, at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. The battle was bloody; but, though the Danes lost great numbers, they maintained the post which they had taken, and thence made good their retreat to their ships. Having learned that they must expect a vigorous resistance from this warlike prince, they entered into an alliance

with the Britons of Cornwall; and, landing two years after in that country, made an inroad with their confederates into the county of Devon; but were met at Hengedown by Egbert, and totally defeated. While England remained in this state of anxiety, Egbert, unfortunately died, and left the government to his son Ethelwolf.

They are
totally de-
feated by
Egbert, who
dies.

Ethelwolf
succeeds
Egbert.

Incursions
of the
Danes.

They keep
England in
a state of
continual
alarm.

ETHELWOLF.

838—857.

THIS prince had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father; and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with making a partition of his dominions, and delivering over to his eldest son Athelstan the provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissension. A fleet of these ravagers, consisting of thirty-three sail, appeared at Southampton; but were repulsed by Wolhere, governor of the neighbouring country. The same year Æthelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, routed another band which had disembarked at Portsmouth; but he obtained the victory after a furious engagement, and bought it with his life. Next year the Danes made several inroads into England; and fought battles, or rather skirmishes, in East Anglia and Lindesey and Kent; where, though they were sometimes repulsed and defeated, they always obtained their end, of carrying off booty. If the military force of the county were assembled (for there was no time for troops to march from a distance,) the Danes either were able to repulse them, and to continue their ravages, or they betook themselves to their vessels; and, setting sail, suddenly invaded some distant quarter. Every part of England was held in continual alarm; and the inhabitants of one county durst not give assistance to those of another, lest their own families and property should be exposed by their absence to these barbarous ravagers. All orders of men were involved in this calamity; and the priests and monks were the chief objects on which the Danish idolaters exercised their animosity.

These incursions had now become almost annual; when the Danes, encouraged by

The English resist the Danes with vigour

The Danes burn London and Canterbury.

Ethelwolf defeats them with great slaughter.

The king goes on a pilgrimage to Rome.

their successes against France as well as England, invaded the last in so numerous a body as seemed to threaten it with universal subjection. But the English, more military than the Britons, whom a few centuries before they had treated with like violence, roused themselves with a vigour proportioned to the exigency. Ceorle, governor of Devonshire, fought a battle with one body of the Danes at Wiganburgh, and put them to rout with great slaughter. King Athelstan attacked another at sea near Sandwich, sunk nine of their ships, and put the rest to flight. A body of them, however, ventured, for the first time, to take up winter quarters in England; and, receiving in the spring a strong reinforcement of their countrymen in three hundred and fifty vessels, they advanced from the Isle of Thanet; burned the cities of London and Canterbury; and having put to flight Brictric, who now governed Mercia under the title of King, they marched into the heart of Surrey, and laid every place waste around them. Ethelwolf, impelled by the urgency of the danger, marched against them at the head of the West Saxons; and, carrying with him his second son Ethelbald, gave them battle at Okely, and gained a bloody victory over them. This advantage procured but a short respite to the English. The Danes still maintained their settlement in the Isle of Thanet; and, being attacked by Ealher and Huda, governors of Kent and Surrey, though defeated in the beginning of the action, they finally repulsed the assailants, and killed both the governors. They removed thence to the Isle of Shepey; where they took up their winter quarters.

This unsettled state of England hindered not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome; whither he carried his fourth and favourite son Alfred, then only six years of age. He passed there a twelvemonth in exercises of devotion; and failed not in that most essential part of devotion, liberality to the church. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics,

he made a perpetual grant of three hundred mancuses a year to that see; one third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself. In his return home he married Judith,* daughter of Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England he met with an opposition which he little looked for.

His eldest son Athelstan being dead, Ethelbald, his second, who had assumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, the project of excluding his father from a throne which his weakness and superstition seem to have rendered him so ill qualified to fill. The people were divided between the two princes; and a bloody civil war, appeared inevitable; when Ethelwolf had the facility to yield to the greater part of his son's pretensions. He made with him a partition of the kingdom; and, taking to himself the eastern part, which was always at that time esteemed the least considerable, as well as the most exposed, he delivered over to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western. Immediately after he summoned the states of the whole kingdom, and conferred a perpetual and important donation on the church.

The ecclesiastics, in those days of ignorance, made rapid advances in the acquisition of power and grandeur; and, inculcating the most absurd and most interested doctrines. Not content with the donations of land made them by the Saxon princes and nobles, and with temporary oblations from the devotion of the people, they had cast a wishful eye on a vast revenue, which they claimed, as belonging to them by a sacred and indefeasible title. However little versed in the Scriptures, they had been able to discover that, under the Jewish law, a tenth of all the produce of land was conferred on the priesthood; and, forgetting what they themselves taught, that the moral part only of that law was obligatory on Christians, they insisted that this donation conveyed a perpetual property, inherent

He marries the daughter of Charles the Bald.

His son Ethelbald wishes to exclude Ethelwolf from the throne.

The sovereignty is divided.

Grasping avarice of the ecclesiastics.

* Ethelwolf appears to have been struck, though at an advanced age, with the charms of a youthful beauty. In due form he espoused her in the cathedral at Rheims. This union, gave great offence at home. By Ethelbald and those who acted with

him, the manner in which he had lived with Judith, (dining at the same table) was declared contrary to the laws and constitution of Wessex, who had abolished the dignity of queen in the case of Ethelburga.

by divine right in those who officiated at the altar. During some centuries the whole scope of sermons and homilies was directed to this purpose; and one would have imagined, from the general tenor of these discourses, that all the practical parts of Christianity were comprised in the exact and faithful payment of tithes to the clergy. Encouraged by their success in inculcating these doctrines, they ventured farther than they were warranted even by the Levitical law; and pretended to draw the tenth of all industry, merchandise, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers: nay, some canonists went so far as to affirm that the clergy were entitled to the tithe of the profits made by courtezans in the exercise of their profession. Though parishes had been instituted in England by Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, near two centuries before, the ecclesiastics had never yet been able to get possession of the tithes: they therefore seized the present favourable opportunity of making that acquisition: when a weak, superstitious prince filled the throne, and when the people, discouraged by their losses from the Danes, and terrified with the fear of future invasions, were susceptible of any impression which bore the appearance of religion. So meritorious was this concession deemed by the English, that, trusting entirely to supernatural assistance, they neglected the ordinary means of safety; and agreed, even in the present desperate extremity, that the revenues of the church should be exempted from all burdens, though imposed for national defence and security.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT.

857—860—866.

ETHELWOLF lived only two years after making this grant, and by his will he shared England between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned

to the former, the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a profligate prince; and, marrying Judith his mother-in-law, gave great offence to the people; but, moved by the remonstrances of Swithun, bishop of Winchester, he was prevailed on to divorce her.* His reign was short; and Ethelbert his brother, succeeding to the government, behaved himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station. The kingdom, however, was still infested by the Danes, who made an inroad and sacked Winchester; but were there defeated. A body also of these pirates, who were quartered in the Isle of Thanet, having deceived the English by a treaty, unexpectedly broke into Kent and committed great outrages.

Ethelbald, the son of Ethelwolf, marries his mother-in-law.

The Danes return and commit new outrages.

ETHERED.

866—871.

ETHELBERT was succeeded by his brother Ethered; who, though he defended himself with bravery, enjoyed, during his whole reign, no tranquillity from those Danish irruptions. His younger brother Alfred seconded him in all his enterprises, and generously sacrificed to the public good all re-entment which he might entertain on account of his being excluded by Ethered from a large patrimony which had been left him by his father.

Ethered succeeds Ethelbald.

The first landing of the Danes in the reign of Ethered was among the East Angles; who, more anxious for their present safety than for the common interest, entered into a separate treaty with the enemy, and furnished them with horses, which enabled them to make an irruption by land into Northumberland. They seized the city of York; and defended it against Osbricht and Ælla, two Northumbrian princes, who perished in the assault. Encouraged by these successes, they ventured, under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, to leave

The Danes seize on York.

* His early death the monks attribute to the divine wrath, which he had provoked by his incestuous marriage, Judith retired to a convent in Senlis, but was taken thence by Baldwin, grand forester of Ardennes. Through the influence of her father, Baldwin was threatened with excommunication;

but this was prevented by the regular solemnization of their marriage, and they lived in great magnificence and apparent happiness. She will be shewn to have been the ancestress of the present royal family.—Ed.

Ethered
and Alfred
compel
them to
retreat.

They com-
mit new
ravages.

The Danes
are defeated
by Ethered
and Alfred.

Ethered
dies.

the sea coast ; and, penetrating into Mercia, took up their winter quarters at Nottingham, where they threatened the kingdom with a final subjection. The Mercians applied to Ethered for succour ; and that prince, with his brother Alfred, conducting a great army to Nottingham, obliged the enemy to dislodge, and to retreat into Northumberland. Their restless disposition, and their avidity for plunder, allowed them not to remain long in those quarters : they broke into East Anglia ; defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered in cool blood ; and, committing the most barbarous ravages, particularly on the monasteries, they gave the East Angles cause to regret the temporary relief which they had obtained by assisting the common enemy.

The next station of the Danes was at Reading, whence they infested the neighbouring country by their incursions. The Mercians, desirous of shaking off their dependance on Ethered, refused to join him with their forces ; and that prince, attended by Alfred, was obliged to march against the enemy with the West Saxons alone, his hereditary subjects. The Danes, being defeated, shut themselves up in their garrison ; but, quickly making thence an irruption, routed the West Saxons, and obliged them to raise the siege. An action ensued at Aston in Berkshire, where the English, in the beginning of the day, were in danger of a total defeat. Alfred, advancing with one division of the army, was surrounded ; and Ethered, who was at that time hearing mass, refused to march to his assistance till prayers should be finished. But, as he afterwards obtained the victory, this success, not the danger of Alfred, was ascribed by the monks to the piety of that monarch. This battle of Aston did not terminate the war : another battle was a little after fought at Basing, where the Danes were more successful ; and, being reinforced by a new army from their own country, they became every day more terrible. Amidst these confusions Ethered died of a wound ; and left the inheritance of his cares, rather than of his grandeur, to Alfred, who was now twenty-two years of age.

ALFRED.

871—901.

THIS prince gave very early marks of those great virtues and shining talents by which he saved his country. Ethelwolf his father, the year after his return with Alfred from Rome, had again sent the young prince thither with a numerous retinue ; and, a report being spread of the king's death, Leo III. gave Alfred the royal unction ; whether prognosticating his future greatness from the appearances of his pregnant genius, or willing to pretend, even in that age, to the right of conferring kingdoms. Alfred, on his return, being indulged in all youthful pleasures, he was much neglected in his education : and had reached his twelfth year, totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature. His genius was first roused by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen took delight ; and this species of erudition, which is sometimes able to make a considerable progress even among barbarians, expanded those noble and elevated sentiments which he had received from nature. He soon learned to read those compositions, and proceeded to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors that better prompted his heroic spirit and directed his generous views. Absorbed in these pursuits, he regarded his accession rather as an object of regret than of triumph ; but being called to the throne in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father (a circumstance which had great authority with the Anglo Saxons) as by the vows of the whole nation and the urgency of public affairs, he shook off his literary indolence, and exerted himself in the defence of his people. He had scarcely buried his brother when he was obliged to take the field, to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, and were exercising their usual ravages on the countries around. He marched against them with the few troops which he could assemble, and, giving them battle, gained at first an advantage ; but by his pursuing the victory too far, the superiority of the enemy's number prevailed, and recovered

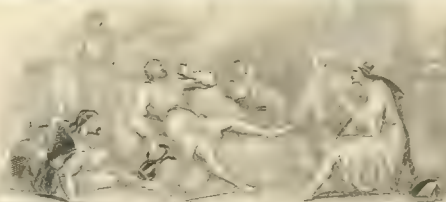
Great ta-
lents of
Alfred.

His genius
was first
roused by
poetry.

He had
little desire
to reign.

He marched
against the
Danes.





them the day. Their loss, however, was so considerable, that, fearing Alfred would receive daily reinforcements, they were content to stipulate for a safe retreat, and promised to depart. For that purpose they were conducted to London, and allowed to take up winter quarters there; but they immediately set themselves to the committing of spoil on the neighbouring country. Burrhed, king of Mercia, in whose territories London was situated, made a new stipulation with them, and engaged them, by presents, to remove to Lindesey in Lincolnshire; a country which they had already reduced to ruin and desolation. Finding therefore no object for their rapine or violence, they suddenly turned back upon Mercia, and, fixing their station at Repton in Derbyshire, laid the whole country desolate with fire and sword. Burrhed, despairing of success against an enemy whom no force could resist, and no treaties bind, abandoned his kingdom, and, flying to Rome, took shelter in a cloister. He was brother-in-law to Alfred, and the last who bore the title of king in Mercia.

The West Saxons were now the only remaining power in England; and, though supported by the vigour and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to sustain the efforts of those ravagers who from all quarters invaded them. A new swarm of Danes came over in the year 875, under three princes; Guthrum, Oscital, and Amund. Part of them, under the command of Haldene their chieftain, marched into Northumberland, where they fixed their quarters; part of them to Cambridge, whence they dislodged in the ensuing summer, and seized Wereham, in the county of Dorset, the very centre of Alfred's dominions. That prince so straitened them in these quarters that they were content to come to a treaty with him, and stipulated to depart his country. Alfred, well acquainted with their usual perfidy, obliged them to swear upon the holy reliques to the observance of the treaty: hoping that, if they violated this oath, their impiety would in-

falliably draw down upon them the vengeance of Heaven. The Danes, little apprehensive of the danger, suddenly, without seeking any pretence, fell upon Alfred's army, and, having put it to rout, marched westward, and took possession of Exeter. The prince collected new forces, and fought in one year eight battles with the enemy, and reduced them to the utmost extremity. He hearkened, however, to new proposals of peace; and was satisfied to stipulate with them that they would settle somewhere in England, and not permit the entrance of more ravagers into the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, he heard that another body had landed, and, having collected all the scattered troops of their countrymen, had surprised Chippenham, then a considerable town, and were exercising their usual ravages all around them.

This last incident quite broke the spirit of the Saxons, and reduced them to despair. Finding that, after all the miserable havoc which they had undergone in their persons and in their property, a new band, equally greedy of spoil and slaughter, had disembarked, they believed themselves abandoned by Heaven to destruction. Some left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled beyond sea; others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeasing their fury by a servile obedience. And every man's attention being now engrossed in concern for his own preservation, no one would hearken to the exhortations of the king, who summoned them to make one effort more in defence of their prince, their country, and their liberties. Alfred himself was obliged to relinquish the ensigns of his dignity, to dismiss his servants, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the pursuit of his enemies. He concealed himself under a peasant's habit, and lived some time in the house of a neatherd,* who had been intrusted with the care of his cows. There passed here an incident, which has been recorded by all the historians, and was long preserved by popular

They treacherously attack and defeat Alfred.

He gains eight victories over them.

New reinforcements arrive, and new ravages occur.

The people, disheartened, fly in various directions.

The king takes refuge in a neatherd's cottage.

* Another version of this story makes Alfred to have entered the service of his own neatherd, who may be supposed to have known the quality of his new domestic; but this does not render more probable

the scolding he received from the rustic's wife; unless we suppose kings were then less frequently visible to the country people in their vicinity than in modern times, which is any thing but likely.—ED.

The neatherd's wife upbraids his negligence.

Alfred assembles some of his friends.

He establishes himself in Athelney.

tradition. The wife of the neatherd was ignorant of the condition of her royal guest; and, observing him one day busy by the fire-side in trimming his bow and arrows, she desired him to take care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed elsewhere. But Alfred, whose thoughts were otherwise engaged, neglected this injunction; and the good woman on her return, finding her cakes all burned, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him that he always seemed very well pleased to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toasting them.

By degrees Alfred, as he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers, and retired into the centre of a bog, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire. He here found two acres of firm ground; and, building a habitation, rendered himself secure by its fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses with which it was environed.* This place he called Æthelningay, or the Isle of Nobles; and it now bears the name of Athelney.† He thence made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes. He subsisted himself and his followers by the plunder which he acquired; he procured them consolation by revenge; and, from small successes, he opened their minds to hope that, notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valour.

* The old chroniclers speak of him not as hiding himself in a newly-raised dwelling, but as finding refuge, with his wife, his family, and some valued friends, in a castle, which, in Alfred's circumstances, was justly valued for its surrounding horrors, as described in the text, and which, moreover, had the advantage of being only accessible by a narrow passage, which it was not easy to find.—ED.

† While here, of course, Alfred's supplies being liable to be often intercepted, were always very precarious; and sometimes they were reduced to a very low ebb indeed. William of Malmesbury tells a story which gives an amusing picture both of the scanty means of the royal fugitive, and of the cheerful kindly spirit which he retained in adversity. One day a pilgrim approached his castle to solicit alms. The queen, Elsewith, who, from her straitened circumstances, was obliged to act the careful housewife, told Alfred that "they had but one small loaf remainin'g,

Alfred lay here concealed, but not unactive, during a twelvemonth; when the news of a prosperous event reached his ears, and called him to the field. Hubba the Dane, having spread devastation, fire, and slaughter over Wales, had landed in Devonshire from twenty-three vessels, and laid siege to the castle of Kinwith; a place situated near the mouth of the small river Tau. Oddune, earl of Devonshire, with his followers, had taken shelter there; and being ill supplied with provisions, and even water, he determined, by some vigorous blow, to prevent the necessity of submitting to the barbarous enemy. He made a sudden sally on the Danes before sunrise; and, taking them unprepared, he put them to rout, pursued them with great slaughter, killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous Reafen, or enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence. It contained the figure of a raven, which had been inwoven by the three sisters of Hinguar and Hubba with many magical incantations; and which, by its different movements, prognosticated, as the Danes believed, the good or bad success of any enterprise.

When Alfred observed this symptom of successful resistance he left his retreat; but, before he would urge them to any attempt, which, if unfortunate, might prove fatal, he resolved to inspect, himself, the situation of the enemy. For this purpose he entered their camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He so entertained them

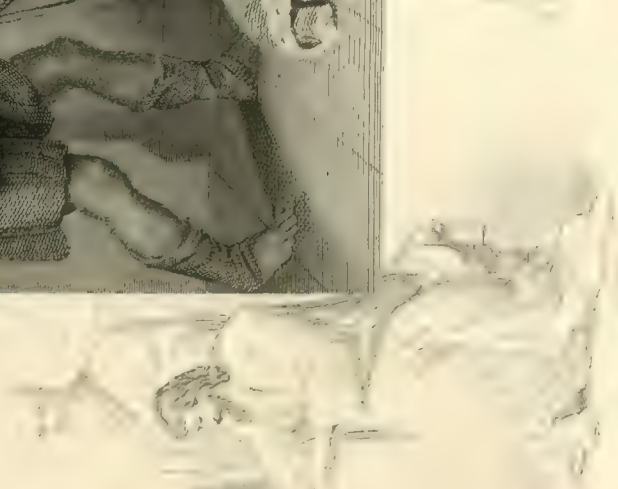
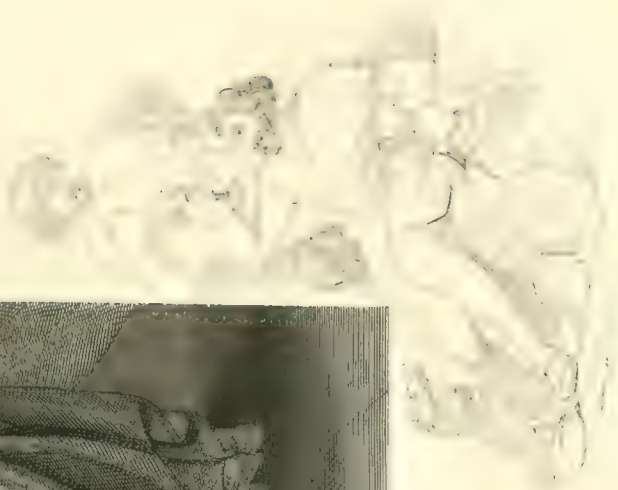
which was insufficient for themselves, and those who shared their residence, and who were then gone fishing, but with little hope of bringing any thing home." Pitying the suppliant's distress, Alfred would not suffer charity to be controlled by prudence, and accordingly replied, "No matter, give the poor man half of the loaf. The power that could regale five thousand people with two fishes and five loaves, can certainly make half a loaf more than sufficient for us." The man was relieved; and in the gratifying sequel we are informed, the king's adherents returned, bringing with them an un hoped-for abundance of fresh provisions. On being thus aided, the pilgrim retreated or vanished, in a remarkable manner, leaving no trace behind; but, on the following night, he appeared to Alfred in a vision, and declared himself to be no other than St. Cuthbert, and then busy in labouring to promote his welfare, and that of his people, which he charged him not to forget in happier days.—ED.

Hubba, the Dane, ravages the land.

He is defeated and slain by Oddune.

The enchanted standard of the Danes is captured.

Alfred enters the Danish camp in disguise.



with his music and facetious humours that he met with a welcome reception; and was even introduced to the tent of Guthrum their prince, where he remained some days. He remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of what they gained by violence.* Encouraged by these appearances, he secretly sent emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, and summoned them to a rendezvous, attended by their followers, at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood forest. The English, who now found the insolence of the conqueror intolerable, at the appointed day joyfully resorted to their prince. They received him with shouts of applause; and could not satiate their eyes with the sight of this beloved monarch, whom they had long regarded as dead, and who now called them to liberty and to vengeance. He conducted them to Eddington, where the Danes were encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding their superiority of number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp, to which they fled; but being reduced to extremity had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit on any conditions. The king gave them their lives; and even formed a scheme for converting them from mortal enemies into faithful subjects and confederates. He knew that the kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumberland were totally desolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes; and he now proposed to repeople them, by set-

ting there Guthrum and his followers.† He hoped that the new planters would betake themselves to industry, and serve him as a rampart against any future incursions of their countrymen. But, before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required that they should give him one pledge of their submission, and of their inclination to incorporate with the English, by declaring their conversion to Christianity. Guthrum and his army had no aversion to the proposal; and, without much instruction, or argument, or conference, they were all admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the font, gave him the name of Athelstan, and received him as his adopted son.

The success of this expedient seemed to correspond to Alfred's hopes. The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters in 880; some smaller bodies of the same nation, which were dispersed in Mercia, were distributed into the five cities of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and were thence called the Fif or Five-burghers. The more turbulent and unquiet made an expedition into France under the command of Hastings; and, except by a short incursion of Danes, who sailed up the Thames and landed at Fulham, but suddenly retreated to their ships on finding the country in a posture of defence, Alfred was not for some years infested by the inroads of those barbarians.

The king employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order to the state, which had been shaken by so many violent convulsions; in establishing civil and military institutions, and in composing the minds of men to industry and justice. He was, more properly than his grandfather Egbert, the sole monarch of the English (for so the Saxons were now universally called), because the kingdom of Mercia was at last incorporated in his state, and was governed by Ethelbert his brother-in-law,

He hopes to see the Danes as defenders.

Guthrum and his followers are forced to embrace Christianity.

The country gains a state of repose.

Alfred improves the habits of his people.

* "Taking to him a valiant courage, he enterprised to espie the manner of his enemies in this wyse. He did on him the habite of a minstrell, and with his instrument of musyke entered the tentes of the Danes, and in shewing them pastime and song, he espied all theyr slouth and idleness, and hearde muche of theyr counsaile.—*Laquetie*.—Ed.

† The line of demarcation, as prescribed by Alfred, made the bounds of his kingdom "stretch to the river Thames, and thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same, and thence straight to Bedford, and finally passing by the river Ouse, end at Watling Street."—Ed.

The English and Danes are placed on the same footing.

London rebuilt.

Efficient defensive measures adopted.

The naval force of the kingdom increased.

New incursions are defeated.

who bore the title of Earl. And though the Danes, who peopled East Anglia and Northumberland, were for some time ruled immediately by their own princes, they all acknowledged a subordination to Alfred. He gave the same laws to the Danes and English, and put them entirely on a like footing in the administration both of civil and criminal justice. The fine for the murder of a Dane was the same with that for the murder of an Englishman; the great symbol of equality in those ages.

The king, after rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He ordained that all his people should be armed and registered; he assigned them a regular rotation of duty; he distributed part into the castles and fortresses, which he built at proper places; he required another part to take the field on any alarm, and to assemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a sufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the land, and who afterwards took their turn in military service. The whole kingdom was like one great garrison; and the Danes could no sooner appear in one place than a sufficient number was assembled to oppose them, without leaving the other quarters defenceless or disarmed.

But Alfred, sensible that the proper method of opposing an enemy, who made incursions by sea, was to meet them on their own element, took care to provide himself with a naval force; which, though the most natural defence of an island, had hitherto been totally neglected by the English. He increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength; and trained his subjects in the practice, as well of sailing as of naval action. He distributed his armed vessels in proper stations round the island; and was sure to meet the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops, and to pursue them in all their incursions. Though the Danes might suddenly, by surprise, disembark on the coast, which was generally become desolate by their frequent ravages, they were encountered by the English fleet

in their retreat; and escaped not, as formerly, by abandoning their booty, but paid, by their total destruction, the penalty of the disorders which they had committed.

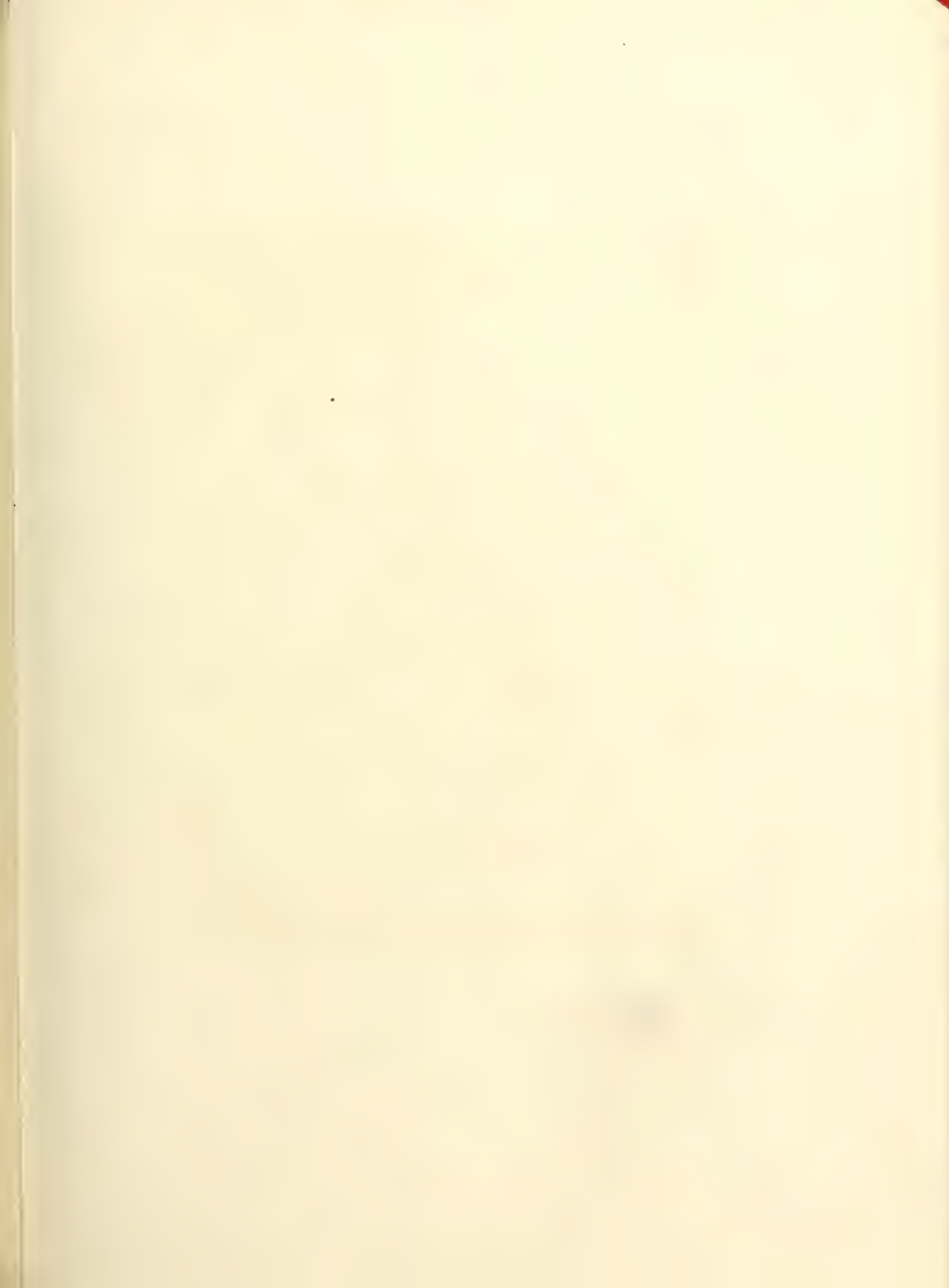
In this manner Alfred repelled several inroads; and maintained his kingdom, during some years, in safety and tranquillity. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and, being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English (for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service,) maintained a superiority over those smaller bands with which England had so often been infested. But at last Hastings, the famous Danish chief, having ravaged all the provinces of France, both along the sea coast and the Loire and Seine, and being obliged to quit that country, more by the desolation which he himself had occasioned than by the resistance of the inhabitants, appeared off the coast of Kent with a fleet of three hundred and thirty sail. The greater part of the enemy disembarked in the Rother, and seized the fort of Apuldore. Hastings himself, commanding a fleet of eighty sail, entered the Thames; and, fortifying Milton in Kent, began to spread his forces over the country, and to commit the most destructive ravages. But Alfred, on the first alarm, flew to the defence of his people at the head of a select band of soldiers, whom he always kept about his person; and, gathering to him the armed militia from all quarters, appeared in the field with a force superior to the enemy. All straggling parties, whom necessity or love of plunder had drawn to a distance from their chief encampment, were cut off by the English; and these pirates found themselves cooped up in their fortifications, and obliged to subsist by the plunder which they had brought from France. Tired of this situation, the Danes at Apuldore rose suddenly from their encampment, with an intention of marching towards the Thames, and passing over into Essex: but they escaped not the vigilance of Alfred, who encountered them at Farnham; put them to rout; seized all their horses and baggage; and chased the runaways on board their ships,

The kingdom remains in tranquillity and safety.

Hastings, a Danish chief, appears off the coast of Kent.

Alfred opposes him with superior force.

Hastings and his followers are routed.





which carried them up the Colne to Mersey in Essex, where they intrenched themselves. Hastings, at the same time, and probably by concert, made a like movement; and, deserting Milton, took possession of Bamflete, near the Isle of Canvey in the same county; where he hastily threw up fortifications for his defence against the power of Alfred.

Unfortunately for the English, Guthrum, prince of the East Anglian Danes, was now dead; as was also Guthred, whom the king had appointed governor of the Northumbrians; and those restless tribes, being no longer restrained by the authority of their princes, and being encouraged by the appearance of so great a body of their countrymen, broke into rebellion; and, yielding to their inveterate habits of war and depredation, embarked on board two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter. Alfred, having left some forces at London to make head against Hastings and the other Danes, marched suddenly to the west; and, falling on the rebels before they were aware, pursued them to their ships with great slaughter. These ravagers, sailing next to Sussex, began to plunder the country near Chichester: but the order which Alfred had every where established sufficed here, without his presence, for the defence of the place; and the rebels, meeting with a new repulse, in which many of them were killed and some of their ships taken, were obliged to put again to sea.

Meanwhile the Danish invaders in Essex, having united their force under the command of Hastings, advanced into the inland country, and made spoil of all around them; but soon had reason to repent of their temerity. The English army left in London, assisted by a body of the citizens, attacked the enemy's intrenchments at Bamflete; overpowered the garrison; and, having done great execution upon them, carried off the wife and two sons of Hastings.* Alfred generously spared these captives; and even restored them to Hastings, on condition that he should depart the kingdom.

* It may be doubted whether it was wholly generosity that moved Alfred on this occasion. Policy and piety might have influenced him, or all might have combined to prompt the decision. When the wife of Hastings, with her children, who had been

But, though the king had thus honourably rid himself of this dangerous enemy, he had not entirely expelled the invaders. The Danes willingly followed any prosperous leader who gave them hopes of booty; but were not easily induced to relinquish their enterprise, or submit to return, without plunder, into their native country. Great numbers of them, after the departure of Hastings, seized and fortified Shobury at the mouth of the Thames; and, having left a garrison there, marched to Boddington in the county of Gloucester; where, being reinforced by some Welsh, they threw up intrenchments, and prepared for their defence. The king here surrounded them with the whole force of his dominions; and resolved rather to master his enemies by famine than assault. They were reduced to such extremities that, having eaten their own horses, and having many of them perished with hunger, they made a desperate sally upon the English; and, though the greater number fell in the action, a considerable body made their escape. These roved about for some time, still pursued by the vigilance of Alfred: they attacked Leicester with success; defended themselves in Hartford; and then fled to Quatford, where they were finally subdued. The small remains of them either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumberland and East Anglia, or had recourse again to the sea, where they exercised piracy, under Sigefert, a Northumbrian. This freebooter, well acquainted with Alfred's naval preparations, had framed vessels of a new construction, higher, and longer, and swifter, than those of the English: but the king soon discovered his superior skill, by building vessels still higher, and longer, and swifter; and, falling upon them while they were exercising their ravages in the west, he took twenty of their ships; and, having tried all the prisoners at Winchester, hanged them as pirates.

The well timed severity of this execution, together with the excellent posture of

recently baptized, were sent to the king, he ordered them to be restored to their natural protector, with the remark, "I make no war on women and infant Christians."—Ed.

The Danes
voted to
return with-
out booty.

They are
surrounded.

They are
completely
subdued.

Alfred
hangs the
crew of
twenty
ships as
pirates.

Tranquillity is restored.

The Welsh acknowledge Alfred's authority.

Alfred dies.

He was the model of a perfect character.

defence established every where, restored full tranquillity in England. The East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, on the first appearance of Alfred upon their frontiers, made anew the most humble submissions to him; and he thought it prudent to take them under his immediate government, without establishing over them a viceroy of their own nation. The Welsh also acknowledged his authority. And this great prince had now, by prudence, and justice, and valour, established his sovereignty over all the southern parts of the island, from the English channel to the frontiers of Scotland; when he died, in the vigour of his age and the full strength of his faculties, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half: in which he deservedly attained the appellation of Alfred the Great, and the title of Founder of the English monarchy.

The merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age can present to us. He seems indeed to be the model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination than in hopes of ever seeing it really existing.* He knew how to reconcile the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the greatest vigour in commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment; the highest capacity and inclination for science with

the most shining talents for action. His civil and military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only that the former, being more rare among princes as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment; vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing and open countenance.

But we should give but an imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were we to confine our narration to his military exploits, and were not more particular in our account of his institutions for the execution of justice,† and of his zeal for the encouragement of arts and sciences.

After Alfred had subdued, and had settled or expelled, the Danes, he found the kingdom in the most wretched condition. Though the great armies of the Danes were broken, the country was full of straggling troops of that nation; who, being accustomed to live by plunder, were incapable of industry; and who indulged themselves in committing violence, even beyond what was requisite to supply their necessities. The English themselves, reduced to the most extreme indigence by these continued depredations, had shaken off all bands of government; and those who had been plundered betook themselves to the like disorderly life, and joined the robbers in pillaging their fellow citizens.‡ These were the evils for which it was necessary that Alfred should provide a remedy.

That he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all

Nature had given him everybodily advantage.

He favoured the arts and sciences.

He found England in a deplorable state.

* It is not to detract from the glory of Alfred to say that he is believed to owe his fame, and the world the benefit of his example, to the friendship and wisdom of a virtuous churchman. Asserius Menevensis, or Asser, as he is commonly called, was a native of St. David's in Wales, and a Benedictine monk. Invited to the most intimate association with the king, with every wish to further his enlarged and benevolent views, Asser preferred passing half his time in his monastery. From him, Alfred derived great assistance in his studies, which he rewarded with the bishopric of Sherborne, and other valuable gifts and endowments. Asser evinced his gratitude by writing the life of his benefactor. While we render honour to Asser, for giving so noble a direction to the energies of the monarch, we must applaud the latter, for selecting and retaining so admirable a preceptor.—ED.

† "All former laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into the English tongue; as also the Pastoral of St. Gregory; the history of Bede; and Boethius, his consolation of Philosophy; the Psalms of David likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish them."—Baker.—ED.

‡ But a very imperfect idea of the general state of the country is given by the vague mention of robbers and pillage. Not only were cattle and other property objects of depredation, but the Danes and English, reciprocally stole men and women from each other, and disposed of them as slaves. One of Alfred's laws prohibits the sale of men, without a proper voucher, to prove that the vendor had a right so to deal with them.—ED.

household-
ers made
answerable
for their
wives or
guests.

strict order
was enfor-
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ge.

England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds; and the hundreds into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family and slaves, and even of his guests, if they lived above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders were formed into one corporation; who, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribourg, were answerable for each others conduct; and over whom one person, called a tithingman, headbourn, or borsholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tithing: and no man could change his habitation without a warrant or certificate from the borsholder of the tithing to which he formerly belonged.

When any person in any tithing or decennary was guilty of a crime, the borsholder was summoned to answer for him; and, if he were not willing to be surety for his appearance and his clearing himself, the criminal was committed, and detained till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding sureties, the borsholder and decennary became liable to inquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal; and, if the time elapsed without their being able to find him, the borsholder, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries (making twelve in all,) to swear that his decennary was free from all privy both of the crime committed and of the escape of the criminal. If the borsholder could not find such a number to answer for their innocence, the decennary was compelled by fine to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution every man was obliged to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours; and was in a manner surety for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged: whence these decennaries received the name of frank-pledges.

Such a regular distribution of the people may not be necessary in times when men are more inured to obedience and justice;

and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished state: but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraint of law and government. Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions favourable to the freedom of the citizens; and nothing could be more popular and liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The borsholder summoned together his whole decennary to assist him in deciding any lesser difference, which occurred among the members of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary, or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred; which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks for the deciding of causes. Their method of decision deserves to be noted, as being the origin of juries; an institution the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that ever was devised by the wit of man. Twelve freeholders were chosen; who, having sworn, together with the hundred, or presiding magistrate of that division, to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And, beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district; for the inquiry into crimes; the correction of abuses in magistrates; and the obliging of every person to shew the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their ancestors the ancient Germans, assembled there in arms; whence a hundred was called a wapentake; and its court served both for the support of military discipline and for the administration of civil justice.

The next superior court was the county court; which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together

Institutions
favourable
to liberty.

The origin
of juries.

An annual
inspection
of the po-
lice.

The county
court de-
cides con-
troversies.

with the alderman ; and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries, and the deciding of controversies between men of different hundreds. Formerly the alderman possessed both the civil and military authority ; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerous and independent, appointed also a sheriff in each county, who enjoyed a co-ordinate authority with the former in the judicial function. His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed ; which in that age formed no contemptible part of the public revenue.

Sheriffs appointed.

There lay an appeal, in default of justice, from all these courts to the king himself in council ; and, as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was indefatigable in the dispatch of these causes : but, finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience by correcting the ignorance or corruption of the inferior magistrates, from which it arose. He took care to have his nobility instructed in letters and the law ; he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge ; he punished severely all malversation in office ;* and he removed all the earls whom he found unequal to the trust ; allowing only some of the more elderly to serve by deputy, till their death should make room for more worthy successors.

Appeals to the crown allowed.

Alfred causes the nobility to be instructed in the laws, &c.

The better to guide the magistrates in the administration of justice, Alfred framed a body of laws, which served long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of the Common Law. He appointed regular meetings

He frames the Common Law.

of the states of England twice a year in London ; a city which he himself had repaired and beautified, and rendered the capital of the kingdom. The similarity of these institutions to the customs of the ancient Germans, to the practice of the other northern conquerors, and to the Saxon laws during the Heptarchy, prevents us from regarding Alfred as the sole author of this plan of government ; and leads us rather to think, that, like a wise man, he contented himself with reforming, extending, and executing, the institutions which he found previously established.† But, on the whole, such success attended his legislation, that every thing bore suddenly a new face in England. Robberies and iniquities of all kinds were repressed by the punishment or reformation of the criminals ; and so exact was the general police, that Alfred, it is said, hung up, by way of bravado, golden bracelets near the highways ; and no man dared to touch them.‡ Yet, amidst these rigours of justice, this great prince preserved the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people ; and it is a memorable sentiment, preserved in his will, that it was just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.

English institutions founded on German usages.

Robbery and outrage effectually repressed.

He wished the English to be free as their thoughts.

As good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable in every age, though not in every individual, the care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his subjects was another useful branch of his legislation, and tended to reclaim the English from their former dissolute and ferocious manners. When he came to the throne he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism ; proceeding from the continued disorders in the government, and from the ravages of the Danes. The monasteries were destroyed ; the monks butchered or dispersed ; their libraries burned ; and thus the only seats

The encouragement of learning reclaimed the English from their ferocious habits.

* According to some ancient writers no fewer than forty-four judges were punished with death in one year of Alfred's reign.—ED.

† "He, like another Theodosius, collected the various customs that he found dispersed in the kingdom, and reduced and digested them into one uniform system or code of laws, in his *Sombec, or liber judicialis*."—Sir W. Blackstone.—ED.

‡ "Virgins might safely travel any where alone.

Nay, saith Ingulphus, if one left his money all night in the highway, he might come the next morning and be sure to find it whole and untouched."—Sir John Spelman.—ED.

Orderic Vital tells the same thing of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, contemporary with Alfred, as to the "*bracelets d'or*," with the addition, that they remained in that exposed situation two years.—ED.

of erudition in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains that on his accession he knew not one person, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few in the northern parts who had even reached that pitch of erudition. But this prince invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools for the instruction of his people; he founded, at least repaired, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities; he enjoined by law all freeholders, possessed of two hides of land or more, to send their children to school; he gave preferment both in church and state to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge: and by all these expedients he had the satisfaction to see a great change in the face of affairs; and in a work of his, which is still extant, he congratulates himself on the progress which learning, under his patronage, had already made in England.

But the most effectual expedient, employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the constant assiduity with which he employed himself in the pursuits of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in sleep, and the refection of his body by diet and exercise; another in the dispatch of business; a third in study and devotion; and, that he might more exactly measure the hours, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanterns; an expedient suited to that rude age, when the geometry of dialling, and the mechanism of

clocks and watches, were totally unknown.* And by such a regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities, this martial hero, who fought in person fifty-six battles by sea and land, was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blessed with the greatest leisure and application, have, in more fortunate ages, made the object of their uninterrupted industry.†

Sensible that the people, at all times, especially when their understandings are obstructed by ignorance and bad education, are not much susceptible of speculative instruction, Alfred endeavoured to convey his morality by apologues, parables, stories, apophthegms, couched in poetry: and, besides propagating among his subjects former compositions of that kind, which he found in the Saxon tongue, he exercised his genius in inventing works of a like nature, as well as in translating from the Greek the elegant fables of Æsop. He also gave Saxon translations of Orosius's and Bede's histories, and of Boethius concerning the consolation of philosophy. And he deemed it nowise derogatory from his other great characters of sovereign, legislator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead the way in the pursuits of literature.

Meanwhile this prince was not negligent in encouraging the vulgar and mechanical arts; which have a more sensible, though not a closer, connexion with the interests of society. He invited, from all quarters, industrious foreigners to re-people his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and en-

* In the midst of his great pursuits and learned labours, Alfred did not disdain to study the homely virtue of economy. "For a stock of frugality he made a survey of the kingdom; and had all the particulars of his estate registered in a book, which he kept in his treasury at Winchester."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

† It is impossible to contemplate the great activity of Alfred without astonishment and admiration. His writings alone, if war and statemanship had been allowed no claim upon his time, would have proved his industry extraordinary, and that he had a mind capable of grasping every subject. Not only did he apply himself to what relates generally to history, law, and religion, but we find he could almost descend to the fanciful. The *Regum fortunæ variæ*, (the various

fortunes of the kings,) and the *Dicta Sapientum*, (the sayings of wise men,) though their utility is not denied, we can hardly refrain from viewing as works of amusement. His "Breviary collected out of the laws of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, written in the Saxon tongue," was to be seen in Leland's time at Christ Church, in Hampshire. His "Laws of the West Saxons," and his "Deeds of the English" are said to be still preserved at Cambridge. That his books should have been so many is the more surprising, as, in the ninth century, if there were a "royal road" to knowledge, it presented not half the facilities to assist the king in his literary pursuits, which are now at the command of the humblest student.—*Ed*.

Wrote
books.

And translated Æsop
Bede, and
Boethius.

He encouraged the
mechanical
arts.

He encouraged navigation.

The elegancies of life brought to him from India.

Edward his eldest son succeeds him.

Ethelwald aspires to the throne

couraged manufactures of all kinds; and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating industry among their fellow citizens. He set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he constantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries. Even the elegancies of life were brought to him from the Mediterranean and the Indies; and his subjects, by seeing those productions of the peaceful arts, were taught to respect the virtues of justice and industry. Both living and dead, Alfred was regarded as one of the wisest and best princes that ever adorned the annals of any nation.

Alfred had, by his wife Ethelwitha, daughter of a Mercian Earl, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Edmund, died, without issue, in his father's lifetime. The third, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The second, Edward, succeeded to his power; and passes by the appellation of Edward the Elder, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

901—925.

THIS prince, who equalled his father in military talents, though inferior to him in knowledge and erudition, found, immediately on his accession, a specimen of that turbulent life to which all princes, and even all individuals, were exposed, in an age when men had no aliment for their inquietude but wars, insurrections, and depredation. Ethelwald, his cousin-german, son of king Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, insisted on a preferable title; and, arming his partisans, took possession of Winbourne, where he seemed determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and to wait the issue of his pretensions. But, when the king approached with a great army, Ethelwald, having the prospect of certain destruction, made his escape, and

fled first into Normandy, then into Northumberland. The Northumbrians declared for him; and Ethelwald, having thus connected his interests with the Danish tribes, went beyond sea, and, collecting a body of these freebooters, he excited the hopes of all those who had been accustomed to subsist by rapine and violence. The East Anglian Danes joined his party; the Five-burghers, who were seated in the heart of Mercia, began to put themselves in motion; and the English found that they were again menaced with those convulsions from which the valour and policy of Alfred had so lately rescued them. The rebels, headed by Ethelwald, made an incursion into the counties of Gloucester, Oxford, and Wilts; and retired with their booty before the king was able to approach them. Edward, however, who was determined that his preparations should not be fruitless, conducted his forces into East Anglia; and retaliated the injuries which the inhabitants had committed, by spreading the like devastation among them. Satiated with revenge, and loaded with booty, he gave orders to retire. The Kentish men, greedy of more spoil, ventured, contrary to repeated orders, to stay behind him, and to take up their quarters at Bury. This disobedience proved in the issue fortunate to Edward. The Danes assaulted the Kentish men; but met with so vigorous a resistance, that, though they gained the field of battle, they bought that advantage by the loss of their bravest leaders; and, among the rest, by that of Ethelwald, who perished in the action. The king, freed from the fear of so dangerous a competitor, made peace on advantageous terms with the East Angles.

In order to restore England to tranquillity, nought was wanting but the subjection of the Northumbrians; who, assisted by the scattered Danes in Mercia, continually infested the bowels of the kingdom. Edward, to divert the force of these enemies, prepared a fleet to attack them by sea; hoping that, when his ships appeared on their coast, they must remain at home, and provide for their defence. But the Northumbrians were less anxious to secure their own property than greedy to commit

The Northumbrians declare for him

He causes new disorders.

The Kentish men disobey Edward.

Ethelwald falls in battle.

spoil on their enemy ; and, concluding that the chief strength of the English was embarked on board the fleet, they thought the opportunity favourable, and entered Edward's territories with all their forces. The king, who was prepared against this event, attacked them on their return at Tentenhall in the county of Stafford, put them to rout, recovered all the booty, and pursued them with great slaughter into their own country.

Edward defeats the Northumbrians.

All the rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against the Northumbrians, the East Angles, the Five-burghers, and the foreign Danes, who invaded him from Normandy and Brittany. Nor was he less provident in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence than vigorous in assaulting the enemy. He fortified the towns of Chester, Eddesbury, Warwick, Cherbury, Buckingham, Towcester, Maldon, Huntingdon, and Colchester. He fought two signal battles at Tamsford and Maldon. He vanquished Thurketill, a great Danish chief, and obliged him to retire with his followers into France. He subdued the East Angles, and forced them to swear allegiance to him. He expelled the two rival princes of Northumberland, Reginald and Sidroc ; and acquired the dominions of that province. Several tribes of the Britons were subjected by him ; and even the Scots, who, during the reign of Egbert, had, under Kenneth their king, increased their power by the final subjection of the Picts, were obliged to give him marks of submission. In all these fortunate achievements he was assisted by the activity and prudence of his sister Ethelfleda, who was widow of Ethelbert, earl of Mercia ; and who, after her husband's death, retained the government of that province. This princess, who had been reduced to extremity in childbed,

Edwards fortifies the principal towns.

Edward repels an invasion from the Scots.

refused afterwards all commerce with her husband ; not from any weak superstition, as was common in that age, but because she deemed all domestic occupations unworthy of her masculine and ambitious spirit. She died before her brother ; and Edward took upon himself the government of Mercia, which before had been entrusted to the authority of a governor. The Saxon chronicle fixes the death of this prince in 925. His kingdom devolved to Athelstan, his natural son.

He dies A.D. 925.

ATHELSTAN.

925—941.

THE stain in this prince's birth was not, in those times, deemed so considerable as to exclude him from the throne : and Athelstan obtained the preference to Edward's younger children ; who, though legitimate, were of too tender years to rule a nation. * Some discontents prevailed on his accession ; and Alfred, a nobleman of considerable power, was thence encouraged to enter into a conspiracy against him. Alfred, it is said, being seized upon strong suspicions, but without any certain proof, in order to justify himself, offered to swear to his innocence before the pope ; whose person, it was supposed, contained such superior sanctity, that no one could presume to give a false oath in his presence, and hope to escape the immediate vengeance of Heaven. The king accepted of the condition, and Alfred was conducted to Rome ; where, either conscious of his innocence, or neglecting the superstition to which he appealed, he ventured to make the oath required of him before John, who then filled the papal chair. But no sooner had he pronounced the fatal words than he fell into convulsions, of which, three days after, he expired. † The king, as if the guilt of the conspirator

Athelstan, though illegitimate, succeeds Edward.

Alfred, one of his nobles, conspires against him.

Alfred swears before the pope that he is innocent, and dies.

* Elward, Edward's eldest legitimate son, survived his father but a few days.—ED.

† The king had a brother named Edwin, who was accused of being connected with the conspiracy of Alfred. Believing him guilty, Athelstan would not consent to his being publicly executed, but ordered him to be sent to sea in a vessel without sails or rudder. The consequence was, he threw himself overboard in despair, and perished. According to Brompton and William of Malmesbury, this event

caused the king to experience all the horrors of remorse ; and, to expiate it, he submitted to a seven years' penance, and founded the abbey of Middleton, in Dorsetshire. Some discredit is thrown on the story, from his general kindness to his brothers and sisters. But this, as well as the punishment of the false accuser of Edwin, which speedily followed, might have resulted from penitence. The whole story is so consistent, that it must be regarded as probable.—ED.

were now fully ascertained, confiscated his estate, and made a present of it to the monastery of Malmesbury.*

The dominion of Athelstan was no sooner established than he endeavoured to give security to the government, by providing against the insurrections of the Danes. He marched into Northumberland; and, finding that the inhabitants bore with impatience the English yoke, he thought it prudent to confer on Sithric, a Danish nobleman, the title of King, and to give him his sister Editha in marriage. But this policy proved the source of dangerous consequences. Sithric died in a twelve-month after; and his two sons by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretensions on their father's elevation, assumed the sovereignty without waiting for Athelstan's consent. They were soon expelled by that monarch; and the former took shelter in Ireland, as the latter did in Scotland; where he received protection from Constantine, who then enjoyed the crown of that kingdom. The Scottish prince, however, continually solicited, and even menaced by Athelstan, at last promised to deliver up his guest; but, secretly detesting this treachery, he gave Godfrid warning to make his escape; and that fugitive, after subsisting by piracy for some years, freed the king, by his death, from any farther anxiety. Athelstan, resenting Constantine's behaviour, entered Scotland with an army; and ravaging the country with impunity, he reduced the Scots to such distress, that their king was content to preserve his crown by making submissions to the enemy. The English historians assert that Constantine did homage to Athelstan for his kingdom; and they add that the latter prince, being urged by his courtiers to push the present favourable opportunity, and entirely subdue Scotland, replied that it was more glorious to confer than to conquer kingdoms. The Scotch historians, who deny the fact, seem more worthy of belief.

Constantine, whether he owed the re-

taining of his crown to the moderation of Athelstan, or to the policy of that prince, thought the behaviour of the English monarch more an object of resentment than of gratitude. He entered into a confederacy with Anlaf, who had collected a great body of Danish pirates, and with some Welsh princes, who were terrified at the growing power of Athelstan: and all these allies made, by concert, an irruption with a great army into England. Athelstan, collecting his forces, met the enemy near Brunsbury in Northumberland, and defeated them in a general engagement. The victory was chiefly ascribed to the valour of Turketul, the English chancellor; for in those turbulent ages no one was so much occupied in civil employments as wholly to lay aside the military character.

There is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, which historians relate, with regard to the transactions of this war. Anlaf, on the approach of the English army, thought that he could not venture too much to ensure a fortunate event; and, employing the artifice formerly practised by Alfred against the Danes, he entered the enemy's camp in the habit of a minstrel. The stratagem was for the present attended with the like success. He gave such satisfaction to the soldiers, who flocked about him, that they introduced him to the king's tent; and Anlaf, having played before that prince and his nobles during their repast, was dismissed with a handsome reward. His prudence kept him from refusing the present; but his pride determined him, on his departure, to bury it, while he fancied that he was unespied by all the world. But a soldier in Athelstan's camp, who had formerly served under Anlaf, had been struck with some suspicion on the first appearance of the minstrel, and was engaged by curiosity to observe all his motions. He regarded this last action as a full proof of Anlaf's disguise; and carried the intelligence to Athelstan, who blamed him for not sooner giving him information, that

* In the grant to the monks, Athelstan was careful to insert a statement of the conspiracy against himself, and of the manner in which it had been punished by offended heaven; but he granted Christian

burial to the remains of Alfred, which the pope had ordered to be detained in the English college till the king's pleasure could be known.—ED.

The king of the Scots resents the conduct of Athelstan.

Athelstan defeats him

Anlaf enters the English camp in disguise.

He is recognized

Athelstan gives his sister in marriage to Sithric.

Anlaf and Godfrid, Sithric's sons, disturb Athelstan.

Godfrid dies.

Generosity of Athelstan.

he might have seized his enemy. But the soldier told him that, as he had formerly sworn fealty to Anlaf, he could never have pardoned himself the treachery of betraying and ruining his ancient master; and that Athelstan himself, after such conduct, would have had equal reason to distrust his allegiance. Athelstan, having praised the generosity of the soldier's principles, reflected on the incident, which he foresaw might be attended with important consequences. He removed his station in the camp; and, as a bishop arrived that evening with a reinforcement of troops (for the ecclesiastics were then no less warlike than the civil magistrates,) he occupied by his train that very place which had been left vacant by the king's removal. The precaution of Athelstan was found prudent; for no sooner had darkness fallen than Anlaf broke into the camp, and, hastening directly to the place where he had left the king's tent, put the bishop to death before he had time to prepare for his defence.

There fell several Danish and Welsh princes in the action of Brunsbury; and Constantine and Anlaf made their escape with difficulty, leaving the greater part of their army on the field of battle. After this success Athelstan enjoyed his crown in tranquillity;* and he is regarded as one of the ablest and most active of those ancient princes. He passed a remarkable law, (which was calculated for the encouragement of commerce, and which it required some liberality of mind in that age to have devised) that a merchant, who had made three long sea voyages on his own account, should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This prince died at Gloucester in the year 941, after a reign of sixteen years; and was succeeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.†

* The emperor Otho, the king of Norway, and Hugh, king of France, sought his friendship with rare presents. Among those of the last named monarch were "the sword of Constantine the Great, in the hilt whereof was one of the nails which fastened Christ to his cross: he sent him also the spear of Charles the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christ's side; as also part of the cross on which Christ suffered; and a piece of the thorny crown put upon his head."—*Baker*

† "Of this king there is one act related, that may

EDMUND.

941—946.

EDMUND, on his accession, met with disturbance from the restless Northumbrians, who lay in wait for every opportunity of breaking into rebellion: but, marching suddenly into their country, he so overawed the rebels that they endeavoured to appease him by the most humble submissions. To give a surer pledge of their obedience, they offered to embrace Christianity; a religion which the English Danes had frequently professed when reduced to difficulties, but shook off as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. Edmund, trusting little to their sincerity, used the precaution of removing the Five-burghers from the towns of Mercia, in which they had been allowed to settle; because it was always found that they took advantage of every commotion, and introduced the rebellious or foreign Danes into the heart of the kingdom. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons; and conferred that territory on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from the Danes.

Edmund was young when he came to the crown; yet was his reign short as his death was violent. One day, as he was solemnizing a festival in the county of Gloucester, he remarked that Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, had yet the boldness to enter the hall where he himself dined, and to sit at table with his attendants. Enraged at this insolence, he ordered him to leave the room; but, on his refusing to obey, the king, whose temper, naturally choleric, was inflamed by this insult, leaped on him himself, and seized him by

seem ridiculous; another that may seem miraculous: for what more ridiculous than that, going to visit the tomb of St. John of Beverley, and having nothing else of worth to offer, he offered his knife in devotion to the saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent; for going to encounter the Danes, and praying to God for good success, he prayed withal that God would shew some sign of his rightful cause; and thereupon striking with his sword, he struck it an ell deep into a hard stone, which stood so cloven a long time after."—*Baker*.

The Northumbrians again revolt, and are subdued.

Cumberland is given to the king of Scotland.

Leolf, a robber, insults the king.

Edmund is assassinated by Leolf.

the hair. The ruffian, pushed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound, of which he immediately expired. This happened in the year 946, and in the sixth year of the king's reign. Edmund left male issue, but so young that they were incapable of governing the kingdom; and his brother Edred was promoted to the throne.

EDRED.

946—955.

The Northumbrians again rise, and are again chastised.

THE reign of this prince was disturbed by the Northumbrian Danes; but, on Edred's appearance with an army, they made him their wonted submissions; and the king, having wasted the country with fire and sword, obliged them to renew their oaths of allegiance; and retired with his forces. The obedience of the Danes lasted no longer than the present terror. Provoked at the devastations of Edred, and even reduced by necessity to subsist on plunder, they broke into a new rebellion, and were again subdued. But the king now fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns; and placed over them an English governor, who might watch all their motions. He obliged also Malcolm, King of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England.

A new rebellion and new restraints.

Edred, though not unwarlike, nor unfit for active life, lay under the influence of the lowest superstition, and had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastenbury; whom he advanced to the highest offices, and who covered, under the appearance of sanctity, the most violent and most insolent ambition. This churchman imported into England a new order of monks, who much changed the state of ecclesiastical affairs, and excited, on their first establishment, the most violent commotions.

The king guided by Dunstan.

New monks brought into England.

From the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons there had been monas-

teries in England, and these establishments had extremely multiplied by the donations of the princes and nobles; whose superstition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and increased by remorse for the crimes into which they were so frequently betrayed, knew no other expedient for appeasing the Deity than a profuse liberality towards the ecclesiastics.* But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who lived after the manner of the present canons or prebendaries, and were both intermingled in some degree with the world, and endeavoured to render themselves useful to it. They were employed in the education of youth; they had the disposal of their own time and industry; they were not subjected to the rigid rules of an order; they had made no vows of implicit obedience to their superiors; and they still retained the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a single life. But a mistaken piety had produced in Italy a new species of monks, called Benedictines; who, carrying farther the plausible principles of mortification, secluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. These practices and principles were greedily embraced and promoted by the policy of the court of Rome. The Roman pontiff, who was making every day great advances towards an absolute sovereignty over the ecclesiastics, perceived that the celibacy of the clergy alone could break off entirely their connexion with the civil power; and, depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceasing industry, the grandeur of their own order. He was sensible that, so long as the monks were indulged in marriage, and were permitted to rear families, they never could be subjected to strict discipline, or reduced to that slavery under their superiors which was requisite to procure to the mandates, issued from Rome, a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy,

Original condition of English monks.

Rules of the Benedictines.

They are approved by the court of Rome.

Celibacy the clergy favoured the pope.

* In ancient times "temporal power was mere brute force, intractable ruffianism. The church, on the contrary, however imperfect its notions of morals and of justice might have been, was still infinitely

superior to such a government; and the cry of the populace was continually raised, beseeching it to supersede the dominant power."—*Guizot*.—Ed.

therefore, began to be extolled, as the indispensable duty of priests: and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the western world renounce at once the privilege of marriage. A fortunate policy; but at the same time an undertaking the most difficult of any, since he had the strongest propensities of human nature to encounter, and found that the same connexions with the female sex, which generally encourage devotion, were here unfavourable to the success of his project. It is no wonder, therefore, that this master-stroke of art should have met with violent contradiction, and that the interests of the hierarchy, and the inclinations of the priests, being now placed in this singular opposition, should, notwithstanding the continued efforts of Rome, have retarded the execution of that bold scheme during the course of near three centuries.

As the bishops and parochial clergy lived apart with their families, and were more connected with the world, the hopes of success with them were fainter, and the pretence for making them renounce marriage was much less plausible. But the pope, having cast his eye on the monks as the basis of his authority, was determined to reduce them under strict rules of obedience. Under pretence of reforming abuses, he had already spread over the southern countries of Europe the severe laws of the monastic life, and began to form attempts towards a like innovation in England. The favourable opportunity offered (and it was greedily seized), arising from the weak superstition of Edred and the impetuous character of Dunstan.

Dunstan was born of noble parents in the west of England; and, being educated under his uncle Aldhelm, then archbishop of Canterbury, had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical life, and had acquired some character in the court of Edmund. He was, however, represented to that prince as a man of licentious manners; and, finding his fortune blasted by these suspicions, his ardent ambition prompted him to repair his indiscretions, by running into an opposite extreme. He secluded himself entirely from the world; he framed a cell so small that he could neither stand erect in it, nor

stretch out his limbs during his repose; and he here employed himself perpetually either in devotion or in manual labour. It is probable that his brain became gradually crazed by these solitary occupations, and that his head was filled with chimeras, which, being believed by himself and his stupid votaries, procured him the general character of sanctity among the people. He fancied that the devil, among the frequent visits which he paid him, was one day more earnest than usual in his temptations: till Dunstan, provoked at his importunity, seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, as he put his head into the cell; and he held him there till that malignant spirit made the whole neighbourhood resound with his bellowings. This notable exploit was seriously credited and transmitted to posterity by one who, considering the age in which he lived, may pass for a writer of some elegance; and it ensured to Dunstan a reputation which no real piety could have ever procured him with the people.

Supported by the character obtained in his retreat, Dunstan appeared again in the world; and gained such an ascendant over Edred, who had succeeded to the crown, as made him not only the director of that prince's conscience, but his counsellor in the most momentous affairs of government. He was placed at the head of the treasury; and, being thus possessed both of power at court and of credit with the populace, he was enabled to attempt with success the most arduous enterprises. Finding that his advancement had been owing to the opinion of his austerity, he professed himself a partisan of the rigid monastic rules; and, after introducing that reformation into the convents of Glastenbury and Abingdon, he endeavoured to render it universal in the kingdom.

The minds of men were already well prepared for this innovation. The praises of an inviolable chastity had been carried to the highest extravagance by some of the first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons; the pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection; and a total abstinence from all commerce with the sex was deemed such

He reforms, and practices great austerities.

He fancies himself to have encountered the devil.

Edred makes him his chief adviser.

Love considered incompatible with Christianity.

The monks
affect great
purity.

They con-
demn the
vices of the
age.

Contest be-
tween them
and the
secular cler-
gy.

Death of
Edred.

Edwy be-
gins to
reign.

a meritorious penance as was sufficient to atone for the greatest enormities. The consequence seemed natural, that those at least who officiated at the altar should be clear of this pollution; and, when the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was now creeping in, was once fully established, the reverence to the real body of Christ in the eucharist bestowed on this argument an additional force and influence. The monks affected the greatest austerity of life and manners; they indulged themselves in the highest strains of devotion; they inveighed bitterly against the vices of the age; they were particularly vehement against the dissolute lives of the secular clergy, their rivals; every instance of libertinism in any individual of that order was represented as a general corruption; and, where other topics of defamation were wanting, their marriage became a sure subject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubine, or other more opprobrious appellation. The secular clergy, on the other hand, who were numerous and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and endeavoured to retaliate upon their adversaries. The people were thrown into agitation: and few instances occur of more violent dissensions, excited by the most material differences in religion, or rather the most frivolous; since it is a just remark that, the more affinity there is between theological parties, the greater commonly is their animosity.

The progress of the monks, which was become considerable, was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, their partisan, who expired after a reign of nine years. He left children; but as they were infants, his nephew Edwy, son of Edmund, was placed on the throne.

EDWY.

955—959.

EDWY, at the time of his accession, was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age; was possessed of the most amiable

figure; and was even endowed, according to authentic accounts, with the most promising virtues. He would have been the favourite of his people, had he not unhappily engaged in a controversy with the monks; whose rage neither the graces of the body nor virtues of the mind could mitigate, and who have pursued his memory with the same unrelenting vengeance which they exercised against his person. There was a beautiful princess, called Elgiva, who made impression on the tender heart of Edwy: and, he had ventured, contrary to the advice of his gravest counsellors and the remonstrances of the more dignified ecclesiastics, to espouse her; though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. As the austerity affected by the monks made them particularly violent on this occasion, Edwy entertained a strong prepossession against them; and seemed determined not to second their project of expelling the seculars from all the convents, and of possessing themselves of those rich establishments. War was therefore declared between the king and the monks; and the former soon found reason to repent his provoking such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation his nobility were assembled in a great hall, and were indulging themselves in that riot and disorder which, from the example of their German ancestors, had become habitual to the English; when Edwy, attracted by softer pleasures, retired into the queen's apartment, and gave reins to his fondness towards his wife; which was only moderately checked by the presence of her mother. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's retreat: and, carrying with him Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, he burst into the apartment; upbraided Edwy with his lasciviousness; probably bestowed on the queen the most opprobrious epithet that can be applied to her sex; and, tearing him from her arms, pushed him back, in a disgraceful manner, into the banquet of the nobles.* Edwy,

He marries
Elgiva.

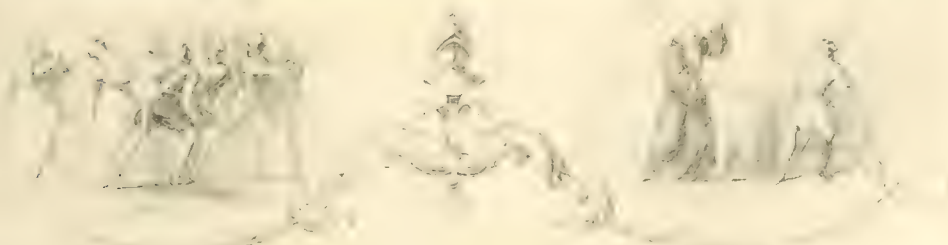
War be-
tween the
king and
the monks.

Edwy re-
tires to the
queen's
apartment
on his coro-
nation day.

Dunstan
rudely in-
sults him.

* Some writers tell this story less favourably for the king, (see note A at the end of the volume.) That Dunstan was severe against excesses with the other sex is beyond dispute. The punishment which he

imposed on the successor of Edwy, his great benefactor, though very inadequate, proves that in such matters he affected to be no respecter of persons.—Ed.



though young, and opposed by the prejudices of the people, found an opportunity of taking revenge for the public insult. He questioned Dunstan concerning the administration of the treasury during the reign of his predecessor; and, when that minister refused to give any account of money expended, as he affirmed, by orders of the late king, accused him of malversation in his office, and banished him the kingdom. But Dunstan's cabal was not unactive during his absence. They filled the public with high panegyrics on his sanctity; they exclaimed against the impiety of the king and queen; and proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence. Archbishop Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen; and, having burned her face with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that fatal beauty which had seduced Edwy, they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile. Edwy, finding it in vain to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce, which was pronounced by Odo; and a catastrophe still more dismal awaited the unhappy Elgiva. That amiable princess, being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars with which Odo had hoped to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the embraces of the king, whom she still regarded as her husband, when she fell into the hands of a party, whom the primate had sent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could now give security to Odo and the monks; and the most cruel death was requisite to satiate their vengeance. She was hamstrung; and expired a few days after at Gloucester, in the most acute torments.

The English, blinded with superstition, instead of being shocked with his inhumanity, exclaimed that the misfortunes of Edwy and his consort were a just judgment for their dissolute contempt of the ecclesiastical statutes. They even proceeded to rebellion against their sovereign; and, having placed Edgar at their head, the younger brother of Edwy, a boy of thirteen, they soon put him in possession of Mercia, Northumberland, East Anglia; and chased Edwy into the southern counties. That it

might not be doubtful at whose instigation this revolt was undertaken, Dunstan returned into England, and took upon him the government of Edgar and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, then in that of London, and, on Odo's death, and the violent expulsion of Brithelm his successor, in that of Canterbury; of all which he long kept possession. Odo is transmitted to us by the monks under the character of a man of piety. Dunstan was even canonized; and is one of those numerous saints of the same stamp who disgrace the Romish calendar. Meanwhile the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened soon after, freed his enemies from all farther inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the government.*

EDGAR.

959—975.

THIS prince soon discovered an excellent capacity in the administration of affairs; and his reign is one of the most fortunate in the ancient English history. He shewed no aversion to war; he made the wisest preparations against invaders; and by this foresight he was enabled to indulge his inclination towards peace, and to employ himself in improving the internal government of his kingdom. He maintained a body of disciplined troops, which he quartered in the north, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in subjection, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He formed a powerful navy; and, that he might retain the seamen in the practice of their duty, and always present a formidable armament to his enemies, he stationed three squadrons off the coast, and ordered them to make, from time to time, the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes dared not to approach; the domestic Danes saw inevitable destruction to be the consequence of their tumults and insurrections; the neighbouring sovereigns, the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the Orkneys, and even of Ireland, were

Dunstan returns.

Edwy dies.

Edgar, by preparing for war, secures the continuance of peace.

He forms a navy,

And over-awes the Danes, Scots, and Irish.

* See note A at the end of the volume.

Eight tributary princes row Edgar's barge.

reduced to submission. He carried his superiority to a great height; and might have excited an universal combination against him, had not his power been so well established as to deprive his enemies of all hopes of shaking it. It is said that, residing once at Chester, and having purposed to go by water to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he obliged eight of his tributary princes to row him in a barge upon the Dee. The English historians are fond of mentioning the name of Kenneth III., king of Scots, among the number. The Scottish historians either deny the fact, or assert that their king, if ever he acknowledged himself a vassal to Edgar, did him homage, not for his crown, but for the dominions which he held in England.

He courts the monks.

But the chief means by which Edgar maintained his authority, and preserved public peace, was the paying of court to Dunstan and the monks, who had acquired an ascendant over the people. He favoured their scheme for dispossessing the secular canons of all the monasteries; he bestowed preferment on none but their partisans; he allowed Dunstan to resign the see of Worcester into the hands of Oswald, one of his creatures, and to place Ethelwold, another of them, in that of Winchester; he consulted these prelates in the administration of all ecclesiastical, and even in that of many civil, affairs; and, though the vigour of his own genius prevented him from being implicitly guided by them, the king and the bishops found such advantages in their mutual agreement, that they always united their influence in preserving the peace of the kingdom.

Edgar condemns the dissolute lives of the secular clergy.

In order to complete the great work of placing the new order of monks in all the convents, Edgar summoned a general council of the prelates and the heads of the religious orders. He here inveighed against the dissolute lives of the secular clergy; the smallness of their tonsure, which, it is probable, maintained no longer any resemblance to the crown of thorns; their negligence in attending the exercise of their function; their mixing with the laity in the pleasures of gaming, hunting, dancing, and singing; and their openly living with concubines, by which it is commonly sup-

posed he meant their wives. He then turned himself to Dunstan the primate; and, in the name of King Edred, whom he supposed to look down from heaven with indignation against all those enormities, he thus addressed him. 'It is you, Dunstan, by whose advice I founded monasteries, built churches, and expended my treasure in the support of religion and religious houses. You were my counsellor and assistant in all my schemes; you were the director of my conscience; to you I was obedient in all things. When did you call for supplies which I refused you? Was my assistance ever wanting to the poor? Did I deny support and establishments to the clergy and the convents? Did I not hearken to your instructions, who told me that these charities were, of all others, the most grateful to my Maker, and fixed a perpetual fund for the support of religion? And are all our pious endeavours now frustrated by the dissolute lives of the priests? Not that I throw any blame on you; you have reasoned, besought, inculcated, inveighed: but it now behoves you to use sharper and more vigorous remedies; and, conjoining your spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effectually the temple of God from thieves and intruders.' It is easy to imagine that this harangue had the desired effect; and it was not long before the monks prevailed, and established their new discipline in almost all the convents.

We may remark that the declamations against the secular clergy are, both here and in all the historians, conveyed in general terms; and it is difficult to believe that the complaints against their dissolute manners could be so universally just as is pretended. It is more probable that the monks paid court to the populace by an affected austerity of life; and, representing the most innocent liberties taken by the other clergy as great and unpardonable enormities, thereby prepared the way for the increase of their own power and influence. Edgar, however, like a true politician, concurred with the prevailing party. He seconded the policy of the court of Rome in granting to some monasteries an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; he allowed the convents, even those of royal foundation, to

He enjoins Dunstan to use strong measures against them.

Edgar extols his own liberality.

New discipline is established in the convents.

The secular clergy too severely censured.

He favours the policy of Rome.

usurp the election of their own abbot; and he admitted their forgeries of ancient charters, by which, from the pretended grant of former kings, they assumed many privileges and immunities.

These merits of Edgar have procured him the highest panegyrics from the monks; and he is transmitted to us, not only under the character of a consummate statesman and an active prince, praises to which he seems to have been justly entitled, but under that of a great saint and a man of virtue. But his conduct was licentious to the highest degree, and violated every law, human and divine. Yet those very monks, who, as we are told by Ingulf, a very ancient historian, had no idea of any moral or religious merit, except chastity and obedience, not only connived at his enormities, but loaded him with the greatest praises. History, however, has preserved some instances of his amours; from which, as from a specimen, we may form a conjecture of the rest.

Edgar broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committed violence on her person. For this act of sacrilege he was reprimanded by Dunstan; and, that he might reconcile himself to the church, he was obliged not to separate from his mistress, but to abstain from wearing his crown during seven years, and to deprive himself so long of that vain ornament. A punishment very unequal to that which had been inflicted on the unfortunate Edwy; who, for a marriage which in the strictest sense could only deserve the name of irregular, was expelled his kingdom, saw his queen treated with singular barbarity, was loaded with calumnies, and has been represented to us under the most odious colours. Such is the ascendant which may be attained by hypocrisy and cabal over mankind!

There was another mistress of Edgar's, with whom he first formed a connexion by a kind of accident. Passing one day by Andover, he lodged in the house of a nobleman; whose daughter, being endowed with all the graces of person and behaviour, inflamed him with the highest desire. As he had not leisure to employ courtship or address for attaining his purpose, he went

directly to her mother, declared the violence of his passion, and desired that the young lady might be allowed to pass that very night with him. The mother was a woman of virtue, and determined not to dishonour her daughter and her family by compliance; but, being well acquainted with the impetuosity of the king's temper, she thought it would be easier, as well as safer, to deceive than refuse him. She feigned therefore submission; but secretly ordered a waiting maid, of no disagreeable figure, to steal into the king's bed after all the company should be retired to rest. In the morning, before daybreak, the damsel, agreeably to the injunctions of her mistress, offered to retire; but Edgar, whose love was rather inflamed by enjoyment, refused his consent, and employed force and entreaties to detain her. Elfreda (for that was the name of the maid), trusting to her own charms, and to the love with which she hoped she had now inspired the king, made probably but a faint resistance; and the return of light discovered the deceit. He expressed no displeasure with the old lady on account of her fraud; his love was transferred to Elfreda; she became his favourite mistress, and maintained her ascendant over him till his marriage with Elfrida.

The circumstances of his marriage were more singular and more criminal. Elfrida was daughter and heir of Olgar, Earl of Devonshire; and, though she had been educated in the country, and had never appeared at court, she had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar found his curiosity excited by the frequent panegyrics which he heard of Elfrida; and, reflecting on her noble birth, he resolved, if he found her charms answerable to their fame, to obtain her on honourable terms. He communicated his intention to Earl Athelwold, his favourite; but used the precaution, before he made any advances to her parents, to order that nobleman, on some pretence, to pay them a visit, and to bring him a certain account of the beauty of their daughter. Athelwold found general report to have fallen short of the truth; and, being actuated by the most vehement love, determined to sacrifice to this new

He solicits
her mother.

He is de-
ceived by a
waiting-
maid.

Elfreda be-
comes his
mistress.

Edgar is in-
flamed by
the beauty
of Elfrida.

Athelwold
becomes
enamoured
of her.

He disparages her beauty.

Athelwold asks her for himself.

Edgar consents to his marrying her.

Athelwold's artifice is discovered.

passion his fidelity to his master. He returned to Edgar, and told him that the riches alone, and high quality of Elfrida, had been the ground of the admiration paid her; and that her charms, far from being anywise extraordinary, would have been overlooked in a woman of inferior station. When he had diverted the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some interval, of turning again the conversation on Elfrida. He remarked that, though the parentage and fortune of the lady had not produced on him, as on others, any illusion with regard to her beauty, she would, on the whole, be an advantageous match for him. If the king, therefore, gave his approbation, he was determined to make proposals to the Earl of Devonshire; and doubted not to obtain his, as well as the young lady's consent to the marriage. Edgar, pleased with an expedient for establishing his favourite's fortune, not only exhorted him to execute his purpose, but forwarded his success by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida; and Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his mistress. Dreading, however, the detection of the artifice, he employed every pretence for detaining Elfrida in the country, and for keeping her at a distance from Edgar.

The violent passion of Athelwold had rendered him blind to consequences. Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but, before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's treachery, he resolved to satisfy himself with his own eyes of the certainty and full extent of his guilt. He told him that he intended to pay him a visit in his castle, and be introduced to the acquaintance of his new married wife; and Athelwold, as he could not refuse the honour, only craved leave to go before him a few hours, that he might the better prepare every thing for his reception. He then

discovered the whole matter to Elfrida; and begged her, if she had any regard either to her own honour or his life, to conceal from Edgar, by every circumstance of dress and behaviour, that fatal beauty which had betrayed him into so many falsehoods. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing was farther from her intentions. She deemed herself little beholden to Athelwold for a passion which had deprived her of a crown; and, knowing the force of her own charms, she did not despair even yet of reaching that dignity. She appeared before the king with all the advantages which the richest attire and the most engaging airs could bestow upon her; and excited at once in his bosom the highest love towards herself and the most furious desire of revenge against her husband. He knew, however, how to dissemble these passions; and, seducing Athelwold into a wood, on pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, and soon after publicly espoused Elfrida.*

Before we conclude our account of this reign, we must mention two circumstances which are remarked by historians. The reputation of Edgar allured a great number of foreigners to visit his court; and he gave them encouragement to settle in England. We are told that they imported all the vices of their respective countries, and contributed to corrupt the simple manners of the natives. But, as this simplicity of manners, so highly and often so injudiciously extolled, did not preserve them from barbarity and treachery, the greatest of all vices, and the most incident to a rude uncultivated people, we ought perhaps to deem their acquaintance with foreigners rather an advantage.

Another remarkable incident of this reign was the extirpation of wolves from England. This advantage was attained by the industrious policy of Edgar. He took great pains

He confesses his fault to his wife.

Elfrida represents his deceit.

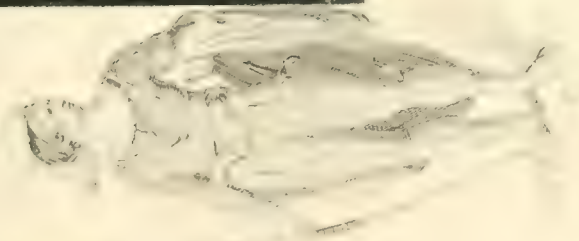
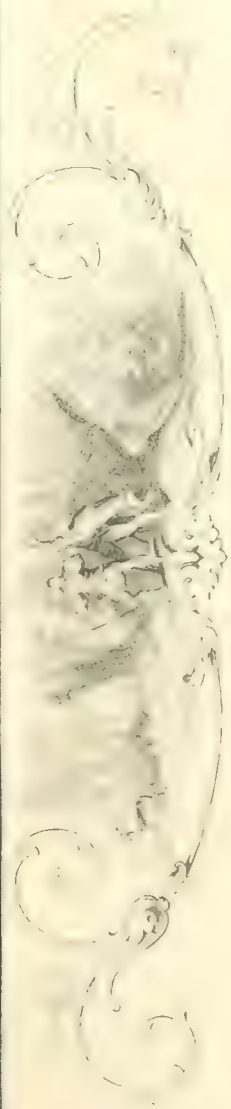
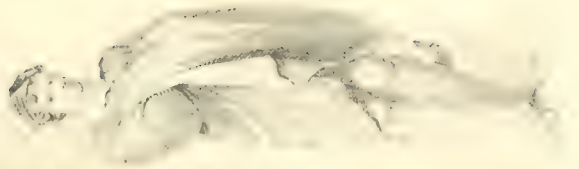
Edgar murders her husband and marries Elfrida.

Foreigners allured to England.

Wolves extirpated.

* In perpetuating this crime, William of Malmesbury makes Edgar luxuriate in blood with the wantonness of a khan or a sultan; while the son of the victim approves the royal butchery with the hateful meanness of an oriental vizier or slave. Having slain Athelwold in Harwood Forest, he says, the natural son of the deceased, happening to arrive at the spot, gazed on the corpse of his father, when he was exult-

ingly asked by Edgar "how he liked the game?" to which the youth replied, "that whatever pleased his monarch could not be other than agreeable to a loyal subject." This is sufficiently improbable; but more extravagantly so is the addition, that such wretched conduct on the part of the offspring of the man he had assassinated, caused the royal murderer to regard him ever after with warm affection!—ED.



in hunting and pursuing those ravenous animals ; and, when he found that all that escaped him had taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan, his predecessor, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves ; which produced such diligence in hunting them that the animal has been no more seen in this island.*

Edgar died. Edgar died after a reign of sixteen years, and in the thirty-third of his age. He was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of Earl Ordmer.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

975—979.

THE succession of this prince, who was only fifteen years of age at his father's death, did not take place without much opposition. Elfrida his step-mother, had a son, Ethelred, seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne. She affirmed that Edgar's marriage with the mother of Edward was exposed to insuperable objections ; and, as she had possessed great credit with her husband, she had found means to acquire partisans, who seconded all her pretensions. But Edward was appointed successor by the will of his father ; he was approaching to man's estate, and might soon be able to take into his own hands the reins of government. The principal nobility, dreading the imperious temper of Elfrida, were averse to her son's government, which must enlarge her authority, and probably put her in possession of the regency. Above all, Dunstan, whose character of sanctity had given him the highest credit with the people, had espoused the cause of Edward, over whom he had already acquired a great ascendant ; and he was determined to execute the will of Edgar in his favour. To cut off all opposite pretensions, Dunstan resolutely anointed and crowned the young prince at Kingston ; and the whole kingdom, without farther dispute, submitted to him.

It was of great importance to Dunstan

and the monks to place on the throne a king favourable to their cause. On the first intelligence of Edgar's, death Alfer, duke of Mercia, expelled the new orders of monks from all the monasteries which lay within his jurisdiction ; but Elfwin, duke of East Anglia, and Brithnot, duke of the East Saxons, protected them within their territories, and insisted upon the execution of the late laws in their favour. In order to settle this controversy there were summoned several synods, which, according to the practise of those times, consisted partly of ecclesiastical members, partly of the lay nobility. The monks were able to prevail in these assemblies ; though, as it appears, contrary to the secret wishes of the leading men in the nation. They had more invention in forging miracles to support their cause ; or, having been so fortunate as to obtain, by their pretended austerities, the character of piety, their miracles were more credited by the populace.

In one synod Dunstan, finding the majority of votes against him, rose up, and informed the audience that he had that instant received an immediate revelation in behalf of the monks. The assembly was so astonished at this intelligence, or probably so overawed by the populace, that they proceeded no farther in their deliberations. In another synod a voice issued from the crucifix, and informed the members that the establishment of the monks was founded on the will of Heaven, and could not be opposed without impiety. But the miracle performed in the third synod was still more alarming. The floor of the hall in which the assembly met sunk of a sudden, and a great number of the members were either bruised or killed by the fall. It was remarked that Dunstan had that day prevented the king from attending the synod, and that the beam on which his own chair stood was the only one that did not sink under the weight of the assembly. But these circumstances were regarded as the surest proof of the immediate interposition of Providence in behalf of those favourities of Heaven.

Edward lived four years after his acces-

Several synods called.

They favour the new monks.

Dunstan strengthened by supposed miracles.

Pretended miracles deceive the people

* Ludwallas, prince of Wales, paid to him yearly, in way of tribute, 300 woulffes. By meane whereof,

within iiii yere in England and Wales myght scantily be found one woulffe.—*Langwette*.—Ed.

sion, and there passed nothing memorable during his reign. His death alone was memorable and tragical. This young prince was endowed with the most amiable innocence; and, as his own intentions were pure, was incapable of entertaining any suspicion against others. Though his step-mother had opposed his accession, he always shewed her marks of regard; and even expressed, on all occasions, the most tender affection towards his brother. He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire; and, being led by the chase near Corfe castle, where Elfrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue. After he had mounted his horse he desired some liquor to be brought him. While he was holding the cup to his head a servant of Elfrida approached him, and gave him a stab behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but, becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse till he expired. Being tracked by the blood, his body was found, and was privately interred at Wareham, by his servants.

The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, begat such compassion among the people, that they believed miracles to be wrought at his tomb;* and they gave him the appellation of Martyr, though his murder had no connexion with any religious principle or opinion. Elfrida built monasteries, and performed many penances, in order to atone for her guilt; but could never recover the good opinion of the public, though so easily deluded in those ignorant ages.

* That miracles were wrought at his grave, was seriously affirmed, and also that a sign in the heavens announced his coming fate. "After his death God shewed for him dyvers miracles. Wherefore he is numbered among the saintes and martyres. Before the death of this Edward appeared in this lande a blesynge sterre of marvellous greatnesse."—*Lanquette*.

Miracles were believed by the people to occur not unfrequently. One Flobert, an abbot, having died at this period, it was reported by the monks, his brethren, that when his corpse was about to be interred, the dead man suddenly raised himself, and declared that he had already been introduced into heaven by St. Benedict, and described the goodly appearance and superb dress of the saint, as well as the beauty of the nuns who attended him in his glory.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER III.

979—1066.

ETHELRED—SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS
EDMUND IRONSIDE—CANUTE—HAROLD
HAREFOOT — HARDICANUTE — EDWARD
THE CONFESSOR—HAROLD.

ETHELRED.

979—1016.

THE freedom which England had so long enjoyed, from the depredations of the Danes, seems to have proceeded partly from the establishments which that piratical nation had obtained in the north of France, and which employed all their superfluous hands to maintain them; partly from the vigour and warlike spirit of a long race of English princes, who prevented or repelled every attempt of the invaders. But, a new generation of men being now sprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer disburden themselves on Normandy, the English had reason to dread that the Danes would again visit an island, to which they were invited both by the memory of their past successes, and by the expectation of assistance from their countrymen; who, though long established in the kingdom, were not yet thoroughly incorporated with the natives, nor had entirely forgotten their inveterate habits of war and depredation.

The Danes, before they durst attempt any important enterprise, made an inconsiderable descent by way of trial; and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed. Six years after they made a like attempt in the west with like success. The invaders, having now found affairs in a very different situation from that in which they formerly appeared, encouraged their countrymen to hope for more considerable advantages. They landed in Essex under the command of two leaders; and, having defeated and slain, at Maldon, Brithnot, duke of that county, who ventured with a small body to attack them, they spread their devastations over all the neighbouring

Edward
visits El-
frida.

He is as-
sassinat-
ed by her ser-
vant.

Elfrida
builds mon-
asteries.

New incur-
sions of the
Danes ex-
pected.

They make
repeated
descents.



provinces. In this extremity Ethelred, to whom historians give the epithet of the Unready, instead of rousing his people to defend with courage their honour and their property, hearkened to the advice of Si-ricius, archbishop of Canterbury, which was seconded by many of the degenerate nobility; and, paying the enemy the sum of ten thousand pounds, he bribed them to depart the kingdom. This shameful expedient was attended with the success which might be expected. The Danes next year appeared off the eastern coast, in hopes of subduing a people who defended themselves by their money, which invited assailants, instead of their arms, which repelled them. But the English, sensible of their folly, had, in the interval, assembled in a great council, and had determined to collect at London a fleet able to give battle to the enemy; though that judicious measure failed of success, from the treachery of Alfric, duke of Mercia, whose name is infamous by the calamities which his repeated perfidy brought upon his country. This nobleman had, in 983, succeeded to his father Alfre in that extensive command; but, being deprived of it two years after, and banished the kingdom, he was obliged to employ all his intrigue, and all his power, to be restored to his country and reinstated in his authority. Having had experience of the credit and malevolence of his enemies, he thenceforth trusted for security, not to his services, or to the affections of his fellow citizens, but to the influence which he had obtained over his vassals, and to the public calamities; which he thought must, in every revolution, render his assistance necessary. As the English had formed the plan of surrounding and destroying the Danish fleet in harbour, he privately informed the enemy of their danger; and, when they put to sea in consequence, he deserted to them, with the squadron under his command, the night before the engagement. Ethelred, enraged at his perfidy, seized his son Alfgar, and ordered his eyes to be put out. But such was the power of Alfric that he again forced himself into authority; and, though he had given this specimen of his character, and received this grievous provocation, it was found

necessary to intrust him anew with the government of Mercia. This conduct of the court, so barbarous, weak, and imprudent, both merited and prognosticated the most grievous calamities.

The northern invaders, now well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful descent under the command of Sweyn king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway; and, sailing up the Humber, spread on all sides their destructive ravages. Lindesey was laid waste; Banbury destroyed; and all the Northumbrians, though mostly of Danish descent, were constrained either to join the invaders or to suffer under their depredations. A powerful army was assembled to oppose the Danes, and a general action ensued: but the English were deserted in the battle, from the cowardice or treachery of their three leaders, all of them men of Danish race; Frena, Frithegist, and Godwin; who gave the example of a shameful flight. Encouraged by this success, the pirates ventured to attack the centre of the kingdom; and, entering the Thames in ninety-four vessels, laid siege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens made a bolder defence than the cowardice of the nobility and gentry gave the invaders reason to apprehend; and the besiegers, after suffering the greatest hardships, were finally frustrated in their attempt. In order to revenge themselves, they laid waste Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire; and, having there procured horses, they were thereby enabled to spread, through the more inland counties, the fury of their depredations. In this extremity Ethelred and his nobles had recourse to the former expedient; and, sending ambassadors to the two northern kings, they promised them subsistence and tribute, on condition they would, for the present, put an end to their ravages, and soon after depart the kingdom. Sweyn and Olave agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton, where the sum of sixteen thousand pounds was paid to them. Olave even made a journey to Andover, where Ethelred resided; and he received the rite of confirmation from the English bishops, as well as many

Ethelred
gave them
money to
retire.

Alfric, duke
of Mercia,
succeeded
to the king-
dom for his
treachery.

He is re-
stored, and
restores his
kingdom.

Alfric
restored
to the king-
dom.

Sweyn and
Olave in-
vade Eng-
land.

London
unsuccess-
fully be-
sieged.

Tribute
paid to
Sweyn and
Olave.

rich presents from the king.* He here promised that he would never more infest the English territories; and he faithfully fulfilled the engagement. This prince receives the appellation of St. Olave from the church of Rome; and he seems to have been a man of merit and of virtue. Sweyn, though less scrupulous than Olave, was constrained to evacuate also the kingdom with all his followers.

This composition brought only a short interval to the miseries of the English. The Danish pirates appeared soon after in the Severn; and, having committed spoil in Wales as well as in Cornwall and Devonshire, they sailed to the south coast, and, entering the Tamar, completed the devastation of these two counties. They then returned to the Bristol channel; and, penetrating into the country by the Avon, spread themselves over all that neighbourhood, and carried fire and sword even into Dorsetshire. They next changed the seat of war; and, after ravaging the Isle of Wight, entered the Thames and Medway, and laid siege to Rochester; where they defeated the Kentish men in a pitched battle. After this victory the whole province of Kent was made a scene of slaughter, fire, and devastation. The extremity of these miseries forced the English into counsels for common defence both by sea and land; but the weakness of the king, the divisions among the nobility, the treachery of some, the cowardice of others, the want of concert in all, frustrated every endeavour. Their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulsed with dishonour; and the people were thus equally ruined by resistance or by submission. The English, therefore, had recourse to the same weak expedient which they had already found so ineffectual; they offered the Danes to buy peace. These ravagers rose continually in

their demands; and now required the payment of twenty-four thousand pounds, to which the English were so mean and imprudent as to submit. The departure of the Danes procured them another short interval of repose; which they enjoyed, without making any effectual preparations for a more vigorous resistance upon the next return of the enemy.

Besides receiving this sum, the Danes were engaged by another motive to depart. They were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who at this time were hard pressed by the arms of Robert king of France, and who found it difficult to defend the settlement which they had made in that country. It is probable also that Ethelred, observing the close connexions thus maintained among all the Danes, was desirous of forming an alliance with that formidable people. For this purpose, being now a widower, he made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II. duke of Normandy; and he soon succeeded in his negotiation. The princess came over in the year 1001 to England, and was married to Ethelred.†

In the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century (when the north, not yet exhausted by that multitude of people, or rather nations, which she had successively emitted, sent forth a new race, not of conquerors, as before, but of pirates and ravagers, who infested the countries possessed by her once warlike sons) lived Rollo, a petty prince or chieftain of Denmark. He was exposed in his youth to the jealousy of the king of Denmark, who attacked his small but independent principality; and who, being foiled in every assault, had recourse at last to perfidy for effecting his purpose. He lulled Rollo into security by an insidious peace; and, falling suddenly upon him, murdered his brother

* It is mentioned by ancient writers that Ethelred stipulated that the Danes should be baptized. In this he might please himself with the idea that he was following the precedent set by Alfred. But the latter monarch prescribed baptism to foes he had vanquished, not to triumphant robbers, at the moment when they were exacting tribute. It was a concession which Sweyn and his followers made with little difficulty, as they, with the exception of Olave, at-

tached no importance to the ceremony. Sweyn went through it more than once, and as often relapsed into idolatry; and one of his officers contemptuously proclaimed that he had been washed twenty times at the baptismal fount.—ED.

† This princess was received with great pomp, and long rejoicings followed the union, on which, sixty-five years afterwards, William duke of Normandy laid claim to the crown of England.—ED.

They de-
part the
kingdom.

The Danes
again deso-
late En-
gland.

Peace
purchased.

The Danes
return to
Normandy.

Ethelred
marries
Emma, a
Danish
princess.

Rollo, a
Danish
prince, an
object of
jealousy to
the king of
Denmark.

is forced
fly from
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and his bravest officers, and forced him to fly into Scandinavia. Here many of his ancient subjects ranged themselves under his standard, and offered to follow him in every enterprise. Rollo, instead of attempting to recover his paternal dominions, determined to pursue an easier, but more important, undertaking; and to make his fortune, by pillaging the richer and more southern coasts of Europe. He collected a body of troops, composed of Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations; who took delight in nothing but war and plunder. His reputation brought him associates from all quarters; and a vision, which he pretended to have appeared to him in his sleep, and which prognosticated the greatest successes, proved a powerful incentive with those ignorant and superstitious people. *

The first attempt made by Rollo was on England, near the end of Alfred's reign; when that great monarch, having settled Guthrum and his followers in East Anglia, and others of those freebooters in Northumberland, and having restored peace to his harassed country, had established the most excellent military as well as civil institutions among the English. The prudent Dane, finding that no advantages could be gained over such a people, governed by such a prince, soon turned his enterprises against France; and, during the reign of Eudes, an usurper, and of Charles the Simple, a weak prince, he committed the most destructive ravages. The French were obliged to offer the invaders a settlement in some of those provinces which they had depopulated.

The reason why the Danes for many years pursued measures so different from those which had been embraced by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, and other northern conquerors,

was the great difference in the method of attack which was practised by these several nations. The latter tribes, living in an inland country, made incursions by land upon the Roman empire; and, when they entered far into the frontiers, they were obliged to carry along with them their wives and families, whom they had no hopes of soon revisiting, and who could not otherwise participate of their plunder. This circumstance quickly made them think of forcing a settlement in the provinces which they had overrun. But the Danes and Norwegians, invited by their maritime situation, and obliged to maintain themselves in their uncultivated country by fishing, had acquired some experience of navigation; and in their military excursions pursued the method practised against the Roman empire by the more early Saxons. They made descents in small bodies from their ships, or rather boats; and, ravaging the coasts, returned with the booty to their families. But, when they increased their armaments, made incursions into the inland countries, and found it safe to remain, they had been accustomed to crowd their vessels with their wives and children; and willingly embraced an opportunity of settling in the cultivated fields of the south.

Affairs were in this situation with Rollo and his followers when Charles proposed to relinquish to them part of the province formerly called Neustria. After all the terms were fully settled there appeared only one circumstance shocking to the haughty Dane. He was required to do homage to Charles, and to put himself in that humiliating posture imposed on vassals by the rites of the feudal law. He long refused to submit to this indignity; but made a sacrifice of his pride to his interest, and acknowledged himself, in form, the vassal of the French

The Danes' system of warfare and rest from that of the Goths.

They made descents in small bodies.

Rollo becomes the vassal of the French king.

* The names of warriors who in ancient times passed from country to country, get materially changed in the course of their journeyings. This hero in the Norse, was called Gaungo Rolfe, which here was translated into Footman Rolf. He was thus called from being tall of stature, and so heavy that, as no horse could sustain his weight, he was obliged to march constantly on foot. He visited England in the time of Alfred; and that prince having made the dispositions proper for the reception of one of his quality,

Rolf in a dream fancied that he was in France sitting on a high hill, and looking on a noble river. Aquatic birds were seen enjoying the stream, and feeding on its banks. This, as we read in *Krantz Chronicon Regnorum Aquilonarium*, caused him to make peace with Alfred, and sail for France, where he established himself, and called the territory he occupied Normandy, after himself and followers, northmen, and here his name softened down into Raoul or Rollo. This is the chief mentioned in a former note.—Ed.

He marries the daughter of king Charles.

The French king insults Rollo's officer.

Rollo settles with his followers in Normandy.

He dies.

His son and grandson reign after him.

monarch. Charles gave him his daughter Gisla in marriage, and made him a donation of a considerable territory besides that which he was obliged to surrender. When the French nobles informed him that, in return for so generous a present, it was expected that he should throw himself at the king's feet, and make suitable acknowledgements, Rollo replied that he would rather decline the present; and it was with some difficulty they could persuade him to make that compliment by one of his captains. The Dane commissioned for this purpose, full of indignation at the order, and despising so unwarlike a prince, caught Charles by the foot; and pretending to carry it to his mouth that he might kiss it, overthrew him before all his courtiers. The French found it prudent to overlook this insult.

Rollo, who was now in the decline of life, applied himself to the settlement of his new acquired territory, which was thenceforth called Normandy; and he parcelled it out among his captains and followers. He followed, in this partition, the customs of the feudal law. He treated the French subjects with mildness and justice; he reclaimed his ancient followers from their ferocious violence; he established law and order; and died peaceably in a good old age, and left his dominions to his posterity.

William I. who succeeded him, governed the duchy twenty-five years; and during that time the Normans were thoroughly intermingled with the French; had acquired their language; had imitated their manners; and had made such progress towards cultivation that, on the death of William, his son Richard, though a minor, inherited his dominions. Richard, after a long reign of fifty-four years, was succeeded by his son, of the same name, in the year 996; which was eighty-five years after the first establishment of the Normans in France. This was the duke who gave his sister Emma in marriage to

Ethelred, king of England, and who thereby formed connexions with a country which his posterity was destined to subdue.

The Danes had been established during a longer period in England than in France; and, though the similarity of their original language to that of the Saxons invited them to a more early coalition with the natives, they had hitherto found so little example of civilized manners among the English, that they retained all their ancient ferocity, and valued themselves only on their military bravery. The recent as well as more ancient achievements of their countrymen tended to support this idea; and the English princes, particularly Athelstan and Edgar, had been accustomed to keep in pay bodies of Danish troops, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violences upon the inhabitants. These mercenaries had attained to such a height of luxury, according to the old English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, changed their clothes frequently; and by all these arts of effeminacy, as well as by their military character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the English,* and dishonoured many families. But what most provoked the inhabitants was, that, instead of defending them against invaders, they were ever ready to betray them to the foreign Danes. The animosity between the inhabitants of English and Danish race had, from these repeated injuries, risen to a great height; when Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of massacring the latter throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were dispatched to commence the execution every where on the same day; and the festival of St. Brice, which fell on a Sunday, the day on which the Danes usually bathed themselves, was chosen for that purpose. It is needless to repeat the

The Danes retain their ferocity;

But their habits become luxurious and effeminate.

Ethelred orders a general massacre.

* "The land was emptied of all coin, and the English were brought so low, that they were fain to till, and ear the ground, while the Danes sate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abusing the wives and daughters of their hosts where they

lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called Lord Danes;" (which afterwards became a word of derision, when one would signify a lazy lubber.)—Baker.—Ed.

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accounts transmitted concerning the barbarity of this massacre: the rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctified by authority, and stimulated by example, distinguished not between innocence and guilt; spared neither sex nor age; and was not satiated without the tortures as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, sister to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was, by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts, seized and condemned to death by Ethelred, after seeing her husband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

Never was prophecy better fulfilled; and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors. Sweyn and his Danes appeared off the western coast, and threatened to take full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Exeter fell first into their hands, from the negligence or treachery of Earl Hugh, a Norman, who had been made governor by the interest of queen Emma. They began to spread their devastations over the country; when the English, sensible what they must expect, made an appearance of vigorous resistance, But duke Alfric, who was intrusted with the command, feigning sickness, refused to lead the army against the Danes, till it was dispirited, and at last dissipated, by his fatal misconduct. Alfric soon after died; and Edric, a greater traitor than he, who had married the king's daughter, and had acquired a total ascendant over him, succeeded Alfric in the government of Mercia, and in the command of the English armies. A great famine added to the other miseries of the inhabitants. The country, wasted by the Danes, was reduced to the utmost desolation; and, in the year 1007, submitted to the infamy of purchasing a precarious peace by the payment of thirty thousand pounds.

The English endeavoured to employ this interval in making preparations against the return of the Danes, which they had reason soon to expect. A law was made, ordering the proprietors of eight hides of land to

provide each a horseman and a complete suit of armour; and those of three hundred and ten hides to equip a ship for the defence of the coast. When this navy was assembled, which must have consisted of near eight hundred vessels, all hopes of its success were disappointed by the factions, animosities, and dissensions of the nobility. Edric had impelled his brother Brightric to prefer an accusation of treason against Wolfnorth, governor of Sussex, the father of the famous earl Godwin; and that nobleman, well acquainted with the malevolence as well as power of his enemy, found no means of safety but in deserting with twenty ships to the Danes. Brightric pursued him with a fleet of eighty sail; but, his ships being shattered in a tempest, and stranded on the coast, he was suddenly attacked by Wolfnorth, and all his vessels were burnt and destroyed. The imbecility of the king was little capable of repairing this misfortune; the treachery of Edric frustrated every plan for future defence; and the English navy was at last scattered into its several harbours.

It is almost impossible to relate particularly all the miseries to which the English were thenceforth exposed. We hear of nothing but the sacking and burning of towns; the appearance of the enemy in every quarter of the kingdom. The governors of one province refused to march to the assistance of another; and were at last terrified from assembling their forces for the defence of their own province. General councils were summoned; but either no resolution was taken, or none was carried into execution. and the only expedient, in which the English agreed, was the base and imprudent one of buying a new peace by the payment of forty-eight thousand pounds.

This measure did not even bring them that short interval of repose which they had expected from it. The Danes continued their devastations and hostilities; levied a new contribution of eight thousand pounds upon the county of Kent alone; murdered the archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused to countenance this exaction: and the English nobility found no other resource than that of submitting

Edric impeaches
Wolfnorth,
father of
earl God-
win.

Wolfnorth
deserts to
the Danes.

Miserable
condition of
England.

Another
peace
bought.

The Danes
commit
fresh out-
rages.

every where to the Danish monarch, swearing allegiance to him, and delivering him hostages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had sent before him queen Emma, and her two sons Alfred and Edward. Richard received his unhappy guests with a generosity that does honour to his memory.

Death of
Sweyn.

The king had not been above six weeks in Normandy when he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough, before he had time to establish himself in his new acquired dominions. The English prelates and nobility sent over a deputation to Normandy; expressing a desire of being again governed by their native prince; and intimating their hopes that he would avoid all those errors which had been attended with such misfortunes to himself and to his people. But the misconduct of Ethelred was incurable; and on his resuming the government he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the insults of his enemies. His son-in-law Edric, notwithstanding his repeated treasons, retained such influence at court as to instil into the king jealousies of Sigefert and Morcar, two of the chief nobles of Mercia. Edric allured them into his house, where he murdered them; Ethelred participated in the infamy of the action, by confiscating their estates, and thrusting into a convent the widow of Sigefert. She was a woman of singular beauty and merit; and, in a visit which was paid her during her confinement by Prince Edmond, the king's eldest son, she inspired him with so violent an affection that he released her from the convent, and soon after married her, without the consent of his father.

Ethelred re-
turns.

Edric mur-
ders Sig-
fert and
Morcar.

Prince Ed-
mond mar-
ries Sig-
fert's
widow.

Meanwhile the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than the prince from whom death had so lately delivered him. He ravaged the eastern coast with merciless fury, and put ashore all the English hostages at Sandwich, after having cut off their hands and noses. He was obliged to make a voyage to Denmark; but, returning soon after, he continued his depredations along

Canute mu-
tilates the
English
hostages.

the southern coast. He even broke into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; where an army was assembled against him under the command of Prince Edmond and duke Edric. The latter still continued his perfidious machinations; and, after endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to disperse the army; and he then openly deserted to Canute with forty vessels.

Edric de-
serts to him.

Notwithstanding this, Edmond was not disconcerted; but, assembling all the force of England, was in a condition to give battle to the enemy. The king had had such frequent appearance of perfidy among his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them. He remained at London, pretending sickness, but really from apprehensions that they intended to buy their peace by delivering him into the hands of his enemies. The army called aloud for their sovereign to march at their head; and, on his refusal, they were so discouraged that those vast preparations became ineffectual for the defence of the kingdom. Edmond, deprived of all regular supplies, was obliged to commit equal ravages with those which were practised by the Danes; and, after making some fruitless expeditions into the north, which had submitted entirely to Canute's power, he retired to London, determined there to maintain, to the last extremity, the small remains of English liberty. He here found every thing in confusion by the death of the king, who expired after an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-five years. He left two sons by his first marriage; Edmond, who succeeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were immediately, upon Ethelred's death, conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma.

The king
refuses to
lead his
army.

Ethelred
dies.

EDMOND IRONSIDE.

1016—1017.

THIS prince, who received the name of Ironside from his hardy valour, possessed courage and abilities sufficient to have prevented his country from sinking into those calamities, but not to raise it from that abyss of misery into which it had already

Edmond
Ironside
reigns.

fallen. Treachery and disaffection had crept in among the nobility and prelates; and Edmond found no better expedient, for stopping the farther progress of these fatal evils, than to lead his army instantly into the field against the common enemy. After meeting with some success at Gillingham, he prepared to decide, in one general engagement, the fate of his crown; and at Scoerston, in the county of Gloucester, he offered battle to the enemy, commanded by Canute and Edric. Fortune, in the beginning of the day, declared for him; but Edric, having cut off the head of one Osmer, whose countenance resembled that of Edmond, fixed it on a spear, carried it through the ranks in triumph, and called aloud to the English, that it was time to fly; for, behold! the head of their sovereign. And though Edmond, observing the consternation of the troops, took off his helmet, and shewed himself to them, the utmost he could gain by his activity and valour was to leave the victory undecided. Edric now took a surer method to ruin him, by pretending to desert to him; and, as Edmond was well acquainted with his power, he was obliged, notwithstanding the repeated perfidy of the man, to give him a considerable command. A battle soon ensued at Asington, in Essex; where, Edric, flying in the beginning of the day, occasioned the total defeat of the English, followed by a great slaughter of the nobility. The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources. Assembling a new army at Gloucester, he was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed with those con-

vulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty.* Canute reserved to himself the northern division, consisting of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued; the southern parts were left to Edmund. This prince survived the treaty about a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric,† who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

CANUTE.

1017—1035.

THE English, who had been unable to defend their country, under so active and brave a prince as Edmond, could, after his death, expect nothing but total subjection from Canute; who, active and brave himself, and at the head of a great force, was ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the two sons of Edmond. Before he seized the dominions of the English princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states, in order to fix the succession of the kingdom. He suborned some nobles to depose that, in the treaty of Gloucester, it had been verbally agreed either to name Canute, in case of Edmond's death, successor to his dominions, or tutor to his children, and that evidence, supported by the great power of Canute, determined the states immediately to put the Danish monarch in possession of the government. Canute, jealous of the two princes, sent them abroad to his ally the king of Sweden; whom he desired, as soon as they arrived at

* At Deerhurst, near to the river Severn, another battel was ready to be fought, when suddenly a certain captain stepped forth, and, for saving of blood, used great persuasions, that either they should try the battle by single combat, or else divide the kingdom betwixt them. Upon this the combat is agreed on; and the two princes entering into a small island called Alney, adjoining to the city of Gloucester, in complete armour, assailed each other; at first on horseback, and after on foot: when Canutus having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself overmatched in strength, desired a compromise, and with a loud voice uttered these words: "What necessity should move us, most valiant prince, for obtaining of a title, to endanger our lives? Were it not better to lay aside malice, and condescend to a loving agreement? Let

us, therefore, become sworn brothers, and divide the kingdom between us." This motion was by King Edmund accepted.—*Baker*—*Ed*.

† But now Duke Edrick hath his last and greatest act of treachery to play, for King Edmund being retired to a place for nature's necessity, he thrust from under the draught a sharp spear into his body, and then cutting off his head, presented it to Canutus, with these fawning words: "All hail! thou sole monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy co-partner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off."—*Baker*. Some writers state the crime to have been perpetrated by Edric's son, at the bidding of his traitorous father. Roger de Hoveden states him to have died a natural death.—*Ed*.

The elder
prince, Ed-
win, dies.

his court, to free him by their death from all farther anxiety. The Swedish monarch was too generous to comply with the request; but, being afraid of drawing on himself a quarrel with Canute by protecting the young princes, he sent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, to be educated in his court. The elder Edwin was afterwards married to the sister of the king of Hungary; but, the English prince dying without issue, Solomon gave his sister-in-law Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II., in marriage to Edward the younger brother; and she bore him Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who retired into a convent.

Canute
courts the
nobility.

Canute, though he had reached the great point of his ambition in obtaining possession of the English crown, was obliged to make great sacrifices; and to gratify the chief of the nobility, by bestowing on them the most extensive governments and jurisdictions. He created Thurkill earl or duke of East Anglia (for these titles were then nearly of the same import), Yric of Northumberland, and Edric of Mercia; reserving only to himself the administration of Wessex. But, seizing afterwards a favourable opportunity, he expelled Thurkill and Yric from their governments, and banished them. He put to death many of the English nobility, whom he hated on account of their disloyalty to their native prince. And even the traitor Edric, having had the assurance to reproach him with his services, was condemned to be executed, and his body to be thrown into the Thames; a suitable reward for his multiplied acts of perfidy and rebellion.*

The traitor
Edric
among
them.

Canute also found himself obliged to load the people with heavy taxes, to reward his Danish followers. He exacted from them at one time the sum of seventy-two

thousand pounds; besides eleven thousand pounds which he levied on London alone. He was probably willing, from political motives, to mulct severely that city, on account of the affection which it had borne to Edmond, and the resistance which it had made to the Danish power in two obstinate sieges. But these rigours were imputed to necessity; and Canute, like a wise prince, was determined that the English, now deprived of all their dangerous leaders, should be reconciled to the Danish yoke by the impartiality of his administration. He sent back to Denmark as many of his followers as he could safely spare; he restored the Saxon customs in a general assembly of the states; he made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all.

Heavy
taxes im-
posed by
Canute.

Justice
equally ad-
ministered.

The removal of Edmond's children into so distant a country as Hungary, was, next to their death, regarded by Canute as the greatest security to his government; he had no farther anxiety, except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were protected by their uncle Richard, duke of Normandy. Richard even fitted out a great armament, in order to restore the English princes to the throne of their ancestors; and, though the navy was dispersed by a storm, Canute saw the danger to which he was exposed from the enmity of so warlike a people as the Normans. In order to acquire the friendship of the duke, he paid his addresses to Queen Emma, sister of that prince; and promised that he would leave the children, whom he should have by that marriage, in possession of the crown of England.† Richard sent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute.‡ The English, though they dis-

Edmond's
children
protected
by the duke
of Nor-
mandy.

Canute
marries
Queen
Emma.

* Other writers make it appear that Edric was doomed to the fate he merited, by the indignation which Canute felt at the treason from which he profited. To the flattery of Edric, on making known the death of Edmond, the Dane, we read, gave for answer: "Seynge for my love thou haste murdered thine owne soveraigne lorde, whom I loved most intierly: I shall in rewarde thereof, exalt thy head above all the lordes of Englande." And forthwith commanded him to be beheaded, and his head to be set upon a speare on the highest gate of London.—*Laquetie*.

† Emma consented that the succession to the crown of England should, in her marriage articles, be settled on the children she might bear to Canute. Her first-born deeply resented this surrender of their rights, which were subsequently asserted by William, and, by the course of events, have prevailed through eight centuries.—*Ed*.

‡ Emma, for her great beauty, was called "the flower," or "the pearl of Normandy." Of her other merits we have no account. The facility with which she transferred her affections to a second lord, the

approved of her espousing the mortal enemy of her former husband, were pleased to find at court a sovereign who had already formed connexions with them. And thus Canute, besides securing by this marriage the alliance of Normandy, gradually acquired the confidence of his own subjects. The Norman prince did not long survive the marriage of Emma; and he left the inheritance of the duchy to his eldest son of the same name; who, dying a year after him without children, was succeeded by his brother Robert, a man of valour and abilities.

Canute, having settled his power in England, made a voyage to Denmark, to resist the attacks of the king of Sweden; and he carried along with him a great body of the English, under the command of earl Godwin. This nobleman had here an opportunity of performing a service, by which he both reconciled the king's mind to the English nation, and, gaining to himself the friendship of his sovereign, laid the foundation of that immense fortune which he acquired to his family. He was stationed next the Swedish camp; and, observing a favourable opportunity, he attacked the enemy in the night, drove them from their trenches, threw them into disorder, pursued his advantage, and obtained a decisive victory over them. Next morning Canute, seeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that those disaffected troops had deserted to the enemy; he was agreeably surprised to find that they were engaged in pursuit of the discomfited Swedes. He was so pleased with his success, that he bestowed his daughter upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

In another voyage to Denmark, Canute attacked Norway; and, expelling the unwarlike Olaus, kept possession of his kingdom till the death of that prince. He had now attained the utmost height of grandeur. Having leisure from wars, he began to cast his view towards that future existence,

which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satiated by prosperity or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its attention. Unfortunately, the spirit which prevailed in that age gave a wrong direction to his devotion; instead of making compensation to those whom he had injured, he employed himself entirely in those exercises of piety which the monks represented as the most meritorious. He built churches; he endowed monasteries; he enriched the ecclesiastics; and he bestowed revenues for the support of chantries at Assington, and other places, where he appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had there fallen in battle against him. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he resided a considerable time. Besides obtaining from the pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes, through whose dominions he was obliged to pass, to desist from those heavy impositions and tolls which they were accustomed to exact from the English pilgrims. By this spirit of devotion, no less than by his equitable administration, he gained, in a good measure, the affections of his subjects.

Canute, the greatest monarch of his time, sovereign of Denmark and Norway as well as of England, could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers; a tribute which is liberally paid even to the meanest and weakest princes. Some of his flatterers, breaking out one day in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed that every thing was possible for him: upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the sea shore while the tide was rising; and, as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He feigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but, when the sea still advanced towards him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them that every creature in

The king becomes a devotee.

He makes a pilgrimage to Rome.

Adulation of his courtiers.

Canute affects to command the sea.

enemy of her first husband, may find some excuse in the worthlessness of Ethelred. Her affection as a mother, she also withdrew from his children, to bestow it on her son by Canute. Neglected by their mother,

Ethelred's sons, educated in a foreign land, grew up Normans. From this circumstance important consequences followed.—ED.

He approves the flattery of his courtiers.

the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one Being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature; who could say to the ocean, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;' and who could level with his nod the most towering piles of human pride and ambition.

The Danegelt, a tax, imposed to buy peace with the Danes.

The only memorable action which Canute performed after his return from Rome was an expedition against Malcolm, king of Scotland. During the reign of Ethelred a tax of a shilling a hide had been imposed on all the lands of England. It was commonly called Danegelt; because the revenue had been employed either in buying peace with the Danes, or in making preparations against the inroads of that hostile nation. That monarch had required that the same tax should be paid by Cumberland, which was held by the Scots; but Malcolm, a warlike prince, told him that, as he was always able to repulse the Danes by his own power, he would neither submit to buy peace of his enemies, nor pay others for resisting them. Ethelred, offended at this reply, which contained a secret reproach on his own conduct, undertook an expedition against Cumberland; but, though he committed ravages upon the country, he could never bring Malcolm to a temper more submissive. Canute summoned the Scottish king to acknowledge himself a vassal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but Malcolm refused, on pretence that he owed homage to those princes only who inherited that kingdom by right of blood. Canute was not of a temper to bear this insult; and the king of Scotland soon found that the sceptre was in very different hands from those of the feeble Ethelred. Upon Canute's appearing on the frontiers with a formidable army, Malcolm agreed that his grandson and heir, Duncan, whom he put in possession of Cumberland, should make the submissions required, and that the heirs of Scotland should always acknowledge themselves vassals to England for that province.

Malcolm, the Scottish king, refuses to pay it.

His grandson does homage to Canute for Cumberland.

Canute dies.

Canute passed four years in peace after this enterprise, and he died at Shaftsbury; leaving three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute. Sweyn, whom he had by

his first marriage with Aliwen, daughter of the earl of Hampshire, was crowned in Norway; Hardicanute, whom Emma had borne him, was in possession of Denmark; Harold, who was of the same marriage with Sweyn, was at that time in England.

Harold, Canute's second son, the only one at this time in England.

HAROLD HAREFOOT.

1035—1039.

THOUGH Canute, in his treaty with Richard, duke of Normandy, had stipulated that his children by Emma should succeed to the crown of England, he had either considered himself as released from that engagement by the death of Richard, or esteemed it dangerous to leave an unsettled and newly conquered kingdom in the hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute; he therefore appointed, by his will, Harold successor to the crown. This prince was besides present to maintain his claim; he was favoured by all the Danes; and he got immediately possession of his father's treasures. Hardicanute had the suffrages of the English, who, on account of his being born among them of Queen Emma, regarded him as their countryman; he was favoured by the articles of treaty with the duke of Normandy; and, above all, his party was espoused by earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, especially in the province of Wessex, the chief seat of the ancient English. By the interposition of the nobility a compromise was made: and it was agreed that Harold should enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute; and, till that prince should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition.

Harold succeeds him.

The kingdom divided between Harold and Hardicanute.

Meanwhile Robert, duke of Normandy, died in a pilgrimage to the holy land, and, being succeeded by a son yet a minor, the two English princes, Alfred and Edward, who found no longer any protection in that country, gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a visit, with a numerous retinue, to their mother Emma; who seemed to be placed in a state of so much power and

splendour at Winchester. But the face of affairs soon wore a melancholy aspect. Earl Godwin had been gained by the arts of Harold, who promised to espouse the daughter of that nobleman; and, while the treaty was yet a secret, these two tyrants laid a plan for the destruction of the English princes. Alfred was invited to London by Harold * with many professions of friendship; but, when he had reached Guilford, he was set upon by Godwin's vassals; about six hundred of his train were murdered; he himself was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. † Edward and Emma, apprised of the fate which was awaiting them, fled beyond sea; the former into Normandy, the latter into Flanders: while Harold, triumphing in his bloody policy, took possession of all the dominions assigned to his brother.

This is the only memorable action performed, during a reign of four years, by this prince, who gave so bad a specimen of his character, and whose bodily accomplishments alone are known to us by his appellation of Harefoot, which he acquired from his agility in running and walking. He died on the fourteenth of April 1039, little regretted, and left the succession open to his brother Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE.

1039—1041.

HARDICANUTE, or Canute the Hardy, that is, the robust (for he too is chiefly known by his bodily accomplishments), had determined, before Harold's death, to recover by arms what he had lost either by his own

negligence, or by the necessity of his affairs. On pretence of paying a visit to the queen dowager in Flanders, he had assembled a fleet of sixty sail, and was preparing to make a descent on England, when intelligence of his brother's death induced him to sail immediately to London, where he was acknowledged king without opposition.

The first act of Hardicanute's government afforded his subjects a bad prognostic of his future conduct. He was so enraged at Harold for depriving him of his share of the kingdom, and for the cruel treatment of his brother Alfred, that he ordered his body to be dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames; and, when it was found by some fishermen, and buried in London, he ordered it again to be dug up, and to be thrown again into the river: but it was fished up a second time, and then interred with great secrecy. Godwin, equally servile and insolent, submitted to be his instrument in that brutal action.

That nobleman perhaps hoped, by displaying this rage against Harold's memory, to justify himself from having had any participation in his counsels. But prince Edward, being invited over by the king, immediately preferred an accusation against Godwin for the murder of Alfred, and demanded justice for that crime. Godwin, to appease the king, made him a magnificent present of a galley with a gilt stern, rowed by four score men, who wore each of them a gold bracelet on his arm, weighing sixteen ounces, and were armed and clothed in the most sumptuous manner. Hardicanute, pleased with the splendour of this spectacle, quickly forgot his brother's murder; and, on Godwin's swearing that he was innocent of the crime, he allowed him to be acquitted.

* Queen Emma has been accused of the diabolical act of addressing an invitation to her sons, in order to betray them to death. The charge may have been founded on her known indifference to them, after her second marriage. Her subsequent flight almost disproves it.—Ed.

† Abominable as the course pursued must be considered, the statement in the text does not do justice to its atrocity. Earl Godwin, then in favour with Queen Emma, having inveigled Alfred, the younger son, to England, found him attended by a considerable body of soldiers. These were marched to Guildford, and there provided for by the earl, with unsparing liberality, in the different parts of the

town. During the night, while they slept, the unsuspecting strangers were seized and bound, and the next day drawn out, to the number of six hundred, and handed over to executioners, by whom, with the exception of every tenth man, they were tortured and put to death. The unhappy Alfred, hurried to London, was there meanly insulted by Harold, and thence sent, wretchedly mounted, with his feet tied beneath the horse's belly, to the Isle of Ely, where, after a mock trial, a Danish tribunal sentenced him to lose his eyes, which were instantly torn from his head; and the prince died in a few days, after suffering extremity of pain.—Ed.

Harold renews the Danegelt.

Insurrection in Worcester punished.

Hardicanute dies suddenly.

The Saxon laws restored.

Though Hardicanute had been called over by the vows of the English, he soon lost the affections of the nation by his misconduct; but nothing appeared more grievous to them than his renewing the imposition of Danegelt, and obliging the nation to pay a great sum of money to the fleet which brought him from Denmark. In Worcester the populace rose, and put to death two of the collectors. The king swore vengeance against the city; and ordered three noblemen (Godwin, duke of Wessex, Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia) to execute his menaces with the utmost rigour. They were obliged to set fire to the city, and deliver it up to be plundered; but they saved the lives of the inhabitants, whom they confined in a small island of the Severn, called Bevery, till they were able to appease the king, and obtain the pardon of the supplicants.

This violent government was of short duration. Hardicanute died in two years after his succession, at the nuptials of a Danish lord. His usual habits of intemperance were so well known, that his sudden death gave as little surprise as it did sorrow to his subjects.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

1041—1066.

THE English, on the death of Hardicanute, saw a favourable opportunity for shaking off the Danish yoke, under which they had so long laboured. Sweyn, king of Norway, the eldest son of Canute, was absent, and none of that race presented himself. Prince Edward was fortunately at court on his brother's demise; and, though the descendants of Edmond Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon family, yet their absence appeared a sufficient reason for their exclusion. The Danes, without concert, without a leader, astonished at the present incident, and anxious only for their personal safety, durst not oppose the united voice of the nation.

But this concurrence of circumstances in favour of Edward might have failed of its effect, had his succession been opposed by Godwin. There were opposite reasons

which divided men's hopes and fears with regard to Godwin's conduct. On the one hand, the credit of that nobleman lay chiefly in Wessex, which was almost entirely inhabited by English: it was therefore presumed that he would second the wishes of that people in restoring the Saxon line, and in humbling the Danes; from whom he, as well as they, had reason to dread the most grievous oppressions. On the other hand, there subsisted a declared animosity between Edward and Godwin, on account of Alfred's murder, of which the latter had publicly been accused by the prince, and which he might believe so deep an offence as could never be sincerely pardoned. But their common friends here interposed; and obliged them to lay aside all jealousy and rancour, and concur in restoring liberty to their native country. Godwin only stipulated that Edward, as a pledge of his sincere reconciliation, should promise to marry his daughter Editha; and, having fortified himself by this alliance, he summoned a general council at Gillingham, and prepared every measure for securing the succession to Edward. The English were unanimous in their resolutions; the Danes were divided; any small opposition was browbeaten and suppressed; and Edward was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and affection.

The triumph of the English, upon this decisive advantage, was at first attended with some insult and violence against the Danes; but the king, by mildness, soon reconciled the latter to his administration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. The Danes were interspersed with the English; they spoke nearly the same language; they differed little in their manners and laws; domestic dissensions in Denmark prevented, for some years, any powerful invasion which might awaken past animosities; and, as the Norman conquest, soon after, reduced both nations to equal subjection, there is no farther mention of any difference between them. The joy, however, of their present deliverance made such impression on the minds of the English, that they instituted an annual festival for celebrating that great

Animosity between Edward and Godwin.

They are reconciled.

Edward is crowned.

The Danes and English become united.

event; and it was observed in some countries even to the time of Spellman.

The popularity which Edward enjoyed on his accession was not destroyed by the first act of his administration, his resuming all the grants of his immediate predecessors. The poverty of the crown convinced the nation that this was become absolutely necessary; and, as the loss fell chiefly on the Danes, who had obtained large grants from the late kings, the English were rather pleased to see them reduced to their primitive poverty. The king's severity also towards his mother, the queen dowager, met not with very general disapprobation.* He had hitherto lived on indifferent terms with that princess; he accused her of neglecting him and his brother during their adverse fortune; he remarked that, as the superior qualities of Canute, and his better treatment of her, had made her entirely indifferent to the memory of Ethelred, she also gave the preference to her children of the second bed, and always regarded Hardicanute as her favourite. The same reasons had probably made her unpopular in England; and the nation was not in general displeased to see her stripped by Edward of immense treasures which she had amassed. He confined her, during the remainder of her life, in a monastery at Winchester. The stories of his accusing her of a participation in her son Alfred's murder, and of a criminal correspondence with the bishop of

Winchester, and also of her justifying herself by treading barefoot, without receiving any hurt, over nine burning ploughshares, were the inventions of the monkish historians, and were propagated and believed from the silly wonder of posterity.†

The English flattered themselves that by the accession of Edward they were delivered for ever from the dominion of foreigners; but they soon found that this evil was not yet entirely removed. The king had been educated in Normandy, and had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners. The court of England was soon filled with Normans. The study of the French tongue became general among the people;‡ the courtiers affected to imitate that nation in their dress, equipage, and entertainments; even the lawyers employed a foreign language in their deeds; but, above all, the church felt the influence and dominion of those strangers. Ulf and William, two Normans, who had formerly been the king's chaplains, were created bishops of Dorchester and London. Robert, a Norman also, was promoted to the see of Canterbury, and always enjoyed the highest favour of his master, of which his abilities rendered him not unworthy. And, though the king's prudence, or his want of authority, made him confer almost all the civil and military employments on the natives, the ecclesiastical preferments fell

* An opinion prevailed that the queen dowager was not only a cold heartless woman, but that her conduct was most dissolute. The charge, according to some writers, was most satisfactorily set at rest. She "was accused of dishonestie of her body with Alwyne bishop of Winchester, and being led blyndfolded unto the place where the glowing hot irons were laid, went forward with her bare feet, and so passed over them; and being gon past them all, and not knowing whether she were passed them or not, said, 'O good Lord, when shal I come to the place of my purgation.' And having her eyes uncovered, and seeing herself to have passed them, she kneeled down and gave thanks to God for manifesting her innocence."—*Verstegan*.—Ed.

† Her daughter Guinhelda, wife to "the Roman Emperor, Henry the third," was in like manner accused, and enjoyed a triumph as remarkable as that of her mother. At first no one appeared in her defence; but "at last an English Page, a very Boy and Dwarf, who for the littleness of his stature was jeastringly called Mimecan, adventured to maintain her innocency against a mighty giant-like combatant,

who in fight at one blow cutting the sinews of his adversaries leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his sword taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Emperesses life and honour."—*Baker*.—Ed.

‡ M. Augustin Thierry gives an amusing picture of the rage which prevailed for everything Norman. He says "every suitor, provided he could converse in Norman French, might reckon with certainty on a favourable answer. This language banished from the palace the national tongue, which became an object of ridicule to the foreign courtiers; and every Englishman, who endeavoured to please his sovereign, found himself under the necessity of babbling his flatteries in this favourite idiom. The men of rank, of ambition, and of intrigue, studied and spoke it in their castles, as the only dialect worthy of a personage of birth: the large Saxon mantle was thrown aside for the short Norman cloak; even the letters of their writing were changed into the long-shaped Norman characters; and instead of signing their names at the foot of their deeds, as before, they suspended them to seals of wax, in the Norman fashion."—Ed.

The Normans excite the jealousy of Godwin.

Great influence of the Godwin family.

The king slights Godwin's daughter.

And gains the title of a saint.

often to the share of the Normans; and, they had secretly a great influence on public affairs, and excited the jealousy of the English, particularly of earl Godwin.

This powerful nobleman, besides being duke or earl of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government. His eldest son Sweyn possessed the same authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, and Hereford; and Harold, his second son, was duke of East Anglia, and at the same time governor of Essex. The great authority of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin himself, contributed to render it still more dangerous. A prince of greater capacity and vigour than Edward would have found it difficult to support the dignity of the crown under such circumstances; and, as the haughty temper of Godwin made him often forget the respect due to his prince, Edward's animosity against him was grounded on personal as well as political considerations. The king, in pursuance of his engagements, had indeed married Editha, the daughter of Godwin; but this alliance became a fresh source of enmity between them. Edward's hatred of the father was transferred to that princess; and Editha, though possessed of many amiable accomplishments, could never acquire the confidence and affection of her husband. It is even pretended that, during the whole course of her life, he abstained from all commerce of love with her,* and such was the absurd admiration paid to an inviolable chastity during those ages, that his conduct in this particular is highly celebrated by the monkish historians, and greatly contributed to his acquiring the title of saint and confessor.

The most popular pretence, on which Godwin could ground his disaffection to the king and his administration, was the influence of the Normans in the government; Eustace, count of Bologne, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover in his return. One of his train, being refused

entrance to a lodging which had been assigned him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest he wounded the master of the house. The inhabitants revenged this insult by the death of the stranger; the count and his train took arms, and murdered the wounded townsman; a tumult ensued; near twenty persons were killed on each side; and Eustace, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. He hurried immediately to court, and complained of the usage he had met with. The king was highly displeased that a stranger of such distinction,† whom he had invited over to his court, should, without any just cause, as he believed, have felt so sensibly the animosity of his people. He gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to punish the inhabitants for the crime: but Godwin refused obedience, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame of the riot on the count and his retinue. Edward, touched in so sensible a point, saw the necessity of exerting the royal authority; and he threatened Godwin, if he persisted in his disobedience, to make him feel the utmost effects of his resentment.

The earl, perceiving a rupture to be unavoidable, and pleased to embark in a cause where it was likely he should be supported by his countrymen, made preparations for his own defence, or rather for an attack on Edward. Under pretence of repressing some disorders on the Welsh frontier, he secretly assembled a great army; and was approaching the king, who resided, without any military force and without suspicion, at Gloucester. Edward applied for protection to Siward, Duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, two powerful noblemen; whose jealousy of Godwin's greatness, as well as their duty to the crown, engaged them to defend the king in this extremity. They hastened to him with such of their followers as they could assemble; and, finding the danger much greater than they had at first apprehended,

Eustace Count of Bologne, attacked by the populace.

Godwin, ordered to punish the people of Dover, disobeys the command.

He takes arms against the king.

Edward is supported by Siward and Leofric.

* The descriptions handed down to us of Editha serve but to render the conduct of *Saint* Edward more odious and absurd. Celebrated for her beauty, she was learned, free from pride, and generous. As

the daughter of Earl Godwin, the Monk Ingulphus regards her as a rose springing from a thorn.—ED.

† Eustace was the father of the far-famed conqueror of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bologne.—ED.

they issued orders for mustering all the forces within their respective governments, and for marching them without delay to the defence of the king's person and authority. Edward, meanwhile, endeavoured to gain time by negotiation: while Godwin, who thought the king entirely in his power, fell into the snare; and lost the favourable opportunity of rendering himself master of the government.

The English, though they had no high idea of Edward's vigour and capacity, bore him great affection on account of his humanity, justice, and piety, as well as the long race of their native kings from whom he was descended; and they hastened from all quarters to defend him. His army was now so considerable that he ventured to take the field; and, marching to London, he summoned a great council to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his sons. These noblemen pretended at first that they were willing to stand their trial, provided they might receive hostages for their safety. This proposal being rejected, they were obliged to disband the remains of their forces, and have recourse to flight. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Gurth, Sweyn, and Tosti; the latter of whom had married the daughter of that prince; Harold and Leofwin, two other of his sons, took shelter in Ireland. The estates of the father and sons were confiscated; their governments were given to others; queen Editha was confined in a monastery at Warewel; and the greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplanted and overthrown.

But Godwin had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and he was too strongly supported by alliances both foreign and domestic, not to occasion farther disturbances. The earl of Flanders permitted him to purchase and hire ships within his harbours; and Godwin, having manned them with his followers and with free-

booters of all nations, put to sea, and attempted to make a descent at Sandwich. The king had equipped a fleet, much superior to that of the enemy; and the earl hastily made his retreat into the Flemish harbours. The English court, destitute of all vigorous counsels, allowed the seamen to disband, and the fleet to go to decay; while Godwin, expecting this event, kept his men in readiness for action. He sailed to the Isle of Wight; where he was joined by Harold, with a squadron which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. He was now master of the sea; and, entering every harbour in the southern coast, he seized all the ships, and summoned his followers in those counties, which had so long been subject to his government, to assist him in procuring justice to himself, and his country, against the tyranny of foreigners. Reinforced by great numbers, he entered the Thames; and, appearing before London, threw every thing into confusion. The king alone seemed resolute to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretensions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation: and the feigned humility of the earl, who disclaimed all intentions of offering violence, and desired only a fair and open trial, paved the way for his more easy admission. It was stipulated that he should give hostages for his good behaviour, and that the primate and all the foreigners should be banished. By this treaty the present danger of a civil war was obviated; but the authority of the crown was annihilated. Edward, sensible that he had not power sufficient to secure Godwin's hostages in England, sent them over to his kinsman, the young duke of Normandy.

Godwin's death, which happened soon after, while he was sitting at table with the king, prevented him from reducing Edward to still greater subjection.* He was suc-

* As Erle Godwine sate at the table with King Edward, it happened one of the cuppe bearers to stumble, and recouer agayne, so that he did sheade none of the drynke: whereat Godwine lowgh and saied: "Now that one brother hath susteigned that

other." With whiche words the king callyng to mind his brother's death, that was slain by Godwine, behelde the Erle saiyng: "So should my brother Alphrede have holpen nee had Godwine ben." Godwine then fearing the kinges displeasure to be newly

Harold, his son, greatly ambitious.

He appears the king.

He is the cause of new dissensions.

Leofric and Algar, his rivals, die.

ceeded in the government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, and in the office of steward of the household, a place of great power, by his son Harold; who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address and in virtue. By a modest demeanour he acquired the good-will of Edward, at least softened that hatred which the prince had so long borne his family; and, gaining every day new partisans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent, and therefore a more dangerous manner, to the increase of his authority. The king, who had not sufficient vigour directly to oppose his progress, knew of no other expedient than that hazardous one of raising him a rival in the family of Leofric, duke of Mercia, whose son Algar was invested with the government of East Anglia, which, before the banishment of Harold, had belonged to the latter nobleman. But this policy, of balancing opposite parties, required a more steady hand to manage it than that of Edward; and naturally produced faction, and even civil broils. Algar was soon after expelled his government by the intrigues and power of Harold; but, being protected by Griffith, prince of Wales, who had married his daughter, as well as by the power of his father, Leofric, he obliged Harold to submit to an accommodation, and was reinstated in the government of East Anglia. This peace was not of long duration. Harold, taking advantage of Leofric's death, which happened soon after, expelled Algar anew, and banished him the kingdom: and, though that nobleman made a fresh irruption into East Anglia with an army of Norwegians, and overran the country, his death soon freed Harold from the pretensions of so dangerous a rival. Edward, the eldest son of Algar, was indeed advanced to the government of Mercia; but the balance, which the king desired to establish between those potent families, was wholly lost, and the influence of Harold greatly preponderated.

kindled, after many words in excusing himself, said: "So mought I safely swallow this morsell of bread, as I am giltlesse of the dede." But as soon as he

The death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, made the way still more open to the ambition of that nobleman. Siward had acquired honour to England by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan, king of Scotland, was a prince of a gentle disposition; but possessed not the genius requisite for governing a country so turbulent. Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, and nearly allied to the crown, not content with curbing the king's authority, carried still farther his pestilent ambition: he put his sovereign to death; chased Malcolm Kenmore, his son and heir, into England; and usurped the crown. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, embraced, by Edward's orders, the protection of this distressed family. He marched an army into Scotland; and, having defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, he restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service, added to his former connexions with the royal family of Scotland, brought a great accession to the authority of Siward in the north; but, as he had lost his eldest son Osberne in the action with Macbeth, it proved in the issue fatal to his family. His second son Walthoef appeared, on his father's death, too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Tosti.

There are two circumstances related of Siward, which discover his high sense of honour and his martial disposition. When intelligence was brought him of his son Osberne's death he was inconsolable, till he heard that the wound was received in the breast, and that he had behaved with great gallantry in the action. When he found his own death approaching he ordered his servants to clothe him in a complete suit of armour; and, sitting erect on the couch with a spear in his hand, declared that in that posture, the only one worthy of a warrior, he would patiently await the fatal moment.

had received the breade forthwith he was choked."—*Epitome of Chronicles.*

Death of Siward.

He had killed Macbeth in battle.

Harold procures the duchy of Northumberland for his brother

Siward dies in his armour.

The king, now worn out with cares and infirmities, felt himself far advanced in the decline of life; and, having no issue, sent a deputation to Hungary, to invite over his nephew Edward, son of his elder brother, and the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince came to England with his children, Edgar, surnamed Atheling, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival, threw the king into new difficulties. He saw that the great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to think of obtaining possession of the throne on the first vacancy, and that Edgar, on account of his youth, was very unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and enterprising a rival. The animosity which he had long borne to earl Godwin made him averse to the succession of his son. In this uncertainty he secretly cast his eye towards his kinsman William, duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, and reputation, and capacity, could support any destination which he might make in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

This famous prince was natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise; * and was very early established in that grandeur from which his birth seemed to have set him at so great a distance. While he was but nine years of age his father had resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a fashionable act of devotion, which had taken place of the pilgrimages to Rome. Before his departure he assembled the states of the duchy, and engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son William, whom, as he had no legitimate issue, he intended, in case he should die in the pilgrimage, to leave successor to his dominions.

This prince, as he had apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his son was attended with all those disorders

which were almost unavoidable in that situation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal animosities, and made the whole country a scene of war and devastation. Roger, count of Toni, and Alain, count of Brittany, advanced claims to the dominion of the state; and Henry I., king of France, thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vassal, who had originally acquired his settlement in so violent and invidious a manner, and who had long appeared formidable to his sovereign. The regency established by Robert encountered great difficulties in supporting the government under this complication of dangers; and the young prince, when he came to maturity, found himself reduced to a very low condition: but the great qualities, which he soon displayed in the field and in the cabinet, gave encouragement to his friends, and struck a terror into his enemies. He opposed himself on all sides against his rebellious subjects, and against foreign invaders; and by his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. He obliged the French king to grant him peace; he expelled all pretenders to the sovereignty; and he reduced his turbulent barons to submission. The natural severity of his temper appeared in a rigorous administration of justice; and, having found the happy effects of this plan of government, without which the laws in those ages became totally impotent, he regarded it as a fixed maxim, that an inflexible conduct was the first duty of a sovereign.

The tranquillity which he had established had given William leisure to pay a visit to the king of England, during the time of Godwin's banishment; and he was received in a manner suitable to the great reputation which he had acquired, and to the obligations which that prince owed to his family. † On the return of Godwin, and the expul-

* The father of William was the hero who enjoyed the name of *Robert le Diable*. On one occasion, returning from the chase, his attention rested on a fair young female, who was then occupied washing clothes in a brook. He was induced to make proposals to her to become his mistress. The tanner is said to have spurned at the offer in the first instance; but, on second thoughts, he consulted his brother, a pious hermit, on the subject, who exhorted him in all things

to meet the wishes of Robert. To her and her offspring the duke manifested the most affectionate and enduring attachment.—ED.

† What he saw in England, if it did not first inspire him with the wish to become its sovereign, greatly encouraged his hopes. Thierry writes: "In riding through the land, the Duke of Normandy might have safely persuaded himself that he had not quitted his own dominions. The captains of the English fleet

Disputes in Normandy.

William succeeds his father.

He vanquishes his enemies.

William visits England.

Edward persuaded to adopt him.

He is rewarded by the king as his successor.

Harold increases popularity.

He claims the location of his relations detained as hostages.

sion of the Norman favourites, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, had, before his departure, persuaded Edward to think of adopting William as his successor; a counsel which was favoured by the king's aversion to Godwin, his prepossessions for the Normans, and his esteem of the duke. That prelate, therefore, received a commission to inform William of the king's intentions in his favour; and he was the first person that opened the mind of the prince to entertain those ambitious hopes. But Edward, irresolute and feeble in his purpose, had, in the mean time, invited his brother's descendants from Hungary, with a view of having them recognised heirs to the crown. The death of his nephew made him resume his former intentions in favour of the duke of Normandy; though his aversion to hazardous enterprises engaged him to postpone the execution, and even to keep his purpose secret from all his ministers.

Harold meanwhile proceeded, after a more open manner, in increasing his popularity, in establishing his power, and in preparing the way for his advancement. But there was still an obstacle to overcome. Earl Godwin, when restored to his power and fortune, had given hostages for his good behaviour; and among the rest one son and grandson, whom Edward, as has been related, had consigned to the custody of the duke of Normandy. Harold, though not aware of the duke's being his competitor, was uneasy that such near relations should be detained prisoners in a foreign country; and he was afraid lest William should, in favour of Edgar, retain these pledges as a check on the ambition of any other pretender. He represented, therefore, to the king his unfeigned submission to royal authority, and the little necessity there was, after such a trial of

which received him at Dover were Normans; they were Norman soldiers that formed the garrison of the castle; crowds of governors and dignified ministers, who came to pay their respects, were Normans; and Edward's Norman favourites respectfully ranged themselves round their feudal chief; so that William appeared in England almost more a king than Edward himself."—Ed.

* The king seems very reluctantly to have acquiesced in this step. "I cannot refuse you my permission," he said to Harold; "but if you will set out it must be against my advice; for certain I am that

his disobedience, to detain any longer those hostages. By these topics, enforced by his great power, he extorted the king's consent to release them; and, in order to effect his purpose, he immediately proceeded, with a numerous retinue, on his journey to Normandy.* A tempest drove him on the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu; who immediately detained him prisoner, and demanded an exorbitant sum for his ransom. Harold found means to convey intelligence of his situation to the duke of Normandy; and represented that, while he was proceeding to his court, in execution of a commission from the king of England, he had met with this harsh treatment from the mercenary disposition of the count of Ponthieu.

William was immediately sensible of the importance of the incident. He foresaw that, if he could once gain Harold, Edward would meet with no farther obstacle in executing the favourable intentions which he had entertained in his behalf. He sent, therefore, a messenger to Guy, in order to demand the liberty of his prisoner; and that nobleman, not daring to refuse so great a prince, put Harold into the hands of the Norman, who conducted him to Rouen. William received him with every demonstration of friendship; and, after shewing himself disposed to comply with his desire in delivering up the hostages, he took an opportunity of disclosing to him the great secret of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. He desired the assistance of Harold; he promised that the present grandeur of Harold's family, which supported itself with difficulty under the jealousy and hatred of Edward, should receive new increase from a successor who would be so greatly beholden to him.† Harold was surprised at this declaration of

your going to Normandy will cause some misfortune to yourself and your country. I know duke William and his crafty spirit; and be assured that he hates you; nor will he accede to your wishes unless he shall be satisfied that what you seek will tend to his advantage. To get back the hostages it were better that you should send another than go yourself."—*Thierry*.

† Thierry gives us a very striking picture of the manner in which William proceeded to the execution of his design. His plan was deeply laid, and executed with the skill of a master. "When Edward and

Harold shipwrecked and made prisoner.

He is liberated by William.

Harold invited to favour William's views.



Harold
still com-
pliance.

the duke; but, being sensible that he should never recover his own liberty, much less that of his brother and nephew, if he refused the demand, he feigned a compliance with William, renounced all hopes of the crown for himself, and professed his sincere intention of seconding the pretensions of the duke of Normandy. William, besides offering him one of his daughters in marriage, required him to take an oath that he would fulfil his promises; and employed an artifice well suited to the ignorance and superstition of the age. He secretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the reliques of some of the most revered martyrs; and, when Harold had taken the oath, he shewed him the reliques, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction.* The English nobleman was astonished; but, dissembling his concern, he was dismissed with all the marks of mutual confidence by the duke of Normandy.

He is made
to swear on
concealed
reliques of
martyrs.

When Harold found himself at liberty, his ambition suggested casuistry sufficient to justify to him the violation of an oath which had been extorted. He continued to practise every art of popularity; to increase the number of his partisans; to

reconcile the minds of the English to the idea of his succession; to revive their hatred of the Normans; and to deter the timorous Edward from executing his intended destination in favour of William. Fortune threw two incidents in his way, by which he was enabled to increase the character which he had already attained of virtue and abilities.

Harold still
aspires to
the crown.

The Welsh, though a less formidable enemy than the Danes, had long been accustomed to infest the western borders; and, after committing spoil on the low countries, they usually made a hasty retreat into their mountains. Griffith, the reigning prince, had greatly distinguished himself in those incursions; and his name had become so terrible, that Harold found he could do nothing more acceptable to the public, and more honourable for himself, than the suppressing of so dangerous an enemy. He formed the plan of an expedition against Wales; and, having prepared some light-armed foot to pursue the natives into their fastnesses, some cavalry to scour the open country, and a squadron of ships to attack the sea coast, he employed at once all these forces; prosecuted his advantages with vigour; made no intermission in his assaults; and reduced the enemy to such

Griffith,
Prince of
Wales, dis-
turbs Eng-
land.

Harold
vanquishes
Griffith.

I lived like twin brothers," said the duke, "in the same tent, he made me a promise, that, if ever he became king of England, he would nominate me heir to the crown. Harold," he proceeded, "I should like well that you would give me your assistance to make this promise good; and rest satisfied that, if by your aid I obtain the kingdom, I shall very readily grant you all that you demand." Harold, completely taken by surprise by this unexpected fit of confidence, could only reply to it by expressions of vague acquiescence; when William artfully went on: "Since my friend is willing to assist me, I must be so bold as to point out what I require from him. The castle of Dover must be given up to my soldiers; a well must be sunk in it, and its defences must be strengthened; and the ties between us must be more strongly drawn together by your giving the hand of your sister to one of my principal officers, and by your marrying my daughter Adela. I shall also expect that you will leave with me one of the hostages you have claimed, who will accompany me to England, when I come to claim the crown."—*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*.—Ed.

* The manner in which this was effected was not a little singular. "He (William) caused the bones and reliques of the saints, that were in the neighbourhood, to be secretly collected, and put into a large hamper

or hollow vessel, which he covered with a cloth of gold, and placed in the middle of the hall of council. When the duke had seated himself in his chair of state, holding in his hand a rich sword, ornamented with a chaplet of flowers of gold, and having his barons around, he ordered a missal to be brought, and placed upon the vessel which contained the relics. With a loud voice he then spoke: 'Harold, I here require thee, in the presence of this august assembly, to confirm by oath the promises which thou hast made, to assist my attempts to gain the crown of England after the death of Edward.' The Saxon, again taken by surprise, did not dare to deny his promise. Approaching the missal with a troubled air, he placed his right hand upon its leaves, and swore to fulfil his engagements to the duke if life were spared to him, and God but granted his assistance. 'May God assist him,' shouted the assembled throng; and while Harold remained on the spot, on a signal from the duke the sacred book was removed, the cloth of gold which covered the relics was lifted, and the dry bones and skeletons, which filled the hamper to the brim, were exposed, upon which, in utter ignorance of their presence, the son of Godwin had sworn an oath of tremendous sanctity."—*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*.—Ed.

The head of Griffith sent to Harold as a peace offering.

A rebellion in Northumberland.

Morcar, its chief, vindicates himself.

Harold restores tranquillity.

distress, that, in order to prevent their total destruction, they made a sacrifice of their prince, whose head they cut off and sent to Harold: and they were content to receive as their sovereigns two Welsh noblemen, appointed by Edward to rule over them. The other incident was no less honourable to Harold.

Tosti, brother of this nobleman, who had been created duke of Northumberland, being of a violent tyrannical temper, had acted with such cruelty that the inhabitants chased him from his government. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, who possessed great power in those parts, and who were grandsons of the great duke Leofric, concurred in the insurrection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced with an army to oppose Harold, who was commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians. Before the armies came to action, Morcar, well acquainted with the generous disposition of the English commander, endeavoured to justify his own conduct. He represented to Harold that Tosti had behaved in a manner unworthy of the station to which he was advanced, and no one, not even a brother, could support such tyranny without participating, in some degree, of the infamy attending it; that the Northumbrians, accustomed to a legal administration, and regarding it as their birthright, were willing to submit to the king, but required a governor who would pay regard to their rights and privileges; and they trusted that Harold, on reflection, would not defend in another that violent conduct from which he himself, in his own government, had always kept at so great a distance. This vigorous remonstrance was accompanied with such a detail of facts, that Harold found it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and, returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians, and to confirm Morcar in the government.

* Harold, on his return, acquainted the king with what had passed in Normandy. The monarch reminded him that he had been warned, when about setting out, that fatal consequences would follow the step he contemplated, from the knowledge he had of William's character. His conduct, as described by

He even married the sister of that nobleman; and by his interest procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be elected into the government of Mercia. Tosti in a rage departed the kingdom, and took shelter in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his father-in-law.

By this marriage Harold broke all measures with the duke of Normandy; and William clearly perceived that he could no longer rely on the oaths and promises which he had extorted from him. But the English nobleman saw that almost all England was engaged in his interests; while he himself possessed the government of Wessex, Morcar that of Northumberland, and Edwin that of Mercia. He now openly aspired to the succession; and insisted that, since it was necessary, by the confession of all, to set aside the royal family on account of the imbecility of Edgar, the sole surviving heir, there was no one so capable of filling the throne as a nobleman of great power, of long experience, of approved courage and abilities; who, being a native of the kingdom, would effectually secure it against the dominion and tyranny of foreigners.* Edward, broken with age and infirmities, took but feeble and irresolute steps for securing the succession to the duke of Normandy.† While in this uncertainty he was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his grave on the fifth of January, 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

This prince, to whom the monks give the title of saint and confessor, was the last of the Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity less to his own abilities than to the conjunctures of the times. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compiling for that purpose

the old chroniclers, would justify an inference that he himself had been imposed upon, as Harold was, and feared to break his oath, though he deplored and resented the fraud.—ED.

† See note B at the end of the volume.

Tosti with-draws to Flanders.

Harold openly aspires to the succession.

Death of King Edward.

His laws favoured the nation.

a body of laws, which he collected from the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now lost (for the laws that pass under Edward's name were composed afterwards), was long the object of affection to the English nation.

Edward the Confessor was the first that touched for the king's evil. The opinion of his sanctity procured belief to this cure among the people. His successors regarded it as a part of their state to uphold the same opinion. The practice was first dropped by the present royal family, who observed that it could no longer give amazement even to the populace, and was attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of understanding.

HAROLD.

1066.

HAROLD had so well prepared matters that he immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and his accession was attended with as little opposition as if he had succeeded by the most undoubted hereditary title. The citizens of London were his zealous partisans; the bishops and clergy had adopted his cause; and all the powerful nobility willingly seconded his pretensions. The title of Edgar Atheling was scarcely mentioned; much less the claims of the duke of Normandy: and Harold, assembling his partisans, received the crown from their hands without waiting for the free deliberation of the states, or regularly submitting the question to their determination. The new prince, taking a general silence for consent, and founding his title on the supposed suffrages of the people, which appeared unanimous, was, on the day immediately succeeding Edward's death, crowned and anointed king by Aldred, archbishop of York. The whole nation seemed joyfully to acquiesce in his elevation.

The first symptoms of danger which the king discovered came from his own brother Tosti; who had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders. Enraged at the successful ambition of Harold, he filled the court of Baldwin with complaints of the

injustice which he had suffered; he engaged the interest of that family against his brother; he sent his emissaries to Norway, in order to rouse to arms the freebooters of that kingdom; and, that he might render the combination more formidable, he made a journey to Normandy, in expectation that the duke, who had married Matilda, another daughter of Baldwin, would, in revenge of his own wrongs as well as those of Tosti, second, by his counsels and forces, the projected invasion of England.

The duke of Normandy, when he first received intelligence of Harold's accession, had been moved to the highest pitch of indignation; he sent an embassy to England, upbraiding that prince with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign possession of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambassadors that the oath, with which he was reproached, had been extorted by the well grounded fear of violence; that he had had no commission, either from the late king or the states of England, who alone could dispose of the crown, to make any tender of the succession to the duke of Normandy; and if he, a private person, had assumed so much authority, and had even voluntarily sworn to support the duke's pretensions, the oath was unlawful, and it was his duty to seize the first opportunity of breaking it; that he had obtained the crown by the unanimous suffrages of the people; and that the duke, if he made any attempt by force of arms, should experience the power of an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, sensible of the obligations imposed on him by his royal dignity, was determined that the same moment should put a period to his life and to his government.

This answer was no other than William expected; and he had previously fixed his resolution of making an attempt upon England. He considered that England had enjoyed profound tranquillity during a period of near fifty years; and it would require time for its soldiers to learn discipline, and its generals experience. He knew that it was entirely unprovided with fortified towns, but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a

The freebooters of Norway called to arms.

William of Normandy claims the kingdom.

Harold declares the oath he had sworn to be unlawful.

Harold resolves to maintain his crown.

William prepares to invade England.

veteran enemy, who, being once master of the field, would be in a condition to overrun the kingdom. And he hoped that the very circumstance of his crossing the sea, quitting his own country, and leaving himself no hopes of retreat, as it would astonish the enemy by the boldness of the enterprise, would inspirit his soldiers by despair, and rouse them to sustain the reputation of the Norman arms.

The Normans distinguished for their valour.

The Normans, as they had long been distinguished by valour among all the European nations, had at this time attained to the highest pitch of military glory. Besides acquiring by arms such a noble territory in France, they had, about this very time, revived their ancient fame by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes, in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers in Italy had acquired such an ascendant, not only over the Italians and Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled those foreigners, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdom of Naples and Sicily. These enterprises of men who were all of them vassals in Normandy, many of them banished for faction and rebellion, excited the ambition of the haughty William; who disdained to be deterred from making an attack on a neighbouring country, where he could be supported by the whole force of his principality.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily formed by the Normans.

The general state of Europe.

The situation also of Europe inspired William with hopes that, besides his brave Normans, he might employ against England the flower of the military force which was dispersed in all the neighbouring states.

* A minute and interesting account is preserved by an old writer of the manner in which William received the news of Edward's death, and the course taken by Harold. He was in his park at Rouen, amusing himself with archery, when the intelligence arrived. It threw him into a deep reverie, and he mechanically gave his bow and arrows to an attendant. It was some time before any one ventured to disturb him; but at length one of his counsellors said, "My lord, the report goes that the King of England is dead, and that Earl Harold, forgetful of his oath, has claimed the crown." "It is too true," replied William, with a start of indignation, "and I have at once to mourn the death of Edward and the wrong done to me by Harold." "For the death of Edward," the counsellor replied, "there is no remedy,

France, Germany, and the Low Countries, by the progress of the feudal institutions, were divided and subdivided into many principalities and baronies; and the possessors, enjoying the civil jurisdiction within themselves, as well as the right of arms, acted, in many respects, as independent sovereigns. A military spirit had universally diffused itself throughout Europe; and the several leaders, whose minds were elevated by their princely situation, greedily embraced the most hazardous enterprises. United, however loosely, by their duty to one superior lord, and by their connexions with the great body of the community to which they belonged, they desired to spread their fame, and to outshine each other by the reputation of strength and prowess.* Hence their impatience of peace, and their readiness to embark in any dangerous enterprise, how little soever interested in its failure or success.

Circumstances favourable to the designs of William.

William, by his power, his courage, and his abilities, had long maintained a pre-eminence among those haughty chieftains; and every one who desired to signalize himself had been ambitious of acquiring a reputation in the court and in the armies of Normandy. Entertained with that hospitality which distinguished the age, they had formed attachments with the prince, and greedily attended to the prospects of glory which he promised them in return for their concurrence in an expedition against England.† The more grandeur there appeared in the attempt, the more it suited their romantic spirit. The fame of the intended invasion was already diffused every where; multitudes crowded to tender

The feudal chieftains give him their aid.

but for the wrong you sustain from Harold have you not brave soldiers to do you justice, when, as now, the right is on your side. Promptly address yourself to it then. A work well and bravely begun is half completed." This advice was not thrown away on William.—ED.

† It was not a romantic passion for glory alone that filled the ranks of the invading army. A thirst for gain contributed quite as much to the triumph of the conqueror. "As if he had been already in London, William gave a chateau for a man-at-arms, a county for a ship. The prayers of the monks, and the wax tapers which they burnt for his success, were requited with abbeyes and bishoprics. It was not merely a conquest that the bastard meditated; his was a scheme of universal pillage."—Burette.—ED.

to the duke their service, with that of their vassals and retainers; and William found less difficulty in completing his levies than in rejecting the offers of those who were impatient to acquire fame under so renowned a leader.*

Besides these advantages, which William owed to his personal valour, he was indebted to fortune for removing many obstacles. Conan, count of Brittany, was his mortal enemy: in order to throw a damp upon the duke's enterprise, he chose this conjuncture for reviving his claim to Normandy itself; and he required that, in case of William's success against England, the possession of that duchy should devolve to him. But Conan died suddenly after making this demand; and Hoel, his successor, zealously seconded the duke's views; and sent his eldest son, Alain Fergant, to serve under him with a body of five thousand Britons. The counts of Anjou and of Flanders encouraged their subjects to engage in the expedition: and even the court of France, though it might justly fear the aggrandizement of so dangerous a vassal, pursued not its interests on this occasion with sufficient vigour and resolution. Philip I., the reigning monarch, was a minor; and William, having communicated his project to the council, having desired assistance, and offered to do homage, in case of his success, for the crown of England, was indeed openly ordered to lay aside all thoughts of the enterprise; but the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, being at the head of the regency, secretly encouraged the adventurous nobility to enlist under the standard of the duke of Normandy.†

The emperor Henry IV., besides giving all his vassals permission to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his

protection to the duchy of Normandy during the absence of the prince, and thereby enabled him to employ his whole force in the invasion of England. But the most important ally whom William gained was the pope, who had a mighty influence over the ancient barons. The Roman pontiff began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe; to assume the office of a mediator, or even an arbiter, in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs; and to obtrude his dictates as sovereign laws. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II., the reigning pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he alone had made him umpire of the dispute between him and Harold; but there were other advantages which that pontiff foresaw must result from the conquest of England. That kingdom maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration; and it had hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander therefore hoped that the French and Norman barons, if successful, might import into that country a more devoted reverence to the holy see, and bring the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the continent. He declared in favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and, the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his enterprise, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion.

The greatest difficulty which William had to encounter in his preparations arose from his own subjects in Normandy. The states of the duchy were assembled at Lisle-

* William of Mahnesbury tells us, great care was taken by the future monarch that the invading army should be most perfect. "His different squadrons and battalions were composed of the tallest and strongest soldiers; whilst he took care the chief captains and officers, besides having a perfect knowledge of the military art, should be men of mature age and experience." He adds: "when seen at the head of their followers, they would have been taken for kings, not officers."—Ed.

† Among the eminent chiefs who aspired to share the dangers and the glory of this great adventure, William de Poitiers, well known to modern readers by the excellent edition of his "Vie de Guillaume le Conquerant," prepared by the celebrated statesman and minister of Louis Philippe, M. Guizot; Robert, Count of Mortain; Robert, Count of Eu; Richard, Count of Erreux; Roger de Beaumont, Roger de Montgomery; William Fitz-Osborne, and Hago the Viscount.—Ed.

The states of Normandy at first unfavourable.

In the end they support William's enterprise.

Splendour of his camp.

Noble names.

bonne; and, supplies being demanded for the intended enterprise, there appeared a reluctance in many members, both to grant sums so much beyond the common measure of taxes in that age, and to set a precedent of performing their military service at a distance from their own country. The duke, finding it dangerous to solicit them in a body, conferred separately with the richest individuals in the province; and gradually engaged all of them to advance the sums demanded.* The count of Longueville seconded him in this negotiation; as did the count of Montaigne, Odo, bishop of Baieux, and especially William Fitz-Osborne, count of Breteuil, and constable of the duchy. Every person, when he himself was once engaged, endeavoured to bring over others; and at last the states themselves voted that they would assist their prince to the utmost in his intended enterprise.

William had now assembled a fleet of three thousand vessels, great and small, and had selected an army of sixty thousand men. The camp bore a splendid yet a martial appearance, from the discipline of the men, the beauty and vigour of the horses, and the lustre of the arms; but, above all, from the high names of nobility who engaged under the banners of the duke of Normandy. The most celebrated were Eustace, count of Bologne, Aimeri de Thouars, Hugh d'Estaples, William d'Evreux, Geoffrey de Rotrou, Roger de Beaumont, William de Warenne, Roger de Montgomery, Hugh de Grantmesnil, Charles Martel, and Geoffrey Giffard. To

* The *Chronicle of Normandy* gives a detailed account of the resistance made to William's views by the states of Normandy. It was strongly urged by its leading members, that they had no right to aid him in any expedition beyond the seas. William Fitz-Osborne, the seneschal of Normandy, recommended the malcontents, both as a matter of policy and duty, to support their duke. They however subscribed but sparingly; and thought it prudent to instruct Fitz-Osborne, who knew their means, to excuse to William the smallness of their contributions. It was deemed prudent on their part to accompany him when he waited on the duke. This precaution was justified in the sequel, for Fitz-Osborne having eulogized the loyal zeal of those he represented, continued as follows, "Would you believe it, my lord, they are anxious to do more; they are as anxious to serve you beyond sea as on this side of it. Proceed

these bold chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valour; and, pointing to the opposite shore, called to them, that there was the field on which they must erect trophies to their name, and fix their establishments.

While he was making these mighty preparations, the duke, that he might increase the number of Harold's enemies, excited the inveterate rancour of Tosti; and encouraged him, in concert with Harold Halfager, king of Norway, to infest the coasts of England. Tosti, having collected about sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, put to sea, and sailed to Northumberland, and was there joined by Halfager, who came over with a great armament of three hundred sail. The combined fleets entered the Humber, and disembarked the troops; when Morcar, earl of Northumberland, and Edward, earl of Mercia, the king's brother-in-law, having hastily collected some forces, ventured to give them battle. The action ended in the defeat and flight of these two noblemen.

Harold, informed of this defeat, hastened with an army to the protection of his people. This prince, though he was not sensible of the full extent of his danger, gave so many proofs of an equitable and prudent administration, that the English found no reason to repent the choice which they had made of a sovereign. They flocked from all quarters to join his standard; and as soon as he reached the enemy at Standford he found himself in a condition to give them battle. The action was bloody; but the victory was decisive on the side of Harold,

then in your designs, and spare for nothing. He who as yet has furnished only two mounted soldiers, is ready to double his contribution." The astonished assembly here interrupted the speaker with exclamations of "No, no; we never authorized you so to speak; we never promised anything of the kind. Let the duke stay here, and we will render him the services which are his due. We are not bound to assist him in conquering the dominions of another prince. If we once consent to this, it will form a dangerous precedent, and be hereafter claimed as a right; and a future sovereign may prove a hard task-master to our children. This we declare shall never be." Neither Fitz-Osborne nor William himself could still the tumult thus created; and in this disposition the assembly broke up." The point was eventually carried by the means stated in the text.—ED.

Tosti excited to make a descent on England.

The earls of Northumberland and Mercia defeated.

Harold beloved by the English.

He gains victory.

and ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, together with the death of Tosti and Haflagar.* Even the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of Harold; who had the generosity to give prince Olave, the son of Haflagar, his liberty, and allow him to depart with twenty vessels. But he had scarcely time to rejoice for this victory, when he received intelligence that the duke of Normandy was landed with a great army in the south of England.

The Norman fleet and army had been assembled, early in the summer, at the mouth of the small river Dive, and all the troops had been instantly embarked; but the winds proved long contrary, and detained them in that harbour. The good discipline maintained had prevented any disorder; when at last the wind became favourable, and enabled them to sail along the coast till they reached St. Valori. There were, however, several vessels lost in this short passage; and, as the wind again proved contrary, the army began to imagine that heaven had declared against them. These bold warriors, who despised real

dangers, were very subject to the dread of imaginary ones; and many of them began to mutiny, some of them even to desert their colours; when the duke ordered a procession to be made with the reliques of St. Valori, and prayers to be said for more favourable weather.† The wind instantly changed; and, as this incident happened on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelar saint of Normandy, the soldiers, fancying they saw the hand of Heaven in all these concurring circumstances, set out with the greatest alacrity. They met with no opposition on their passage. A great fleet, which Harold had assembled, and which had cruised all the summer off the Isle of Wight, had been dismissed, on his receiving false intelligence that William had laid aside his preparations. The Norman armament arrived, without any material loss, at Pevensey in Sussex; and the army disembarked. The duke, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.

The winds prove contrary.

The superstition of the soldiers worked upon.

William arrives on the coast of Sussex.

* Of this battle, some very interesting particulars have been handed down to us. "Before it commenced, twenty Saxon horsemen, clad, both men and horse, in steel, rode up to the Norwegian lines, and one of them called aloud, "Where is Tosti, the son of Godwin?" "He is here," replied Tosti himself. "If thou art he," proceeded the Saxon, "thy brother bids me salute thee. He offers thee peace, friendship, and a restoration to thy ancient honours." "These are fair terms," was the reply, "and very different, it must be owned, from the injuries with which for the last year he has loaded me. But should I accept his offer, what will be granted to Harold, the son of Sigurd, my noble ally?" "He shall have," the messenger answered, "seven feet of English earth, or a trifle more, for his height exceeds the common run of men." "Go back then to my brother," said Tosti, "and bid him prepare for battle. It shall never be said the son of Godwin has betrayed the son of Sigurd." Upon this the battle began; and almost at the first shock, the Norwegian king received an arrow in his throat, which killed him on the spot. Tosti then took the command of the troops; and his brother Harold a second time sent to offer him and his Norwegian allies life and pardon; but all exclaimed they would rather die than be under any obligation to the Saxon. It was at this moment that the soldiers who had been on board the fleet came up, in full armour, but worn out with their long march under a burning sun. Though strong in numbers, they could not sustain the shock of the English, who had already broken the first line, and seized the royal standard. Tosti was slain, and along with him most

of the Norwegian chiefs. For the third time Harold offered peace to the vanquished, which was then accepted."—*Thierry*. Snorro adds some striking facts. The Norwegian king having asked of Tosti who it was that addressed him from the Saxon lines before the battle, was told "It was my brother, king Harold." "Had I known him," replied the Norwegian, "he at least should never have returned to tell of our defeat." "He behaved rashly," said Tosti, "for so great a prince, to venture so near, for there was some chance that what you mention might have happened; but I knew that he came to offer me peace, and an ample territory; and in such a case, I should have preferred being slain by him rather than that he should have fallen by my hand." "He is a little man, but he stood firmly in his stirrups," was the cool reply of the Norwegian king.—*Heimskringla*.—Ed.

† William, at this critical moment, displayed all the accomplishments of a great commander. "He subdued adversity by prudence, and, concealing as far as he could the death of those who had perished in the waves, gave orders to bury them with secrecy, and in the mean time comforted his men by daily increasing their rations. Then it was that, by various remonstrances, he consoled the drooping and re-animating the feeble; and, arming himself with holy prayers, that it would please heaven to change the adverse winds into favourable breezes, he caused the body of St. Valori, the beloved of God, to be carried out of the church, followed in procession by all whose duty it was to assist in this act of Christian humility. At length the fair wind so much wished for arose."—*Guillaume de Poitiers*.—Ed.

William receives seizure of the kingdom.

And a soldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which, as if giving him seizure of the kingdom, he presented to his general.* The joy and alacrity of William and his whole army was so great, that they were nowise discouraged, even when they heard of Harold's great victory over the Norwegians: they seemed rather to wait with impatience the arrival of the enemy.

Harold marches to meet him.

The victory of Harold, though great and honourable, may be regarded as the immediate cause of his ruin. He lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers in the action; and he disgusted the rest by refusing to distribute the Norwegian spoils among them. He hastened, by quick marches, to reach this new invader; but, though he was re-inforced at London and other places, he found himself also weakened by the desertion of his old soldiers, who from fatigue and discontent secretly withdrew from their colours. His brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and remonstrated with the king, that it would be better policy to prolong the war. He urged that the desperate situation of the duke of Normandy made it requisite for that prince to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the issue of a battle; but that the king of England, in his own country, beloved by his subjects, provided with every supply, had more certain, and less dangerous, means of ensuring the victory: that the Norman troops, elated on the one hand with the highest

Gurth advises him against immediately giving battle.

hopes, and seeing on the other no resource in case of a discomfiture, would fight to the last extremity; and, being the flower of all the warriors of the continent, must be regarded as formidable to the English; that, if their first fire, which is always the most dangerous, were allowed to languish for want of action; if they were harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, and fatigued with the bad weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, they must fall an easy prey to their enemy: that, if a general action were delayed, the English, sensible of the imminent danger to which their properties, as well as liberties, were exposed, would hasten from all quarters to his assistance: that, at least, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought not to expose his own person; and that, having once been so unfortunate as to be constrained to swear, and that upon the holy reliques, to support the pretensions of the duke of Normandy, it were better that the command of the army should be intrusted to another; who, not being bound by those sacred ties, might give the soldiers more assured hopes of a prosperous issue to the combat.

He justifies by strong reasons that advice.

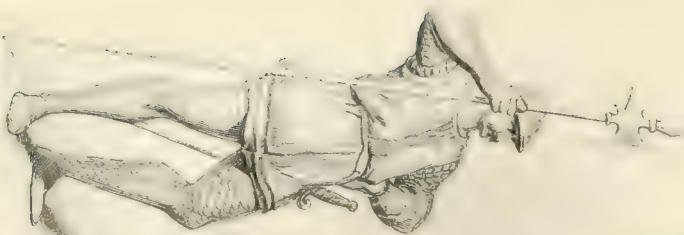
Gurth recommends Harold not to command in person.

Harold was deaf to all these remonstrances: elated with his past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, he resolved to give battle in person; and for that purpose he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Hastings.† He was so confident of success, that he sent a mes-

The Normans remove to Hastings.

* "The duke leaping, all armed as he was, from the boat, his foot sunk, and slipped on the wet sand, and he fell his whole length on the beach. The soldiers raised a cry "that it was an evil omen." "Not so, by the splendour of God!" exclaimed William, as he rose, "do you not see that I have taken possession of the land without challenge? Soon, as you will see, it shall all be mine." One of his men ran to a little hamlet hard by, from the soil round which he took two handfuls of earth, and, coming to the duke, he knelt and said, "My lord, I here give you seizure of the kingdom; it is yours." "I accept it," William replied, "and may God preserve it to me and mine."—*Roman de Rou*. Orders were then given to construct a fortified camp. The fall, deemed so fortunate, was a very common occurrence in those ages. The same accident happened to William's ancestor, Rollo, when he landed in Normandy, a hundred and seventy years before.—Ed.

† From London, Harold had dispatched seven hundred ships to cut off William's retreat. Marching southward, the forces he expected from the north did not answer his call with the promptitude he could have wished; but from the west, and other parts, they collected so fast round his standard, that a Norman spy, in communication with the duke, recommended him to "be on his guard, for in four days the son of Godwin would be at the head of a hundred thousand men." To a delay of four days, however, the impetuous Harold could not be reconciled; but he anticipated no easy victory from the intelligence he had received from his own spies, "that the Norman camp contained more priests than soldiers," for he remarked to the bringers of it, that those mistaken for priests would prove to be brave knights and valiant soldiers, though they had neither mustachios nor beards like the Saxons. It is from the *Roman de Rou* that we derive this description of



sage to the duke, promising him a sum of money if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood; but his offer was rejected with disdain: and William, not to be behind with his enemy in vaunting, sent him a message by some monks, requiring him to resign the kingdom, to hold it of him in fealty, to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat.* Harold replied that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences.

The English and Normans now prepared for this important decision; but the aspect of things, on the night before the battle, was very different in the two camps. The English spent the time in riot, and jollity, and disorder; the Normans in silence, and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion.† On the morning the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion.‡ He represented to them that the event which they and he had long wished for was approaching; the whole fortune of the war now depended on their swords, and would be decided in a single action: if their martial and veteran bands could once break those raw soldiers who had rashly dared to approach them, they conquered a kingdom at one blow, and were justly entitled to all its possessions as the reward of their prosperous valour: that, on the contrary, if they remitted in the least their wonted prowess, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the sea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious

death was the certain punishment of their cowardice: that the commander of the enemy, by his criminal conduct, had given him just cause to hope for the favour of the Almighty, in whose hands alone lay the event of wars and battles: and that a perjured usurper, anathematized by the sovereign pontiff, and conscious of his own breach of faith, would be struck with terror on their appearance, and would prognosticate to himself that fate which his multiplied crimes had merited. The duke next divided his army into three lines: the first, led by Montgomery, consisted of archers and light-armed infantry: the second, by Martel, was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in close order: his cavalry, at whose head he placed himself, formed the third line; and were so disposed that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the enemy.

Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground; and, having likewise drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van, a post which they had always claimed as their due; the Londoners guarded the standard; and the king himself, accompanied by his two

the English and Norman warriors, and it is borne out by some of the representations in that most grotesque relic of antiquity, the Bayeux tapestry, said to have been worked under the eye of Matilda, consort to William, to commemorate the incidents of his expedition. That tapestry has been too often brought before the public to require description here.—ED.

* The bearer of this final proposition was a monk named Hugh de Margot. On its rejection, "Then hear, Harold," he solemnly exclaimed, in a loud voice; "my master's last message. I am commanded to tell thee that thou art a perjured and a lying man; and that thou, as well as all who shall take part with thee, are excommunicated by the pope; and that he is, at this moment, actually in possession of the bull."

† When morning broke in the Norman camp, the bishop of Bayeux, clothed in a steel hauberk, which he wore beneath his rochet, celebrated mass and blessed the troops: he then mounted a superb white

horse, and, with his lance in his hand, placed himself at the head of a squadron of cavalry.—*Thierry*. Many of William's followers acted the double part of priests and soldiers.—ED.

‡ The duke rode a Spanish horse, with which a rich Norman had presented him on his return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Jago in Galicia. He wore suspended from his neck the most holy of the relics upon which Harold had sworn; and a young Norman called Tonstain-le-Blanc carried by his side the standard which had been blessed by the pope.—*Thierry*. In his speech William took care to touch on every topic that could exasperate and encourage his men. His opening sentence was well calculated to excite emotion in such an army, engaged in such an enterprise: "Take care that you fight well and the death; if the day is ours it will make fort for us all."—ED.

His army is
divided into
three lines.

They ad-
vance to
battle.

The Kentish
men placed
in the van of
the English.

Harold, Gurth, and Leofwin head the English army.

Battle of Hastings.

The Normans feign a retreat.

valiant brothers Gurth and Leofwin, dismounting, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer, or to perish in the action. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English; and, after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the former, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard pressed by the enemy, began first to relax their vigour, then to retreat; and confusion was spreading among the ranks when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to the relief of his dismayed forces.* The English were obliged to retire with loss; and the duke, ordering his second line to advance, renewed the attack with fresh forces and with redoubled courage. Finding that the enemy still made a vigorous resistance, he tried a stratagem, which was very delicate in its management, but which seemed adviseable in his desperate situation. He commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded against those unexperienced soldiers; who, heated by the action, precipitately followed the Normans into the plain. William gave orders that at once the infantry should face upon their pursuers, and the cavalry make an assault upon their wings, and both of them pursue the advantage which the surprise and terror of the enemy must give them in that critical and decisive moment. The English were repulsed with

great slaughter, and driven back to the hill; where, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were able, notwithstanding their loss, to maintain the post and continue the combat. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but, he still found a great body of the English, who, maintaining themselves in firm array, seemed determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity. He ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an assault upon them, while his archers, placed behind, should gall the enemy. By this disposition he at last prevailed: Harold was slain by an arrow while he was combatting with great bravery at the head of his men; his two brothers shared the same fate; and the English, discouraged by the fall of those princes, gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. A few troops, however, of the vanquished had still the courage to turn upon their pursuers; and, attacking them in deep and miry ground, obtained some revenge for the slaughter and dishonour of the day. But the appearance of the duke obliged them to seek their safety by flight; and darkness saved them from any farther pursuit by the enemy.

Thus was gained by William, duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, after a battle which was fought from morning till sunset, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies, and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom.† William had three horses killed under him;

They turn upon their pursuers.

The English are defeated.

They fly.

William's victories.

* He was really "on the brink of destruction," "a panic terror seemed to seize the foreign army: a report arose that the duke had fallen; and a flight commenced which must soon have been fatal, had not William desperately thrown himself before the fugitives, entreating, threatening, and even striking them with his lance, till he compelled them to stop, 'Behold me, my friends,' he cried, taking off his helmet, 'I still live, and, by the help of God, I shall be victorious;' upon this the men-at-arms renewed the attack."—*Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*.—Ed.

† The battle of Hastings was fought on Saturday, the 14th of October, 1066. Within the space of one week Harold appears to have marched from place to place, wherever his presence seemed desirable, with astonishing rapidity; and in that week to have experienced the extreme vicissitudes of fortune; of

joy and sorrow; of victory, defeat and death. At the time of William's landing on the Sussex coast, "the said King Harold was then in the North against another sort of Normannes, for they were people of Norway, of which nation and country these that now came out of France were sometime descended. And some authors do seem to bee of opinion that it was a plot layd between the King of Norway and the Duke of Normandie that both at one tyme should set upon England. Howsoever it were, certain it is that against both of them King Harold had not lyke fortune, for in the north parte of England the Norwegians or Normannes were overthrown, and their king, Harold Harfager, with his (the English Harold's) brother Tosto, slaine in battail, which, (as Megissier the Norman writeth, was fought the seventh of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1066). But in the south, whereunto King Harold hastening, beeing both

and there fell near fifteen thousand men on the side of the Normans. The loss was more considerable on that of the vanquished, besides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, and was generously restored without ransom to his mother.* The Norman army left not the field without giving thanks to Heaven in the most solemn manner for their victory; and the prince, having refreshed his troops, prepared to push to the utmost his advantage against the divided, dismayed, and discomfited, English.

The corpse of Harold given to his mother.

APPENDIX I.

THE ANGLO-SAXON GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

FIRST SAXON GOVERNMENT.—SUCCESSION OF THE KINGS.—THE WITTENAGEMOT.—THE ARISTOCRACY.—THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MEN.—COURTS OF JUSTICE. CRIMINAL LAW.—RULES OF PROOF.—MILITARY FORCE.—PUBLIC REVENUE.—VALUE OF MONEY.—MANNERS.

THE government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free; and those fierce people, accustomed to independence and inured to arms, were more guided by persuasion than authority in the submission which they paid to their princes. The military despotism which had taken place in the Roman empire, and which, previously to the irruption of those conquerors, had sunk the genius of men, and destroyed every noble principle of science

Government of the Northern nations.

Effects of military despotism.

weered and bloodie, (for that it seemeth to have bin but seven dayes after the other aforesaid battail) encountering with Duke William and the Normannes of France, his forces were overthrown and himself slain."—*Verstegan*.

* The mothers, the wives, and the children of those soldiers who had willingly marched from the adjoining neighbourhood to die with the monarch of their choice, now hurried, pale and trembling, to the field, to claim and carry away the dead bodies which had been stripped and plundered by the enemy. Two monks of the monastery of Waltham, which had been founded by the Saxon king, came humbly to the duke, and requested the dead body of Harold,

and virtue, was unable to resist the vigorous efforts of a free people; and Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independence and legal administration, which distinguish the European nations; and, if that part of the globe maintain sentiments of liberty, honour, equity and valour, superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages chiefly to seeds implanted by those generous barbarians.

Principles of liberty established.

FIRST SAXON GOVERNMENT.

THE Saxons, who subdued Britain, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invaluable possession in their new settlement. The chieftains, (for such they were more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and, as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued, the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but preserved unaltered all their civil and military institutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almost all affixed by the conquerors; the manners and customs were wholly German; and the same picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, will suit those founders of the English government. The king, so far from being invested with arbitrary

The Saxons established in Britain.

Their manners and language prevail.

offering ten marks of gold for permission to pay their last duties to their benefactor. Leave was given them, and they repaired to the spot; but, amid the heaps of slain, found it impossible to distinguish the body they sought for. Despairing of success, they addressed themselves to a beautiful woman whom Harold had loved before he was king, and besought her to accompany and assist them in a second search. The name of this fair one was Edith Swanesbals, (the swan-necked Edith); she consented to the mournful errand; and affection, more quick-sighted than either friendship or devotion, soon led to the mangled and bloody corpse of her lover.—*Thierry*.—ED.

The king
regarded as
the first
citizen.

power, was only considered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualities than on his station; he was even so far on a level with the people, that a stated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer; which, though proportionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community.

SUCCESSION OF THE KINGS.

Rights of
succession.

It is easy to imagine that an independent people, so little restrained by law and cultivated by science, would not be very strict in maintaining a regular succession of their princes. If any king left a son of an age and capacity fit for government, the young prince naturally stepped into the throne; if he was a minor, his uncle, or the next prince of the blood, was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity. Any sovereign, by taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint his successor. All these changes, and indeed the ordinary administration of government, required the express concurrence, or at least the tacit acquiescence, of the people; but possession, however obtained, was extremely apt to secure their obedience; and the idea of any right, which was once excluded, was but feeble and imperfect. The idea of an hereditary succession is so natural to men, and is so fortified by the usual rule in transmitting private possessions, that it must retain a great influence on every society which does not exclude it by the refinements of a republican constitution. But as there is a material difference between government and private possessions, and every man is not as much qualified for exercising the one as for enjoying the other, a people, who are not sensible of the general advantages attending a fixed rule, are apt to make great leaps in the succession, and frequently to pass over the person who, had he possessed the requisite years and abilities, would have been thought entitled to the sovereignty. Thus these monarchies are not, strictly speaking, either elective or

Hereditary
succession
natural.

Exceptions
sometimes
necessary.

hereditary. The states, by their suffrage, may sometimes establish a sovereign; but they more frequently recognise the person whom they find established. A few great men take the lead; the people, overawed and influenced, acquiesce in the government; and the reigning prince, provided he be of the royal family, passes undisputedly for the legal sovereign.

The Saxon
monarchies
neither
elective nor
hereditary.

THE WITTENAGEMOT.

It is confessed that our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities is too imperfect to afford us means of determining with certainty all the prerogatives of the crown and privileges of the people. It is probable also that the constitution might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy; and that it changed considerably during the course of six centuries, which elapsed from the first invasion of the Saxons till the Norman conquest. It only appears that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, called a Wittenagemot, or assembly of the wise men (for that is the import of the term,) whose consent was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmond, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror; put this matter beyond controversy, and carry proofs every where of a limited and legal government. But who were the constituent members of this Wittenagemot has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed that the bishops and abbots were an essential part; and it is also evident, from the tenor of those ancient laws, that the Wittenagemot enacted statutes which regulated the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and that those dangerous principles, by which the church is totally severed from the state, were hitherto unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. It also appears that the aldermen, or governors of counties, who after the Danish times were often called earls, were admitted into this council, and gave their consent to the pub-

Anglo-
Saxon
history
imperfect.

The Witten-
agemot, a
council of
wise men.

Framed the
laws of
England.

Bishops,
abbots, and
aldermen
assisted.

lic statutes. But, besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of the wites, or wise men, as a component part of the Wittenagemot; but who these were is not so clearly ascertained by the laws or the history of that period. Our monarchical faction maintained that these wites, or sapientes, were the judges, or men learned in the law; the popular faction assert them to be representatives of the boroughs, or what we now call the commons.

The expressions employed by all ancient historians, in mentioning the Wittenagemot, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are almost always called the principes, satrapæ, optimates, magnates, procures; * terms which seem to suppose an aristocracy, and to exclude the commons. The boroughs also, from the low state of commerce, were so small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependance on the great men, that it seems nowise probable they would be admitted as a part of the national councils. The commons are well known to have had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and uncivilized than those tribes, would never think of conferring such an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors; the warriors subsisted by their possessions in land; they became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants and slaves; and it requires strong proof to convince us that they would admit any, of a rank so much inferior as the burgesses, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms that, among the ancient Germans, the consent of all the members of the community was

required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives: and this ancient practice, mentioned by the Roman historian, could only have place in small tribes, where every citizen might, without inconvenience, be assembled upon any extraordinary emergency.† After principalities became extensive; after the difference of property had formed distinctions more important than those which arose from personal strength and valour; the national assemblies must have been composed only of the more considerable citizens.

But though we must exclude the burgesses, or commons, from the Saxon Wittenagemot, there is some necessity for supposing that this assembly consisted of other members than the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and the judges, or privy council. For, as all these, excepting some of the ecclesiastics, were anciently appointed by the king, had there been no other legislative authority, the royal power had been in a great measure absolute. We may therefore conclude that the more considerable proprietors of land were, without any election, constituent members of the national assembly. There is reason to think that forty hides, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requisite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege. We find a passage in an ancient author, by which it appears that a person of very noble birth, even one allied to the crown, was not esteemed a princeps (the term usually employed by ancient historians when the Wittenagemot is mentioned) till he had acquired a fortune of that amount. The landed property of England was probably in a few hands during the Saxon times, at least during the latter period; and, as men had hardly any ambition to attend those public councils, there was no danger of the assembly's

National assemblies composed of the principal citizens.

Proprietors of land members without election.

Forty hides the qualification.

* It has been stated that forty hides of land were necessary to qualify an individual to take his seat among the procures in the Wittenagemot. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the brother of an abbot, who aspired to the hand of a lady, was denied her consent, till he could prove himself in possession of that extent of land, as less would not qualify him to rank with the nobility.—Ed.

† In the Wittenagemot, however, it has been supposed by those whose authority is not beneath notice,

that the commons took part in the proceedings. Sir John Fortescue Aland, celebrated for his skill in the Saxon language, says, in his preface to the book of Chancellor Fortescue, on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, "whoever carefully and faithfully reads the Saxon laws, and the prefaces or preambles to them, will find that the commons of England always, in the Saxon times, made part of that august assembly." Forty hides comprehended between four and five thousand acres.—Ed.

becoming too numerous for the dispatch of the little business which was brought before them.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

It is certain that, whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittenagemot, in whom, with the king, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical; the royal authority was very limited; the people, even if admitted to that assembly, were of little or no consideration. We have hints given us in historians of the great power and riches of particular noblemen; and it could not but happen, after the abolition of the Heptarchy, when the king lived at a distance from the provinces, that those great proprietors, who resided on their estates, would much augment their authority over all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Hence the immeasurable power assumed by Harold, Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Morcar, Edwin, Edric, and Alfréd; who controlled the authority of the kings, and rendered themselves quite necessary in the government. The two latter, though detested by the people on account of their joining a foreign enemy, still preserved their power and influence; and we may therefore conclude that their authority was founded, not on popularity, but on family rights and possessions. There is one Athelstan mentioned in the reign of the king of that name who is called alderman of all England, and is said to be half king; though the monarch himself was a prince of valour and abilities. And we find that in the latter Saxon times, and in these alone, the great offices went from father to son, and became in a manner hereditary in the families.

The circumstances attending the invasions of the Danes would also serve much to increase the power of the principal nobility. Those freebooters made unexpected inroads; and there was a necessity that each county should resist them by its own force, and under the conduct of its own nobility and its own magistrates. For the same reason that a general war, managed

by the united efforts of the whole state, commonly augments the power of the crown, those private wars and inroads turned to the advantage of the aldermen and nobles.

Among that military and turbulent people, so averse to commerce and the arts, and so little inured to industry, justice was commonly very ill administered, and great oppression and violence seem to have prevailed. These disorders would be increased by the exorbitant power of the aristocracy; and would, in their turn, contribute to increase it. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianship of the laws, were obliged to devote themselves to the service of some chieftain, whose orders they followed; and who afforded them, in return, protection from any insult or injustice by strangers. Hence we find, by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us from Domesday, that almost all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed themselves under the clientship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by annual payments, and whom they were obliged to consider as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even the legislature. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murderer was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compensation for his loss; in like manner as he paid a fine to the master for the murder of his slave. Men who were of a more considerable rank, but not powerful enough each to support himself by his own independent authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and composed a kind of separate community. Dr. Hickes has preserved a curious Saxon bond of this kind, which he calls a Sodalitium, and which contains many particulars characteristic of the manners and customs of the times. All the associates are there said to be gentlemen of Cambridgeshire; and they swear before the holy reliques to be faithful to each other. They promise to bury any of the associates who dies in whatever place he had appointed; to contribute to his funeral charges, and to attend at his interment; and whoever is wanting in this last duty binds himself to pay a measure of honey. When any of the asso-

The Anglo-Saxon government aristocratical.

Noblemen had immense power.

Great offices hereditary.

Incursions of the Danes increased the power of the nobility.

The common people placed themselves under a chieftain.

Murders punished by fine.

A Saxon bond.

conservative association.	<p>ciates is in danger, and calls for the assistance of his fellows, they promise, besides flying to his succour, to give information to the sheriff; and, if he be negligent in protecting the person, they engage to levy a fine of one pound upon him. If the president of the society himself be wanting in this particular, he binds himself to pay one pound; unless he has the reasonable excuse of sickness, or of duty to his superior. When any of the associates is murdered they are to exact eight pounds from the murderer; and, if he refuse to pay it, they are to prosecute him for the sum at their joint expense. If any one of the associates, who happened to be poor, kill a man, the society are to contribute, by a certain proportion, to pay his fine: a mark a-piece if the fine be seven hundred shillings; less if the person killed be a clown or ceorle; the half of that sum again if he be a Welshman. But where any of the associates kills a man wilfully, and without provocation, he must himself pay the fine. If any of the associates kill any of his fellows in a like criminal manner, besides paying the usual fine to the relations of the deceased, he must pay eight pounds to the society, or renounce the benefit of it: in which case they bind themselves, under the penalty of one pound, never to eat or drink with him, except in the presence of the king, bishop, or alderman. There are other regulations to protect themselves and their servants from all injuries, to revenge such as are committed, and to prevent their giving abusive language to each other; and the fine, which they engage to pay for this last offence, is a measure of honey.</p> <p>It is not to be doubted but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of attachment, when men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assistance of their friends or patrons. As animosities were then more violent, connexions were also more intimate, whether voluntary or derived from blood; the most remote degree of propinquity was regarded; an indelible memory of benefits was preserved; severe vengeance was taken for injuries; and, the civil union being</p>	<p>weak, many private engagements were contracted to procure men that safety which the laws and their own innocence were not alone able to ensure to them.</p> <p>On the whole, notwithstanding the seeming liberty, or rather licentiousness, of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less true liberty than where the execution of the laws is most severe. The reason is derived from the excess itself of that liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and, where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrate, they will seek it by herding in some private confederacy, which acts under the direction of a powerful leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals.</p> <p>Security was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittenagemot, both in going and returning, except they were notorious thieves and robbers.</p> <h3>THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MEN.</h3> <p>THE German Saxons, as the other nations of that continent, were divided into three ranks of men; the noble, the free, and the slaves. This distinction they brought over with them into Britain.</p> <p>The nobles were called thanes; and were of two kinds, the king's thanes and lesser thanes. The latter seem to have been dependent on the former; and to have received lands, for which they paid rent, services, or attendance, in peace and war. We know of no title which raised any one to the rank of thane, except noble birth and the possession of land. The former was always much regarded by all the German nations, even in their most barbarous state. There were no middle ranks of men, that could gradually mix with their superiors, and insensibly procure to themselves honour and distinction. If by any extraordinary accident a mean person acquired riches, a circumstance so singular made him be known and remarked; he became the object of envy, as well as of indignation, to all the nobles; and he would find it</p>	<p>Little true liberty among the Anglo-Saxons.</p> <p>All anarchy produces tyranny.</p> <p>The nobles called thanes.</p> <p>No middle classes.</p>
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impossible to protect himself from oppression, except by courting the patronage of some great chieftain, and paying a large price for his safety.

There are two statutes among the Saxon laws which seem calculated to confound those different ranks of men; that of Athelstan, by which a merchant, who had made three long sea voyages on his own account, was entitled to the quality of thane; and that of the same prince, by which a ceorle, or husbandman, who had been able to purchase five hides of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, was raised to the same distinction. But the opportunities were so few, by which a merchant or ceorle could thus exalt himself above his rank, that the law could never overcome the reigning prejudices. Though we are not informed of any of these circumstances by ancient historians, we may admit them as a necessary and infallible consequence of the situation of the kingdom during those ages.

The cities appear by Domesday book to have been at the conquest little better than villages. York itself, though it was always the second, at least third, city in England, and was the capital of a great province which never was thoroughly united with the rest, contained then but fourteen hundred and eighteen families. Malmesbury tells us that the great distinction between the Anglo-Saxon nobility and the French or Norman was, that the latter built magnificent and stately castles; whereas the former consumed their immense fortunes in riot and hospitality, and in mean houses. We may thence infer that the arts in general were much less advanced in England than in France; a greater number of idle servants and retainers lived about the great families; and, as these, even in France, were powerful enough to disturb the execution of the laws, we may judge of the authority acquired by the aristocracy in England. When earl Godwin besieged the Confessor in London, he summoned from all parts his huscarles, or houseceorles and retainers, and thereby constrained his sovereign to accept of the conditions which he was pleased to impose upon him.

The lower rank of freemen were denominated ceorles among the Anglo Saxons; and, where they were industrious, they were chiefly employed in husbandry; whence a ceorle and a husbandman became in a manner synonymous terms. They cultivated the farms of the nobility or thanes, for which they paid rent; and they seem to have been removable at pleasure; for there is little mention of leases among the Anglo-Saxons. The pride of the nobility, together with the general ignorance of writing, must have rendered those contracts very rare, and must have kept the husbandmen in a dependent condition. The rents of farms were then chiefly paid in kind.

But the most numerous rank by far in the community seems to have been the slaves or villains; who were the property of their lords, and were consequently incapable themselves of possessing any property. Dr. Brady assures us, from a survey of Domesday book, that, in all the counties of England, the far greater part of the land was occupied by them; and that the husbandmen, and still more the socmen, who were tenants that could not be removed at pleasure, were very few in comparison. This was not the case with the German nations, as far as we can collect from the account given us by Tacitus. The perpetual wars in the Heptarchy, and the depredations of the Danes, seem to have been the cause of this great alteration with the Anglo-Saxons. Prisoners taken in battle, or carried off in the frequent inroads, were then reduced to slavery; and became, by right of war, entirely at the disposal of their lords. Great property in the nobles, especially if joined to an irregular administration of justice, naturally favours the power of the aristocracy; but still more so if the practice of slavery be admitted, and has become very common. The nobility not only possess the influence which always attends riches, but also the power which the laws give them over their slaves and villains. It then becomes difficult, and almost impossible, for a private man to remain altogether free and independent.

There were two kinds of slaves among

Cultivators of the soil called ceorles.

Leases hardly known.

Slaves or villains the most numerous class.

Prisoners of war became villains.

The nobles had great power over them.

The title of thane could be gained by three long sea voyages.

Cities anciently little better than villages.

The arts less advanced in England than in France.

Laws re-
specting
slaves.

the Anglo-Saxons; household slaves, after the manner of the ancients; and prædial or rustic, after the manner of the Germans. These latter resembled the serfs, which are at present to be met with in Poland, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. The power of a master over his slaves was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among their ancestors. If a man beat out his slave's eye or teeth, the slave recovered his liberty; if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king, provided the slave died within a day after the wound or blow, otherwise it passed unpunished. The selling of themselves or children to slavery was always the practice among the German nations, and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons.

The Ger-
mans sold
their chil-
dren.

The great lords and abbots among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their territories; and could punish, without appeal, any thieves or robbers whom they caught there. This institution must have procured robbers a sure protection on the lands of such noblemen as did not sincerely mean to discourage crimes and violence.

COURTS OF JUSTICE.

BUT, though the general strain of the Anglo-Saxon government seems to have become aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy; which might give security, and even some degree of dignity, to the gentry or inferior nobility. The administration of justice, in particular, by the courts of the decennary, the hundred, and the county, was well calculated to defend general liberty, and to restrain the power of the nobles. In the county courts, or shiremoten, all the freeholders were assembled twice a year, and received appeals from the inferior courts. They there decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the bishop, together with the alderman or earl, presided over them. The affair was deter-

Shiremoten.

mined in a summary manner, without much pleading, formality, or delay, by a majority of voices; and the bishop and alderman had no farther authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and interpose with their opinion. Where justice was denied during three sessions by the hundred, and then by the county court, there lay an appeal to the king's court; but this was not practised on slight occasions. The alderman received a third of the fines levied in those courts; and, as most of the punishments were then pecuniary, this perquisite formed a considerable part of the profits belonging to his office. The two thirds also, which went to the king, made no contemptible part of the public revenue. Any freeholder was fined who absented himself thrice from these courts.

Summary
justice.Fines
levied and
divided.

As the extreme ignorance of the age made deeds and writings very rare, the county or hundred court was the place where the most remarkable civil transactions were finished, in order to preserve the memory of them and prevent all future disputes. Here testaments were promulgated, slaves manumitted, bargains of sale concluded; and sometimes, for greater security, the most considerable of these deeds were inserted in the blank leaves of the parish Bible, which thus became a kind of register too sacred to be falsified. It was not unusual to add to the deed an imprecation on all such as should be guilty of that crime.

Deeds and
writings
preserved at
the county
courts.

Among a people, who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of greater importance than the legislative. There were few or no taxes imposed by the states; * there were few statutes enacted; and the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which admitted a great latitude of interpretation. Though it should, therefore, be allowed that the Wittenagemot was altogether composed of the principal nobility, the county courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a

Few taxes
imposed by
the states.

* "The imposition of taxes, the most important appendage of legislation, was likewise undoubtedly assumed by this great assembly, so far as taxes existed in that early period; but these were in a

great measure unknown; the ordinary expence of government being defrayed out of the private estate of the king, and from the various emoluments annexed to the regal dignity."—*Miller*.—*Ed.*

Power pre-
vails over
law.

wide basis for the government, and were no contemptible checks on the aristocracy. But there is another power still more important than either the judicial or legislative; to wit, the power of injuring or serving by immediate force and violence, for which it is difficult to obtain redress in courts of justice. In all extensive governments, where the execution of the law is feeble, this power naturally falls into the hands of the principal nobility; and the degree of it which prevails cannot be determined so much by the public statutes as by particular customs, and sometimes by the reason and nature of things. The Highlands of Scotland have long been entitled by law to every privilege of British subjects; but it was not till very lately that the common people could in fact enjoy these privileges.

The Anglo-Saxon be-
came ex-
tremely
aristocrati-
cal.

The powers of all the members of the Anglo-Saxon government are disputed among historians and antiquaries. But the great influence of the lords over their slaves and tenants, the clientship of the burghers, the total want of a middling rank of men, the extent of the monarchy, the loose execution of the laws, the continued disorders and convulsions of the state; all these circumstances evince that the Anglo-Saxon government became at last extremely aristocratical: and the events, during the period immediately preceding the conquest, confirm this inference or conjecture.

CRIMINAL LAW.

The ancient
Germans
confede-
rated only
against
public ene-
mies.

BOTH the punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature, and the methods of proof employed in all causes, were very different from those which prevail at present among all civilized nations.

We must conceive that the ancient Germans were little removed from the original state of nature; the social confederacy among them was more martial than civil; they had chiefly in view the means of attack or defence against public enemies; and the natural bravery of the people made every man trust to himself, and to his particular friends, for his defence or vengeance. This defect in the political

union drew much closer the knot of particular confederacies; an insult upon any man was regarded by all his relations and associates as a common injury; they were bound to revenge his death, or any violence which he had suffered; they retaliated on the aggressor; and, if he were protected, as was usual, by his own clan, the quarrel was spread still wider, and bred endless disorders in the nation.

The Frisians, a tribe of the Germans, had never advanced beyond this wild and imperfect state of society; and the right of private revenge still remained among them unlimited and uncontrolled. But the other German nations, in the age of Tacitus, had made one step farther towards completing the political or civil union. Though it still continued to be an indispensable point of honour for every clan to revenge the death or injury of a member, the magistrate had acquired a right of interposing in the quarrel. He obliged the person maimed or injured, and the relations of one killed, to accept of a present as a compensation for the injury, and to drop all farther prosecution of revenge. That the accommodation of one quarrel might not be the source of more, this present was fixed and certain, according to the rank of the person killed or injured; and was commonly paid in cattle, the chief property of those rude and uncultivated nations. A present of this kind gratified the revenge of the injured family, by the loss which the aggressor suffered; and thus general peace was for a moment restored to the society.

But, when the German nations had been settled some time in the provinces of the Roman empire, they made still another step towards a more cultivated life; and their criminal justice gradually improved and refined itself. The magistrate, whose office it was to suppress private animosities, conceived himself to be injured by every injury done to any of his people; and, besides the compensation to the person who suffered, he thought himself entitled to exact a fine called the *Fridwit*, as an atonement, and as a reward for the pains which he had taken in accommodating the quarrel. When this idea was once suggested, it was willingly received both by sovereign and

Private out-
rages visit-
ed with
retaliation.

Murder
might be
atoned for
by a gift.

Commonly
by a present
of cattle.

An addi-
tional fine,
called the
Fridwit,
exactd.

The levying
of fines for
offences
benefitted
both king
and people.

people. The numerous fines augmented the revenue of the king: and the people were sensible that he would be more vigilant in interposing with his good offices when he reaped such immediate advantage from them; and that injuries would be less frequent when, besides compensation to the person injured, they were exposed to this additional penalty.

The laws of
king Alfred.

This short abstract contains the history of the criminal jurisprudence of the northern nations for several centuries. The laws of Alfred enjoin that if any one know that his enemy or aggressor, after doing him an injury, resolves to keep within his own house, and his own lands, he shall not fight him till he require compensation for the injury. If he be strong enough to besiege him in his house, he may do it for seven days without attacking him; and, if the aggressor be willing during that time to surrender himself and his arms, his adversary may detain him thirty days; but is afterwards obliged to restore him safe to his kindred, and be content with the compensation. If the criminal fly to the temple, that sanctuary must not be violated. Where the assailant has not force sufficient to besiege the criminal in his house, he must apply to the alderman for assistance; and, if the alderman refuse aid, the assailant must have recourse to the king: and he is not allowed to assault the house till after this supreme magistrate has refused assistance. If any one meet with his enemy, and be ignorant that he was resolved to keep within his own lands, he must, before he attack him, require him to surrender himself prisoner and deliver up his arms; in which case he may detain him thirty days: but, if he refuse to deliver up his arms, it is then lawful to fight him. A slave may fight his master's quarrel; a father may fight in his son's with any one, except with his master.

An appeal
granted to
the king.

It was enacted by king Ina that no man should take revenge for an injury till he had first demanded compensation, and had been refused it.

Laws of
Ina and
Edmond.

King Edmond, in the preamble to his laws, mentions the general misery occasioned by the multiplicity of private feuds and battles; and he establishes several ex-

pedients for remedying this grievance. He ordains that, if any one commit murder, he may, with the assistance of his kindred, pay within a twelvemonth the fine of his crime; and, if they abandon him, he shall alone sustain the deadly quarrel with the kindred of the murdered person. His own kindred are free, but on condition that they neither converse with the criminal, nor supply him. If any of them receive him into their house, or give him assistance, they are finable to the king. If the kindred of the murdered person take revenge on any but the criminal himself, after he is abandoned by his kindred, all their property is forfeited, and they are declared to be enemies to the king and all his friends. It is also ordained that the fine for murder shall never be remitted by the king; and that no criminal shall be killed who flies to the church, or any of the king's towns; and the king himself declares that his house shall give no protection to murderers till they have satisfied the church by their penance, and the kindred of the deceased by making compensation. The method appointed for transacting this composition is found in the same law.

Murderers
and their
kinsmen
paid fines.

Fines for
murder
never to be
remitted.

Compensa-
tion for
murder.

These attempts of Edmond to contract and diminish the feuds were a step towards a more regular administration of justice. By the Salic law any man might, by a public declaration, exempt himself from his family quarrels: but then he was considered by the law as no longer belonging to the family; and he was deprived of all right of succession, as the punishment of his cowardice.

The price of the king's head, or his weregild, as it was then called, was by law thirty thousand thrismas, near thirteen hundred pounds of present money. The price of the prince's head was fifteen thousand thrismas; that of a bishop's or alderman's eight thousand; a sheriff's four thousand; a thane's or clergyman's two thousand; a ceorle's two hundred and sixty-six. These prices were fixed by the laws of the Angles. By the Mercian law the price of a ceorle's head was two hundred shillings; that of a thane's six times as much; that of a king's six times more. By the laws of Kent the price of the arch-

Prices of
the king's,
prince's and
bishop's
heads.

The arch-
bishop's
head ap-
praised
higher than
the king's.

bishop's head was higher than that of the king's; such respect was then paid to the ecclesiastics. Where a person was unable or unwilling to pay the fine, he was put out of the protection of law, and the kindred of the deceased had liberty to punish him as they thought proper.

By Alfred's
laws con-
spiring
against the
king's life
might be
expiated by
fine.

Some antiquarians have thought that these compensations were only given for manslaughter, not for wilful murder: but no such distinction appears in the laws; There is indeed a law of Alfred's, which makes wilful murder capital; but this seems only to have been an attempt of that great legislator towards establishing a better police in the kingdom. By the laws of the same prince a conspiracy against the life of a king might be redeemed by a fine.

Prices paid
for wounds.

The price of all kinds of wounds was likewise fixed by the Saxon laws: a wound of an inch long under the hair was paid with one shilling; one of a like size in the face two shillings; thirty shillings for the loss of an ear, and so forth. There seems not to have been any difference made according to the dignity of the person. By the law of Ethelbert any one who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife was obliged to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife.

Such usages
of great
antiquity.

These institutions are not peculiar to the ancient Germans. They seem to be the necessary progress of criminal jurisprudence among every free people, where the will of the sovereign is not implicitly obeyed. We find them among the ancient Greeks during the time of the Trojan war. Compositions for murder are mentioned in Nestor's speech to Achilles in the ninth Iliad, and are called 'apoinan.' The Irish, who never had any connexions with the German nations, adopted the same practice; and the price of a man's head was called among them his eric; as we learn from Sir John Davis. The same custom seems also to have prevailed among the Jews.

* In the laws of Ethelbert, the first king of Kent, we find very remarkable gradations in the punishment of one offence. It was enacted, "If a man lie with the king's maid-servant, being a virgin, let him compensate her virginity with fifty shillings." The next law is the following: "If she be a grinding maid, let the compensation be twenty-five shillings;

Theft and robbery were frequent among the Anglo-Saxons. In order to impose some check upon these crimes, it was ordained that no man should sell or buy any thing above twenty pence value, except in open market; and every bargain or sale must be executed before witnesses. Gangs of robbers much disturbed the peace of the country; and the law determined that a tribe of banditti, consisting of between seven and thirty-five persons was to be called a turma, or troop: any greater company was denominated an army. If any man could track his stolen cattle into another's ground, the latter was obliged to shew the track out of it, or pay their value.*

All pur-
chases to be
made in
open mar-
ket.

Rebellion, to whatever excess it was carried, was not capital, but might be redeemed by a sum of money. The legislators imposed a higher fine on breaches of peace committed in the king's court, or before an alderman or bishop. An alehouse, too, seems to have been considered as a privileged place; and any quarrels that arose there were more severely punished than elsewhere.

Rebellion
not punish-
ed capitally

Alehouse
quarrels
punished
severely.

RULES OF PROOF.

If the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglo-Saxons appear singular, the proofs were not less so; and were also the natural result of the situation of those people. Whatever we may imagine concerning the usual truth and sincerity of men who live in a rude and barbarous state, there is much more falsehood, and even perjury, among them than among civilized nations. Our European ancestors, who employed every moment the expedient of swearing on extraordinary crosses and reliques, were less honourable in all engagements than their posterity, who, from experience, have omitted those ineffectual securities. This general proneness to perjury was much increased by the usual want of discernment in judges, who were obliged

Less truth
in barba-
rous than
in civilised
nations.

if of the third rank, twelve." The king's victualling maid, in the same code, was, in the case supposed, to be entitled to twelve shillings, as was a maid "that is an earl's cup-bearer;" a yeoman's cup-bearer could receive but six; a yeoman's other maid-servant fifty cætas; and one of the third rank thirty." —Ed.

Compurgators employed in trials.

to number, not weigh, the testimony of the witnesses. Hence the ridiculous practice of obliging men to bring compurgators, who, as they did not pretend to know any thing of the fact, expressed upon oath that they believed the person spoke true; and these compurgators were in some cases multiplied to the number of three hundred. The practice also of single combat was employed by most nations on the continent as the remedy against false evidence; and, though it was frequently dropped from the opposition of the clergy, it was continually revived from experience of the falsehood attending the testimony of witnesses. It became at last a species of jurisprudence. The cases were determined by law, in which the party might challenge his adversary, or the witnesses, or the judge himself.* And, though these customs were absurd, they were rather an improvement on the methods of trial which had formerly been practised, and which still prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons.

"Wager of Battel."

When any controversy about a fact became too intricate for those ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgment of God; that is, to fortune. Their methods of consulting this oracle were various. One of them was the decision by the cross. When a person was accused of any crime, he first cleared himself by oath, and he was attended by eleven compurgators. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the sign of the cross, and, wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, or on some celebrated relique. After solemn prayers, a priest, or, in his stead, some unexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and, if he happened upon that which was marked with the figure of a cross, the person was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. This practice, as it arose from superstition, was abolished by it in France. The emperor Lewis the Debonnaire, prohibited that method of trial, not because it was

Decision of the cross.

Attendant ceremonial.

uncertain, but lest that sacred figure, says he, of the cross should be prostituted in common disputes and controversies.

The ordeal was another established method of trial among the Anglo-Saxons. It was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people, the latter to the nobility. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms; after which the person accused either took up a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance; and, his hand being wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. The trial by cold water was different. The person was thrown into consecrated water; if he swam, he was guilty; if he sunk, innocent. It is difficult for us to conceive how any innocent person could ever escape by the one trial, or any criminal be convicted by the other. But there was another usage, admirably calculated for allowing every criminal to escape who had confidence enough to try it. A consecrated cake, called a corsned, was produced; which if the person could swallow and digest he was pronounced innocent.

Trial by ordeal.

The corsned.

MILITARY FORCE.

THE feudal law, if it had place at all among the Anglo Saxons, which is doubtful, was not certainly extended over all the landed property. As the Saxons expelled, or almost entirely destroyed, the ancient Britons, they planted themselves in this island on the same footing with their ancestors in Germany. The trouble and expence of defending the state in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was usual for every five hides to equip a man for the service. The *trinoda necessitas*, or the burden of military expeditions, of repairing highways, and of building and

The feudal law not necessary to the Anglo-Saxons.

* This practice was sanctioned by a law down to a comparatively recent date. At the close of the reign of George III., one Abraham Thornton, charged, under circumstances of extraordinary atrocity, with criminally outraging and murdering a female, being

acquitted, was afterwards pursued, and allowed to offer "Wager of Battel." His guage was accordingly thrown down in the court of king's bench, and not being taken up, from the weak state of the nearest relative of the deceased, he was liberated.—ED.

Turns of
military
duty im-
posed on
ceorles.

supporting bridges, was inseparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the churches or monasteries, unless exempted by a particular charter. The ceorles or husbandmen were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty. There were computed to be two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hides in England; consequently the ordinary military force of the kingdom consisted of forty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty men; though, no doubt, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number might be assembled. The king and nobility had some military tenants, who were called Sithcun-men. And there were some lands annexed to offices; but possessed only during pleasure, as in the commencement of the feudal law in other countries of Europe.

Sithcun
men.

PUBLIC REVENUE.

Revenue of
the king.

THE revenue of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in his demesnes, which were large; and in the tolls and imposts which he probably levied at discretion on the boroughs and sea ports that lay within his demesnes. He could not alienate any part of the crown lands, without the consent of the states. Danegelt was a land tax of a shilling a hide, imposed by the states, either for payment of the sums exacted by the Danes, or for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence against those invaders.

VALUE OF MONEY.

Saxon
money.

THE Saxon pound, as likewise that which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money. There were forty-eight shillings in the pound, and five pence in a shilling; consequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. As to the value of money in those

times, compared to commodities, there are some, though not very certain, means of computation. A sheep, by the laws of Athelstan, was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen pence of our money. The fleece was two fifths of the value of the whole sheep; much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Silk and cotton were quite unknown; linen was not much used. An ox was computed at six times the value of a sheep; a cow at four. If we suppose that the cattle in that age, from the defects in husbandry, were not so large as they are at present, we may compute that money was then near ten times of greater value. A horse was valued at about thirty-six shillings of our money, or thirty Saxon shillings; a mare a third less; a man at three pounds. The board wages of a child the first year was eight shillings, together with a cow's pasture in summer and an ox's in winter. William of Malmesbury mentions it as a remarkable high price that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our present money. Between the years 900 and 1000 Ednoth bought a hide of land for about one hundred and eighteen shillings of present money. This was little more than a shilling an acre; which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts. A palfrey was sold for twelve shillings about the year 966. The value of an ox in king Ethelred's time was between seven and eight shillings; a cow about six shillings. Gervas of Tilbury says that in Henry I's time bread, which would suffice a hundred men for a day, was rated at three shillings, or a shilling of that age; for it is thought that, soon after the conquest, a pound sterling was divided into twenty shillings. A sheep was rated at a shilling, and so of other things in proportion. In Athelstan's time a ram was valued at a shilling, or four pence Saxon. The tenants

Prices of
commodi-
ties.Value of
land.Price of
bread.

* This, in ancient times, was regularly provided for in forming a community. Mezerai says, "when they measured or divided the lands, the kings always had of them (among the Gauls) for their portion some of the finest estates, especially in the vicinity of

great cities." In these estates, which were called *Villa Fiscales*, officers were appointed who called themselves *Fiscalins*. They collected for the sovereign corn, wine, forage, and meat, especially venison and pork.—Ed.

Four hens
equivalent
to sixpence.

Famine,
price of
wheat.

Causes of
variation in
the value of
money.

Great diffi-
culty in
levying
taxes.

of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either six pence or four hens. About 1232 the abbot of St. Albans, going on a journey, hired seven handsome stout horses; and agreed, if any one of them died on the road, to pay the owner thirty shillings a-piece of our present money. In all ancient times the raising of corn, especially wheat, being a species of manufactory, that commodity always bore a higher price, compared to cattle, than it does in our times. The Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there was the most terrible famine ever known; insomuch that a quarter of wheat rose to sixty pennies, or fifteen shillings of our present money: consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings. This much exceeds the great famine in the end of queen Elizabeth; when a quarter of wheat was sold for four pounds. Money in this last period was nearly of the same value as in our time. These severe famines are a certain proof of bad husbandry.

On the whole, there are three things to be considered wherever a sum of money is mentioned in ancient times: first, the change of denomination, by which a pound has been reduced to the third part of its ancient weight in silver; secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the same weight of silver to ten times less value, compared to commodities, and consequently a pound sterling to the thirtieth part of the ancient value; thirdly, the fewer people and less industry which were then to be found in every European kingdom. This circumstance made even the thirtieth part of the sum more difficult to levy, and caused any sum to have more than thirty times greater weight and influence, both abroad and at home, than in our times; in the same manner that a sum (a hundred thousand pounds, for instance) is at present more

difficult to levy in a small state, such as Bavaria, and can produce greater effects on such a small community, than on England.

In the Saxon times land was divided equally among all the male children of the deceased, according to the custom of Gavelkind. The practice of entails is to be found in those times. Land was chiefly of two kinds; bockland, or land held by book or charter, which was regarded as full property, and descended to the heirs of the possessor; and folkland, or the land held by the ceorles and common people, who were removable at pleasure, and were indeed only tenants during the will of their lords.

The first attempt, which we find in England, to separate the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, was that law of Edgar, by which all disputes among the clergy were ordered to be carried before the bishop. The penances were then very severe; but, as a man could buy them off with money, or might substitute others to perform them, they lay easy upon the rich.

Law of
Gavelkind.

Separate
ecclesiastical
jurisdiction.

MANNERS.

WITH regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons we can say little, but that they were in general a rude uncultivated people, addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later period; and their want of humanity in all their history. Even the Norman historians speak of them as barbarians, when they mention the invasion by the duke of Normandy. The conquest put the people in a situation of receiving slowly from abroad the rudiments of science and cultivation, and of correcting their rough and licentious manners.*

The Nor-
mans
deemed the
Saxons bar-
barians.

* There are facts on record which do not prove the progress made in refinement, to have been very rapid during the time of the Conqueror. Some of the worst practices of the Saxons were continued and confirmed. Justice, or rather injustice, was unblushingly sold, and honourable ladies were content to pay a fine to escape marriage against their will. In William's time, Lucia, Countess of Chester, appears to have given five marks of silver that she might not

be compelled to marry during the then next ensuing five years; and a certain William de Wile paid eighty pounds ten shillings, that he might retain his lands and be exempt from prosecution, for ravishing his ward, of which, apparently on sufficient grounds, he stood accused. The state of manners must continue very rude where the weaker sex can thus be oppressed and outraged with impunity, under the eye of the government, and for the benefit of the sovereign.—ED

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

1066—1087.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.—SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—KING'S RETURN TO NORMANDY.—INSURRECTIONS OF THE ENGLISH.—RIGOURS OF THE NORMAN GOVERNMENT.—NEW INSURRECTIONS AND RIGOURS.—INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL LAW.—INNOVATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.—INSURRECTION OF THE NORMAN BARONS.—DISPUTE ABOUT INVESTITURES.—REVOLT OF PRINCE ROBERT.—DOMESDAY BOOK.—THE NEW FOREST.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF WILLIAM.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

NOTHING could exceed the consternation which seized the English public when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, the death of their king, the slaughter of their principal nobility and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the remainder. But, though the loss which they had sustained in that fatal action was considerable, it might have been repaired by a great nation; where the people were generally armed, and where there resided so many powerful noblemen in every province, who could have assembled their retainers, and have obliged the duke of Normandy to divide his army, and probably to waste it in a variety of actions and rencounters. But there were several vices in the Anglo-Saxon constitution, which rendered it difficult for the English to defend their liberties in so critical an emergency. The people had in a great measure lost all national pride and spirit, by their recent and long subjection to the Danes. Their attachment to the ancient royal family had been much weakened, by their habits of submission to the Danish

princes, and by their late election of Harold, or their acquiescence in his usurpation. And, as they had long been accustomed to regard Edgar Atheling, the only heir of the Saxon line, as unfit to govern them, they could entertain small hopes of his being able to repair such great losses as they had sustained, or to withstand the victorious arms of the duke of Normandy.

That they might not, however, be altogether wanting to themselves in this extreme necessity, the English took some steps towards adjusting their disjointed government, and uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had fled to London with the remains of the broken army, took the lead on this occasion. In concert with Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, a man possessed of great authority and of ample revenues, they proclaimed Edgar, and endeavoured to put the people in a posture of defence. But the terror of the late defeat, and the near neighbourhood of the invaders, increased the confusion inseparable from great revolutions; and every resolution proposed was disconcerted by fear or faction, ill planned, and worse executed.

William, that his enemies might have no leisure to recover from their consternation, immediately put himself in motion after his victory. His first attempt was against Romney, whose inhabitants he severely punished, on account of their cruel treatment of some Norman seamen and soldiers, who had been carried thither by stress of weather, or by a mistake in their course. And, foreseeing that his conquest of England might still be attended with many difficulties* he deemed it necessary, before he should advance farther into the country, to make himself master of Dover; which would both secure him a retreat in case of adverse fortune, and afford him a safe landing place for such supplies as might be requisite for pushing his advantages. The terror diffused by his victory at Hastings was so great, that the garrison

Edgar Atheling deemed unfit to govern.

The English feebly attempt to resist.

William punishes Romney.

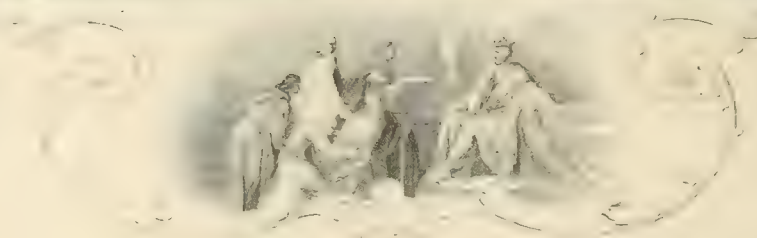
Dover capitulates.

* His victory is believed to have cost him one fourth of his army, as was mournfully proved when the muster roll of those who attended him at St.

Valeri was called over, on the morning after the battle of Hastings.—ED.

General consternation after the battle of Hastings.

The national spirit of the English lost.



of Dover, though numerous and well provided, immediately capitulated; and, as the Normans, rushing in to take possession of the town, hastily set fire to some of the houses, William, desirous to conciliate the minds of the English by an appearance of lenity and justice, made compensation to the inhabitants for their losses.

The Norman army, being much distressed with a dysentery, was obliged to remain here eight days; but the duke, on their recovery, advanced with quick marches towards London, and by his approach increased the confusions which were already so prevalent in the English counsels. The ecclesiastics in particular, whose influence was great over the people, began to declare in his favour; and, as most of the bishops and dignified clergymen were even then Frenchmen or Normans, the pope's bull, by which his enterprise was avowed and hallowed, was now openly insisted on as a reason for general submission. A repulse, which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings; the early submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional discouragement to them; the burning of Southwark made them dread a like fate; and no man any longer entertained thoughts but of immediate safety and of self-preservation. Even the Earls Edwin and Morcar, in despair of making effectual resistance, retired with their troops to their own provinces; and the people thenceforth disposed themselves unanimously to yield to the victor. As soon as he passed the Thames at Wallingford, and reached Berkhamstead, Stigand the primate made submissions to him. Before he came within sight of the city all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the new elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to mount their throne; and declared that, as they had always been ruled by regal power, they desired to follow, in this particular, the example of their ancestors,

and knew of no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of government.

Though this was the great object to which the duke's enterprise tended, he feigned to deliberate on the offer; and, being desirous at first of preserving the appearance of a legal administration, he wished to obtain a more explicit and formal consent of the English nation. But Aimar of Aquitain, a man equally respected for valour in the field and for prudence in council, remonstrating with him on the danger of delay in so critical a conjuncture, he laid aside all farther scruples, and accepted of the crown. Orders were immediately issued to prepare for the ceremony of his coronation on the twenty-sixth of December following; but, as he was yet afraid to place entire confidence in the Londoners, who were numerous and warlike, he meanwhile commanded fortresses to be erected, in order to curb the inhabitants, and to secure his person and government.

Stigand was not much in the duke's favour; both because he had intruded into the see on the expulsion of Robert the Norman, and because he possessed such influence and authority over the English as might be dangerous to a new established monarch. William, therefore, pretending that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from pope Benedict IX., who was himself an usurper, refused to be consecrated by him; and conferred this honour on Aldred, archbishop of York. Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony. The most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended the duke on this occasion. Aldred, in a short speech, asked the former whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the bishop of Coutance put the same question to the latter; and, both being answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath; by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence: he then anointed him, and put the crown upon his head.*

William accepts it.

He orders fortresses to be built.

William is crowned at Westminster.

* Malmesbury, p. 271, says that he also promised to govern the Normans and English by equal laws;

and this addition to the usual oath seems not improbable, considering the circumstances of the times.

The Norman army distressed by sickness.

Submission urged by the bishops in obedience to the pope's bull.

Stigand crosses the Thames at Wallingford.

Edgar Atheling is seated on the throne.

A dangerous tumult on the coronation day.

It is appeased by William.

Submission of all the nobility.

William distributes Harold's treasure.

There appeared nothing but joy in the countenance of the spectators: but in that very moment there burst forth the strongest symptoms of the jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the nations. The Norman soldiers, who were placed without, in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, fancied that the English were offering violence to their duke; and they immediately assaulted the populace, and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince: both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult.

SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. 1067.

THE king, thus possessed of the throne by a pretended destination of king Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, retired from London to Berking in Essex; and there received the submissions of all the nobility who had not attended his coronation. Edric, surnamed the Forester, grand-nephew to that Edric so noted for his repeated acts of perfidy during the reigns of Ethelred and Edmond; earl Coxo, a man famous for bravery; even Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland; with the other principal noblemen of England; came and swore fealty to him; were received into favour, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. Every thing bore the appearance of peace and tranquillity; and William had no other occupation than to give contentment to the foreigners, who had assisted him to mount the throne, and to his new subjects, who had so readily submitted to him.

He had got possession of the treasure of Harold, which was considerable: and, being also supplied with rich presents, he distributed great sums among his troops. The ecclesiastics, both at home and abroad, had much forwarded his success; and he failed not, in return, to express his grati-

tude in the manner which was most acceptable to them. He sent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents. All the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty. The English monks found him well disposed to favour their order: and he built a new convent near Hastings, which he called Battle Abbey; and which, on pretence of supporting monks to pray for his own soul and for that of Harold, served as a lasting memorial of his victory.*

He introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his administration had been much celebrated in Normandy; and even during this violent revolution every disorder or oppression met rigorous punishment. His army, in particular, was governed with severe discipline; and care was taken to give as little offence as possible to the jealousy of the vanquished. The king appeared solicitous to unite the Normans and the English, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new subjects were received with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Atheling, the heir of the ancient royal family; whom William confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the highest kindness, as the nephew to the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor. Though he confiscated the estates of Harold, and those who had fought in the battle of Hastings on the side of that prince, whom he represented as an usurper, he received many into favour who had carried arms against him. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and the other cities of England; and appeared desirous of replacing every thing on ancient establishments. In his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror. The better to reconcile his new subjects to his authority, William made a progress through some parts of England; and, besides a splendid

He proves his gratitude to the church.

William founds Battle Abbey.

He conciliates the English.

Many nobles are confirmed in their honours.

The liberties of cities are confirmed.

* This convent was freed by him from all episcopal jurisdiction. Monast. Aug., tom. 1 p. 311, 312.

court and majestic presence, which overawed the people, already struck with his military fame, the appearance of his clemency and justice gained the approbation of the wise, attentive to the first steps of their new sovereign.

But, amidst this confidence and friendship which he expressed for the English, the king took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans. He disarmed the city of London and other places, which appeared most warlike and populous; and, building citadels in that capital, as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and the cities best situated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman soldiers in all of them, and left no where any power able to oppose him. He bestowed the forfeited estates on the most eminent of his captains, and established funds for the payment of his soldiers. And thus, while his civil administration carried the face of a legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and tyrant; at least of one who reserved to himself the power of assuming that character.

KING'S RETURN TO NORMANDY.

By this mixture, however, of vigour and lenity, he had so soothed the minds of the English, that he thought he might safely revisit his native country, and enjoy the triumph and congratulation of his ancient subjects. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, and of William Fitz Osberne. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him all the most considerable nobility; who, while they served to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. Among these were Edgar Atheling, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof, the son of the brave earl Siward. He was visited at the abbey of Fescamp, where he resided during some time, by Rodulph, uncle to

the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles; who, having contributed to his enterprise, were desirous of participating in the joy and advantages of its success. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, outvied each other in equipages and entertainments; and made a display of riches which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the costliness of their embroideries, an art in which the English then excelled; and he expresses himself in such terms as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and cultivation of the people.* But, though every thing bore the face of joy and festivity, and William himself treated his new courtiers with great appearance of kindness, it was impossible altogether to prevent the insolence of the Normans; and the English nobles derived little satisfaction from those entertainments, where they considered themselves as led in triumph by their ostentatious conqueror.

INSURRECTIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

In England affairs took still a worse turn during the absence of the sovereign. Discontents and complaints multiplied every where; secret conspiracies were entered into; hostilities were already begun in many places; and every thing seemed to menace a revolution as rapid as that which had placed William on the throne. The historian above mentioned, who is a panegyrist of his master, throws the blame entirely on the fickle and mutinous disposition of the English, and highly celebrates the justice and lenity of Odo's and Fitz Osberne's administration. But other historians impute the cause chiefly to the Normans, who, despising a people that had so easily submitted to the yoke, and grudging the restraints imposed upon their own rapine, were desirous of provoking a rebel-

* As the historian chiefly insists on the silver plate, his panegyric on the English magnificence shews only how incompetent a judge he was of the matter. Silver was then of ten times the value, and

was more than twenty times more rare than at present; and, consequently, of all species of luxury, plate must have been the rarest.

William's
absence the
cause of the
outbreak.

Insurrec-
tion the
presumed
object of
his policy.

Such a pur-
pose is not
imputed by
any ancient
author.

A rising in
Kent.

lion; by which they expected to acquire new confiscations, and to gratify those unbounded hopes which they had formed in entering on this enterprise.

It is evident that the chief reason of this alteration in the sentiments of the English must be ascribed to the departure of William, who was alone able to curb the violence of his captains, and to overawe the mutinies of the people. Nothing indeed appears more strange than that this prince, in less than three months after the conquest of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation, should absent himself, in order to revisit his own country, which remained in profound tranquillity. It is natural to believe that in so extraordinary a step he was guided by a concealed policy; and that, though he had thought proper at first to allure the people to submission, he found that he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without farther exerting the rights of conquest, and seizing the possessions of the English. In order to have a pretext for this violence, he endeavoured to provoke and allure them into insurrections, which he thought could never prove dangerous while he detained all the principal nobility in Normandy, while a great and victorious army was quartered in England, and while he himself was so near to suppress any tumult or rebellion. But, as no ancient writer has ascribed this tyrannical purpose to William, it scarcely seems allowable to throw such an imputation upon him.

But, whether we are to account for that measure from the king's vanity or from his policy, it was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns; and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till time had gradually united the two nations. The inhabitants of Kent were the first that attempted to throw off the yoke; and, in confederacy with Eustace, count of Bologne, who had also been disgusted by the Normans, they made an attempt, though with-

out success, on the garrison of Dover. Edric the Forester, whose possessions lay on the banks of the Severn, being provoked at the depredations of some Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallan, two Welsh princes; and endeavoured to repel force by force. But, though these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection was general among the English. A secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetrate in one day a general massacre of the Normans, like that which had formerly been executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel was become so general that the vassals of earl Coxo, having desired him to head them in an insurrection, and finding him resolute in maintaining his fidelity to William, put him to death as a traitor to his country.

The king, informed of these dangerous discontents, hastened over to England; and, by his presence, disconcerted all the schemes of the conspirators. Such of them as had been more violently betrayed their guilt by flying, or concealing themselves; and the confiscation of their estates, while it increased the number of malcontents, both enabled William to gratify farther the rapacity of his Norman captains, and gave them the prospect of new forfeitures and attainders. The king began to regard all his English subjects as inveterate enemies; and thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in, the resolution of seizing their possessions, and of reducing them to the most abject slavery. Though the natural severity of his temper made him incapable of feeling any remorse in the execution of this tyrannical purpose, he had art enough to preserve still some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He ordered all the English, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence, to be restored to their estates: * but at the same time he imposed a general tax on the people, that of Danegelt, which had been abolished by the Confessor, and which had always been extremely odious to the nation.†

Dover
castle at-
tempted
unsucces-
fully.

A general
massacre of
the Nor-
mans con-
templated.

William
returns to
England.

Severity of
William.

He impos-
ed the Dane-
gelt.

* Chron. Sax. p. 173. This fact is a full proof that the Normans had committed great injustice, and were the real cause of the insurrections of the English.

† Aldred, the archbishop of York, who had been loud in William's praise, when the Danegelt was again imposed on the nation had the boldness to send

As the vigilance of William overawed the malcontents, their insurrections were more the result of an impatient humour in the people than of any regular conspiracy, which could give them a rational hope of success. The inhabitants of Exeter, instigated by Githa, mother to king Harold, refused to admit a Norman garrison. The king hastened with his forces to chastise this revolt; and on his approach the wiser and more considerable citizens, sensible of the unequal contest, persuaded the people to submit, and to deliver hostages for their obedience. A sudden mutiny of the populace broke this agreement; and William, appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out, as an earnest of that severity which the rebels must expect if they persevered in their revolt. The inhabitants were anew seized with terror; and, surrendering at discretion, threw themselves at the king's feet, and supplicated his clemency and forgiveness. William was not destitute of generosity when his temper was not hardened either by policy or passion. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, and he set guards on all the gates, in order to prevent the rapacity and insolence of his soldiery. Githa escaped with her treasures to Flanders. The malcontents of Cornwall imitated the example of Exeter, and met with like treatment. And the king, having built a citadel in that city, which he put under the command of Baldwin, son of Earl Gilbert, returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters. He was here joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by archbishop Aldred. Soon after she brought him an accession to his family by the birth of a fourth son, whom he named Henry. His three elder sons, Robert, Richard, and William, still resided in Normandy.*

a messenger to the king, to remonstrate in his name against such a course. William was offended, and sharply reprov'd the bearer of the prelate's message, in consequence of which, it is said, Aldred pronounced a curse against the king and all his race.—Ed.
* William's consort Matilda came to England in this year (1068,) and was crowned on Whitsunday. She had three sons, Robert, Richard, and William, the first being then about twelve years of age. Henry

But, though the king appeared thus fortunate both in public and domestic life, the discontents of his English subjects augmented daily. The insolence of victorious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, seemed intolerable to the natives; and, wherever they found the Normans separate or assembled in small bodies, they secretly set upon them, and gratified their vengeance by the slaughter of their enemies. But an insurrection in the north drew thither the general attention, and seemed to threaten more important consequences. Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of this rebellion; and these potent noblemen, before they took arms, stipulated for foreign succours from their nephew Blethyn prince of North Wales, from Malcolm king of Scotland, and from Sweyn king of Denmark. Besides the general discontent which had seized the English, the two earls were incited to this revolt by private injuries. William, in order to ensure them to his interests, had promised his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never seriously intended to perform this engagement, or, having changed his plan of administration in England from clemency to rigour, he thought it was to little purpose if he gained one family, while he enraged the whole nation. When Edwin, therefore, renewed his applications, he gave him an absolute denial: and this disappointment, added to so many other reasons of disgust, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their incensed countrymen, and to make one general effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. William knew the importance of celerity in quelling an insurrection supported by such powerful leaders, and advanced by great journies to the north. On his march he gave orders to fortify the castle of Warwick, of which he left Henry de Beaumont governor, and that of Nottingham, which he committed

was born in England in the course of the year. During the absence of William, the government of Normandy had been committed to her hands. This lady, who is sometimes called Maud, was descended from Elfrida, the youngest daughter of Alfred the Great, who was married to the second earl of Flanders, son to Judith, who had been the consort of kings Ethelwolf and Ethelbald, and mentioned in a former note as the ancestress of the present royal family.—Ed.

A new rebellion in the north.

Edwin is denied William's daughter.

William marches against the rebels.

He reduces
them to
submission.

He pun-
ishes them
with severe-
ity.

Peace is
restored.

The Eng-
lish exas-
perated by
the tyranny
of William.

to the custody of Wiliam Peverell, another Norman captain. He reached York before the rebels were in any condition for resistance, or were joined by any of the foreign succours which they expected, except a small reinforcement from Wales; and the two earls found no means of safety but having recourse to the clemency of the victor. Archil, a potent nobleman in those parts, imitated their example, and delivered his son as a hostage for his fidelity: nor were the people able to make any further resistance. But the treatment which William gave the chiefs was very different from that which fell to the share of their followers. He observed religiously the terms which he had granted to the former, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigours of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers. These, planted throughout the whole country, and in possession of the military power, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to spare, ready to fall whenever he should think proper to command their ruin. A peace which he made with Malcolm, who did him homage for Cumberland, seemed at the same time to deprive them of all prospect of foreign assistance.

RIGOURS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

1068.

THE English were now sensible that their final destruction was intended; and that, instead of a sovereign, whom they had hoped to gain by their submissions, they had tamely surrendered themselves, without resistance, to a tyrant and a conqueror. Though the early confiscation of Harold's followers might seem iniquitous; yet were these rigours excused on account of the necessities of the prince: and those who were not involved in the present ruin hoped that they should henceforth enjoy, without

* In the beginning of the conqueror's raigne, the Normannes (as men in prosperity are wont to do) began to forget themselves, yea, to grow so insolent in their esteem of our nation, that it seemed almost a reproche to bee called an Englishman, in so much as it made some of the more light conceyted of the

molestation, their possessions and their dignities. But the successive destruction of so many other families convinced them that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affections of foreigners. They observed that no Englishman possessed his confidence, or was intrusted with any command or authority; and that the strangers were encouraged in their insolence and tyranny against them. The easy submission of the kingdom on its first invasion had exposed the natives to contempt; the subsequent proofs of their animosity and resentment had made them the object of hatred. Impressed with the sense of this dismal situation, many Englishmen fled into foreign countries.* Edgar Atheling himself, dreading the insidious caresses of William, was persuaded by Cospatric, a powerful Northumbrian, to escape with him into Scotland; and he carried thither his two sisters Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm, who soon after espoused Margaret, the eldest sister; and gave great countenance to all the English exiles. Many of them settled there, and laid the foundation of families which afterwards made a figure in that country.

While the English suffered under these oppressions, even the foreigners were not much at their ease. Hugh de Grentmesnil and Humphry de Teliol, though intrusted with great commands, desired to be dismissed the service; and some others imitated their example: a desertion which was highly resented by the king, and which he punished by the confiscation of all their possessions in England. But William's bounty to his followers could not fail of alluring many new adventurers into his service; and the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and those warlike chiefs, and keep them in readiness to suppress every commencement of domestic rebellion or foreign invasion.

English to seek to better their esteem by imitating the Normannes, both in apparel and language, which among the graver sort bred the proverb that "Jack would be a gentleman yf he could speak French."—*Verstegan*.—ED.

He with-
draws all
confidence
and power
from them.

Edgar
Atheling
withdraws
to Scotland

His sister
marries th
king of
Scotland.

William
adherent
weary
England

NEW INSURRECTIONS AND
RIGOURS. 1069.

It was not long before they found occupation for their prowess and military conduct. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three sons of Harold, had, immediately after the defeat at Hastings, sought a retreat in Ireland; where, having met with a kind reception from Dermot and other princes of that country, they projected an invasion on England; and they hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, assisted by forces from these several countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouse the indignation of the English against their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonshire; but found Brian, son of the count of Brittany, at the head of some foreign troops, ready to oppose them; and, being defeated in several actions, they were obliged to return with great loss to Ireland. The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the north. The more impatient of the Northumbrians had attacked Robert de Comyn, who was appointed governor of Durham; and, gaining the advantage over him from his negligence, they put him to death in that city, with seven hundred of his followers. This success animated the inhabitants of York; who, rising in arms, slew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the command now devolved. A little after, the Danish troops landed from three hundred vessels. Osborne, brother to king Sweyn, was intrusted with the command of these forces; and he was accompanied by Harold and Canute, two sons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him Cospatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Merleswain, Adelin, and other leaders; who, partly from the hopes which they gave of Scottish succours, partly from their authority in those parts, easily persuaded the warlike and discontented Northumbrians to join the insurrection. Mallet, that he might better provide for the defence of the citadel of York, set fire to some houses: but this expedient proved the immediate cause of his destruction. The flames,

spreading into the neighbouring streets, reduced the whole city to ashes. The enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the castle, which they carried by assault; and the garrison, to the number of three thousand men, was put to the sword without mercy.

This success proved a signal to many other parts of England, and gave the people an opportunity of shewing their malevolence to the Normans. Hereward, a nobleman in East Anglia celebrated for valour, assembled his followers; and, taking shelter in the Isle of Ely, made inroads on all the neighbouring country. The English in the counties of Somerset and Dorset rose in arms, and assaulted Montacute, the Norman governor; while the inhabitants of Cornwall and Devon invested Exeter, which, from the memory of William's clemency, still remained faithful to him. Edric the Forester, calling in the assistance of the Welsh, laid siege to Shrewsbury, and made head against earl Brient and Fitz-Osborne, who commanded in those quarters. The English every where seemed determined to make by concert one great effort for the recovery of their liberties, and for the expulsion of their oppressors.

William, undismayed amidst this scene of confusion, assembled his forces; and, animating them with the prospect of new confiscations and forfeitures, he marched against the rebels in the north; whose defeat he knew would strike a terror into all the other malcontents. Joining policy to force, he tried before his approach to weaken the enemy, by detaching the Danes from them; and he engaged Osborne, by large presents, and by offering him the liberty of plundering the sea coast, to retire into Denmark. Cospatric also, in despair of success, made his peace with the king; and, paying a sum of money, was received into favour, and even invested with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who long defended York with great courage, was allured with this appearance of clemency; and, as William knew how to esteem valour even in an enemy, that nobleman had no reason to repent of this confidence. Even Edric submitted to the

Yorkcastle
carried by
assault.

Additional
vessels.

The policy
of William.

Waltheof is
rewarded
by William
for his cou-
rage.

The hostile confederacy is dissolved.

Conqueror, and received forgiveness. Malcolm, coming too late to support his confederates, was constrained to retire. And all the English rebels, except Hereward, who still kept in his fastnesses, dispersed themselves, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, with his followers, sought again a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies.

William tyrannically lays sixty miles of country waste.

But the seeming clemency of William towards the English leaders proceeded only from artifice; his heart was hardened against all compassion; and he scrupled no measure, however severe, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Sensible of the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, he issued orders for laying entirely waste that fertile country, which, for the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees. The houses were reduced to ashes by the merciless Normans; the cattle seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry destroyed; and the inhabitants compelled either to seek for a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or perished miserably in the woods from cold and hunger. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy; which inflicted a lasting wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

A hundred thousand lives sacrificed.

But William, finding himself entirely master of a people who had given him such sensible proofs of their animosity, now resolved to reduce them to a condition in which they should no longer be formidable to his government. The insurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates were either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred on the Normans and other foreigners. While the king's declared intention was to depress, or rather entirely

Estates are confiscated.

extirpate, the English gentry, it is easy to believe that scarcely the form of justice would be observed in these violent proceedings;* and that any suspicions served as the most undoubted proofs of guilt against a people thus devoted to destruction. It was crime sufficient in an Englishman to be opulent, or noble, or powerful. And the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, produced almost a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary; they had the mortification of seeing their castles and manors possessed by Normans of the meanest birth and lowest stations; and they found themselves carefully excluded from every road which led either to riches or preferment.†

Distress of ancient families.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL LAW. 1070.

As power naturally follows property, this revolution alone gave great security to the foreigners; but William took also care to retain for ever the military authority in those hands which had enabled him to subdue the kingdom. He introduced the feudal law, which he found established in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These great barons shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and war which he himself owed to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about seven hundred chief tenants, and sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights' fees; and, as none of the native English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property

The feudal law introduced.

The lands divided into baronies.

No English admitted into the first rank.

* See note C at the end of the volume.

† See note D at the end of the volume.

were glad to be received into the second, and, under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with this grievous burden, for estates which they had received free from their ancestors. The small mixture of English which entered into this civil or military fabric (for it partook of both species) was so restrained by subordination, that the Norman dominion seemed to defy all the efforts of its enemies.

The better to unite the parts of the government, and to bind them into one system, which might serve both for defence against foreigners and for the support of domestic tranquillity, William reduced the ecclesiastical revenues under the same feudal law; and, though he had courted the church on his invasion and accession, he now subjected it to services which the clergy regarded as a grievous slavery, and as totally unbefitting their profession. The bishops and abbots were obliged, when required, to furnish to the king, during war, a number of knights or military tenants, proportioned to the extent of property possessed by each see or abbey; and they were liable, in case of failure, to the same penalties which were exacted from the laity. The pope and the ecclesiastics exclaimed against this tyranny, but the king's authority was so well established over the army, who held every thing from his bounty, that superstition itself, even in that age, when it was most prevalent, was constrained to bend under his superior influence.

But, as the great body of the clergy were still natives, the king had much reason to dread the effects of their resentment; he therefore used the precaution of expelling the English from all the considerable dignities, and of advancing foreigners in their place. The partiality of the Confessor towards the Normans had been so great, that, aided by their superior learning, it had promoted them to many of the sees in England; and even before the period of the conquest scarcely more than six or seven of the prelates were natives of the country. But among these was Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury; a man who, by his address and vigour, by the greatness

of his family and alliances, by the extent of his possessions, as well as by the dignity of his office, gave jealousy to the king. Though William had on his accession affronted this prelate, by employing the archbishop of York to officiate at his consecration, he was careful on other occasions to load him with honours, and to avoid giving him farther offence till the opportunity should offer of effecting his final destruction. The suppression of the late rebellions made him hope that an attempt against Stigand, however violent, would be overlooked amidst the other important revolutions which affected so deeply the property and liberty of the kingdom. Yet he did not think it safe to violate the reverence usually paid to the primate, but under cover of a new superstition, which he was the great instrument of introducing into England.

INNOVATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.

THE doctrine which exalted the papacy above all human power had gradually diffused itself from the city and court of Rome; and was much more prevalent in the southern than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had assisted William in his conquests, naturally expected that the French and Normans would import into England the same reverence for his sacred character with which they were impressed in their own country. As soon, therefore, as the Norman prince seemed fully established, the pope dispatched Ermenfroy, bishop of Sion, as his legate into England; and this prelate was the first that had ever appeared with that character in the British islands. The king determined to employ the incident as a means of serving his political purposes, and of degrading those English prelates who were become obnoxious to him. The legate submitted to become the instrument of his tyranny. He summoned, therefore, a council of the prelates and abbots at Winchester; and, being assisted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited before him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, to answer for his conduct. The primate was

William
consecrates
Stigand, an
English
prelate.

The king
sought to
ruin the
prelate.

The pope
expects
great reve-
rence from
William.

Ermenfroy
arrives in
England as
the pope's
legate.

Charges preferred against Stigand.

His alleged crimes mere pretences.

He is condemned and imprisoned.

Other bishops share his fate.

Aldred dies.

accused of three crimes ; the holding of the see of Winchester together with that of Canterbury ; the officiating in the pall of Robert his predecessor ; and the having received his own pall from Benedict IX., who was afterwards deposed for simony, and for intrusion into the papacy. These crimes were mere pretences ; since the first had been a practice not unusual in England, and was never any where subjected to a higher penalty than a resignation of one of the sees ; the second was a pure ceremonial ; and, as Benedict was the only pope who then officiated, and his acts were never repealed, all the prelates, especially those who lay at a distance, were excusable for making their applications to him. Stigand's ruin, however, was resolved on. The legate degraded him from his dignity ; the king confiscated his estate, and cast him into prison, where he continued in poverty during the remainder of his life. Like rigour was exercised against the other English prelates. Agelric, bishop of Selesey, and Agelmare of Elmham, were deposed by the legate, and imprisoned by the king. Many considerable abbots shared the same fate. Egelwin, bishop of Durham, fled the kingdom. Wulstan of Worcester, a man of an inoffensive character, was the only English prelate that escaped this general proscription* and remained in possession of his dignity. Aldred, archbishop of York, who had set the crown on William's head, had died a little before of grief, and had left his malediction to that prince, on account of the breach of his coronation oath, and of the extreme tyranny with which he saw he was determined to treat his English subjects.

It was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military. The king, therefore, upon Stigand's deposition, promoted Lanfranc, a

Milanese monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, to the vacant see.† This prelate was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his station ; and, after a long process before the pope, he obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to the see of York, to acknowledge the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Hence Lanfranc's zeal in promoting the interests of the papacy, by which he himself augmented his own authority, was indefatigable, and met with proportionable success. The devoted attachment to Rome continually increased in England ; and, being favoured by the sentiments of the conquerors, as well as by the monastic establishments formerly introduced by Edred and by Edgar, it soon reached the same height at which it had, during some time, stood in France and Italy. It afterwards went much farther ; being less checked by knowledge and a liberal education, which were still somewhat more common in the southern countries.

The prevalence of this superstitious spirit became dangerous to some of William's successors, and incommodious to most of them : but the arbitrary sway of this king over the English, and his extensive authority over the foreigners, kept him from feeling any immediate inconveniences from it. He retained the church in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects. He prohibited his subjects from acknowledging any one for pope whom he himself had not previously received ; he required that all the ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should be first laid before him, and be ratified by his authority ; even bulls or letters from Rome could not legally be produced till they received the same sanction ; and none of his ministers or barons, whatever offences they were guilty of, could be subjected to spiritual censures till he himself had given his consent to their excommunication. These regulations

Lanfranc made archbishop.

The Romish religion makes great progress in England.

William regulates the pope's authority in England.

* Brompton relates that Wulstan was also deprived by the synod ; but refusing to deliver his pastoral staff and ring to any but the person from whom he first received them, he went immediately to King Edward's tomb, and struck the staff so deeply into the stone, that none but himself was able to pull it out ; on which he was allowed to keep his bishopric.

This instance may serve, instead of many, as a specimen of the monkish miracles. See also the annals of Burton, p. 284.

† Matthew West, p. 228, "Lanfranc wrote in defence of the real presence against Berengarius, and in those ages he was greatly applauded for that performance."

were worthy of a sovereign, and kept united the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which the principles introduced by this prince himself had an immediate tendency to separate.

But the English had the cruel mortification to find that their king's authority, however acquired or however extended, was all employed in their oppression; and that the scheme of their subjection, attended with every circumstance of insult and indignity, was deliberately formed by the prince, and wantonly prosecuted by his followers. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language; and for that purpose, he ordered that in all schools throughout the kingdom the youth should be instructed in the French tongue; a practice which was continued till after the reign of Edward III, and was never indeed totally discontinued in England. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French; the deeds were often drawn in the same language; the laws were composed in that idiom; no other tongue was used at court; and the English themselves, ashamed of their own country, affected to excel in that foreign dialect. From this, and from the extensive foreign dominions long annexed to the crown of England, proceeded that mixture of French which is at present to be found in the English tongue, and which composes the greatest and best part of our language.* But, amidst those endeavours to depress the English nation, the king restored a few of the laws of king Edward; which, though seemingly of no great importance towards the protection of general liberty, gave the people extreme satisfaction, as an unusual mark of complaisance in their imperious conquerors.

* "The English tongue, extracted out of the olde German, as most other from Iceland to the Alpes, is mixed, as it is now, of the olde English Saxon and Norman French, as the French of Latine, German, and the olde Gallique."—*Camden*.—*Ed.*

† Foiled in his attempts to carry the place by force, he at last prevailed by cunning. He seized the manors held by the monks in the isle of Ely; and, to procure their restoration, Thurstan, their abbot, agreed to pay a thousand marks, and put William in possession of the place. The offer was accepted, and

The situation of the two great earls, Morcar and Edwin, became now very disagreeable. Though they had retained their allegiance during this general insurrection of their countrymen, they had not gained the king's confidence; and they found themselves exposed to the malignity of the courtiers, who envied them on account of their opulence. They determined, though too late, to share the same fate with their countrymen. While Edwin retired to his estate in the north, with a view of commencing an insurrection, Morcar took shelter in the Isle of Ely with the brave Hereward; who still defended himself against the Normans. But this attempt served only to accelerate the ruin of the few English who had hitherto been able to preserve their rank or fortune during the past convulsions. William employed all his endeavours to subdue the Isle of Ely; and, having surrounded it with flat bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to surrender at discretion.† Hereward alone forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy; and still continued his hostilities by sea against the Normans; till at last William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favour, and restored him to his estate. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin bishop of Durham, who had joined the malcontents, were thrown into prison; and the latter soon after died in confinement.‡ Edwin, attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and was killed by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the English, and even to that of William, who paid a tribute of generous tears to the memory of this gallant and beautiful youth. The king of Scotland, in hopes of profiting by these convulsions,

Morcar and Edwin dissatisfied.

They rebel, but are subdued.

Earl Edwin dies.

the result as stated in the text. On attending to pay the money, the monks were deficient a single groat. For this failure on their part, William claimed another thousand marks; and they were compelled to sell their plate, and strip their images of their gold and silver coverings, to meet the unlooked for demand.—*Ed.*

‡ He is said to have been cruelly murdered by order of William, being starved to death for having been hardy enough to excommunicate the king.—*Ed.*

Edgar
Atheling
submits.

Barbarous
treatment
of rebels.

The pro-
vince of
Maine re-
sists the
authority of
William.

He compels
submission.

Disturbed
state of the
Govern-
ment at
home.

had fallen upon the northern counties; but on the approach of William he was glad to make peace, and to pay the usual homage to the English crown. To complete the king's prosperity, Edgar Atheling himself, weary of a fugitive life, submitted; and, receiving a decent pension, was permitted to live in England unmolested. But these acts of generosity towards the leaders were disgraced, as usual, by William's rigour against the inferior malcontents. He ordered the hands to be lopped off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the prisoners whom he had taken in the Isle of Ely; and he dispersed them in that miserable condition throughout the country, as monuments of his severity.

The province of Maine in France had, by the will of Herbert the last count, fallen under the dominion of William some years before his conquest of England; but the inhabitants, instigated by Fulk, count of Anjou, who had some pretensions to the succession, now rose in rebellion, and expelled the magistrates whom the king had placed over them. The full settlement of England afforded him leisure to punish this insult; but, being unwilling to remove his Norman forces from this island, he carried over a considerable army, composed almost entirely of English; and, joining them to some troops levied in Normandy, he entered the revolted province. The English appeared ambitious of distinguishing themselves on this occasion. The king's military conduct, seconded by these brave troops, soon overcame all opposition in Maine; and the count of Anjou relinquished his pretensions.

INSURRECTION OF THE NORMAN BARONS. 1074.

BUT during these transactions the government of England was greatly disturbed; and that too by those very foreigners who owed every thing to the king's bounty, and who were the sole object of his friendship and regard. The Norman barons, though they obeyed their leader in the field, would have regarded with disdain the richest acquisitions, had they been required in return to submit, in their civil govern-

ment, to the arbitrary will of one man. But the imperious character of William, often impelled by the necessity of his affairs, had prompted him to stretch his authority over the Normans themselves beyond what the free genius of that victorious people could easily bear. The discontents were become general among those haughty nobles; and even Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz-Osborne, the king's chief favourite, was strongly infected with them. This nobleman, intending to marry his sister to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had thought it his duty to inform the king of his purpose, and to desire the royal consent; but, meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to complete the nuptials, and assembled all his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity. The two earls, dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, here prepared measures for a revolt; and, during the gaiety of the festival, they opened the design to their guests. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny over the English, whom they affected on this occasion to commiserate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the noblest birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquished to a like ignominious servitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a bastard was not forgotten; the certain prospect of success in a revolt, by the assistance of the Danes and the discontented English, was insisted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the same sentiments, entered, by a solemn engagement, into the design of shaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the conspiracy, and promised his concurrence towards its success.

This nobleman, the last of the English who, for some generations, possessed any power or authority, had, after his capitulation at York, been received into favour by the Conqueror; had even married Judith, niece to that prince; and had been promoted to the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton. Cospatric, earl of North-

The Nor-
man barons
offended by
William.

The earls of
Hereford
and Nor-
folk slight
the king.

They plan a
revolt.

Earl Wal-
theof ap-
proves of it.

He receives
an appoint-
ment from
William.

from William, retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm, Waltheof was appointed his successor in that important command, and seemed still to possess the confidence and friendship of his sovereign. But, it is probable the tyranny exercised over the English lay heavy upon his mind, and destroyed all the satisfaction which he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. When a prospect, therefore, was opened of retrieving their liberty, he hastily embraced it. But, after his cool judgment returned, he foresaw that the conspiracy of those discontented barons was not likely to prove successful; or, if it did, that the slavery of the English, instead of being alleviated, would become more grievous under a multitude of foreign leaders. Tormented with these reflections, he opened his mind to his wife Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no suspicion; but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, and aggravated every circumstance which she believed would render him absolutely implacable. Meanwhile the earl, still dubious, discovered the secret in confession to Lanfranc. He was persuaded by the prelate that he owed no fidelity to those rebellious barons, who had by surprise gained his consent to a crime; that his first duty was to his sovereign and benefactor; his next to himself and his family. Waltheof, convinced by these arguments, went over to Normandy; but, though he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account, previously transmitted by Judith, had sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed all the merit of her husband's repentance.

The conspirators, hearing of Waltheof's departure, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed; and they flew to arms before the arrival of the Danes, in whose aid they placed their chief confidence. The earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron; who, sup-

ported by the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham, raised some forces, and prevented the earl from advancing into the heart of the kingdom. The earl of Norfolk was defeated at Fagadun, near Cambridge, by Odo the regent, assisted by Richard de Bienfaite and William de Warrenne, the two justiciaries. The prisoners taken in this action had their right foot cut off, as a punishment of their treason. The earl himself escaped to Norwich; thence to Denmark; where the Danish fleet, which had made an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of England, soon after arrived, and brought him intelligence that all his confederates were suppressed, and were either killed, banished, or taken prisoners. Ralph retired in despair to Brittany, where he possessed a large estate and extensive jurisdictions.

The king, who hastened over to England in order to suppress the insurrection, found that nothing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with great severity. Many of the rebels were hanged; some had their eyes put out; others their hands cut off. But William shewed more lenity to their leader, the earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even disposed to remit this last part of the punishment, had not Roger, by a fresh insolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity. William, instigated by his niece, as well as by his rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed.* The English grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his reliques, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity. The infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery.

Nothing remained to complete William's satisfaction but the punishment of Ralph de Guader; and he hastened over to Nor-

The rising
takes place,
but fails.

The rebels
are dread-
fully
punished.

Waltheof
executed.

His treach-
erous wife
reduced to
misery.

* He was publicly beheaded at Winchester, and buried under the scaffold. From the commiseration

felt for his hard fate, his remains were subsequently removed to Croyland Abbey.—Ed.

Waltheof
afterwards
repents
having the
conspirators.

He is bet-
rayed by
his wife.

He discloses
the scheme
to William.

Peace con-
cluded.Two
synods.

mandy, in order to gratify his vengeance on that criminal. But, though the contest seemed very unequal, Ralph was so well supported by the earl of Brittany and the king of France, that William, after besieging him for some time in Dol, was obliged to make with those powerful princes a peace, in which Ralph was included. England, during his absence, remained in tranquillity; and nothing remarkable occurred, except two ecclesiastical synods, summoned, one at London, another at Winchester. In the former the precedence among the episcopal sees was settled, and the seat of some of them was removed to the most considerable town within the diocese. In the second was transacted a business of more importance.

DISPUTES ABOUT INVESTITURES.

1076.

THE industry and perseverance are surprising, with which the popes had been treasuring up powers and pretensions during so many ages of ignorance; while each pontiff employed every fraud for advancing purposes of imaginary piety, and cherished all claims which might turn to the advantage of his successors, though he himself could not expect to reap any benefit from them. All this immense store of spiritual and civil authority was now devolved on Gregory VII., of the name of Hildebrand; the most enterprising pontiff that had ever filled that chair, and the least restrained by fear, decency, or moderation. Not content with shaking off the yoke of the emperors, who had hitherto exercised the power of appointing the pope on every vacancy, at least of ratifying his election, he undertook the arduous task of entirely disjoining the ecclesiastical from the civil power, and of excluding profane laymen from the right, which they had assumed, of filling the vacancies of bishoprics, abbies, and other spiritual dignities. The sove-

Pretension
of Pope
Gregory
VII.He abates
the power
of kings.

* The effect stated to have been produced by this, it is difficult to believe. Henry, divested of his regal ornaments, accompanied by his wife and child, all of them barefooted, are represented to have waited from morning till night near the pope's palace as petitioners. This continued for three days, "at length

reigns, who had long exercised this power, made great opposition to this claim of the court of Rome; and Henry IV, the reigning emperor, defended this prerogative of his crown with a vigour and resolution suitable to its importance. The few offices which the feudal institutions left the sovereign the power of bestowing, made the prerogative of conferring the pastoral ring and staff the most valuable jewel of the royal diadem. Superstition, the child of ignorance, invested the clergy with an authority almost sacred; and, as they engrossed the little learning of the age, their interposition became requisite in all civil business; and a real usefulness in common life was thus superadded to the spiritual sanctity of their character.

When the usurpations, therefore, of the church had come to such maturity as to embolden her to attempt extorting the right of investitures from the temporal power, Europe, especially Italy and Germany, was thrown into the most violent convulsions; and the pope and the emperor waged implacable war on each other. Gregory dared to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against Henry and his adherents; to pronounce him rightfully deposed; to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and, instead of shocking mankind by this gross encroachment on the civil authority, he found the stupid people ready to second his most exorbitant pretensions.* Every minister, servant, or vassal, of the emperor, who received any disgust, covered his rebellion under the pretence of principle; and even the mother of this monarch, forgetting all the ties of nature, was seduced to countenance the insolence of his enemies. Princes themselves, not attentive to the pernicious consequences of those papal claims, employed them for their present purposes: and the controversy engendered the parties of Guelf and Ghibbelin; the most durable and most inveterate factions that ever arose

The empe-
ror Henry
IV. resists.He is ex-
communi-
cated.All rise a-
gainst him.Rise of the
Guelf and
Ghibbelin
factions.

answer came that the pope's majesty had no leisure time to talke with hym." In the sequel, the happy result formed a beautiful commentary on the good sense and piety which marked the whole course of the proceedings. Henry was pardoned through the kind interference of Matilda, the pope's mistress.—ED.

from the mixture of ambition and religious zeal. Besides numberless assassinations, and convulsions, it is computed that the quarrel occasioned no less than sixty battles in the reign of Henry IV, and eighteen in that of his successor, Henry V, when the claims of the sovereign pontiff finally prevailed.

But the bold spirit of Gregory, not dismayed with the vigorous opposition which he met with from the emperor, extended his usurpations all over Europe; and seemed determined to set no bounds to the spiritual, or rather temporal, monarchy which he had undertaken to erect. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Nicephorus, emperor of the East. Robert Guiscard, the adventurous Norman who had acquired the dominion of Naples, was attacked by the same dangerous weapon. He degraded Boleslas, king of Poland, from the rank of king; and even deprived Poland of the title of a kingdom. He attempted to treat Philip, king of France, with the same rigour which he had employed against the emperor. He pretended to the entire property and dominion of Spain; and he parcelled it out amongst adventurers, who undertook to conquer it from the Saracens, and to hold it in vassalage under the see of Rome. Even the Christian bishops, on whose aid he relied, saw that he was determined to reduce them to servitude; and, by assuming the whole legislative and judicial power of the church, to centre all authority in the sovereign pontiff.

William the Conqueror, the most potent, the most haughty, and the most vigorous, prince in Europe, was not secure from the attacks of this enterprising pontiff. Gregory wrote him a letter, requiring him to fulfil his promise in doing homage for the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him that tribute which all his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Vicar of Christ. By the tribute he meant Peter's pence; which, though at first a charitable donation of the Saxon princes,

was interpreted, according to the usual practice of the Romish court, to be a badge of subjection. William replied that the money should be remitted as usual; but that neither had he promised to do homage, nor was it in the least his purpose to impose that servitude on his state. And, the better to shew Gregory his independence, he ventured to refuse to the English bishops the liberty of attending a general council, which that pontiff had summoned against his enemies.*

But, though the king displayed this vigour in supporting the royal dignity, he was infected with the general superstition of the age; and he did not perceive the ambitious scope of those institutions, which were introduced or promoted by the court of Rome. Gregory, while he was throwing all Europe into combustion, affected an anxious care for the purity of manners; and even the chaste pleasures of the marriage bed were inconsistent, in his opinion, with the sanctity of the sacerdotal character. He had issued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priests; excommunicating all clergymen who retained their wives; declaring such unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the laity to attend divine worship when such profane priests officiated at the altar. This point was a great object in the politics of the Roman pontiffs; and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it than the propagation of any speculative absurdity which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many synods were summoned in different parts of Europe before it was finally settled; and it was constantly remarked that the younger clergymen complied cheerfully with the pope's decrees in this particular, and that the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years. William allowed the pope's legate to assemble, in his absence, a synod at Winchester, in order to establish the celibacy of the clergy; but the church of England could not yet be carried the whole length expected. The synod was content

William
refuses it.

Gregory
imposes
severe re-
straints on
the clergy.

Synods cal-
led to estab-
lish celibacy
in the
church.

* William went further: he sternly told the pope's nuncio that he held his crown of God alone and his sword; and, being answered by threats, he issued an

edict, forbidding his subjects to acknowledge any pope without his leave, or to receive communications from Rome.—Ed.

Priests and
deacons
compelled
to promise
celibacy.

with decreeing that the bishops should not thenceforth ordain any priests or deacons without exacting from them a promise of celibacy; but they enacted that none, except those who belonged to collegiate or cathedral churches, should be obliged to separate from their wives.

REVOLT OF PRINCE ROBERT.

Prince
Robert,
William's
eldest son.

THE king passed some years in Normandy; but his long residence there was not entirely owing to his declared preference to that duchy. Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Gambaron or Courthose, from his short legs, was a prince who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation; but without that policy and dissimulation by which his father was distinguished, and which, no less than his military valour, had contributed to his great successes. Greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, this prince could endure no control, even from his imperious father; and openly aspired to that independence to which his temper, as well as some circumstances in his situation, strongly invited him. When William first received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants that Robert should be their prince; and before he undertook the expedition against England he had declared him his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons to do him homage as their future sovereign. By this artifice he had endeavoured to appease the jealousy of his neighbours; but, when Robert demanded of him the execution of those engagements, he gave him an absolute refusal; and told him, according to the homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. Robert openly declared his discontent; and was suspected of secretly instigating the king of France and the earl of Brittany to the opposition which they made to William, and which had formerly frustrated his attempts upon the town of Dol. And, as the quarrel still augmented, Robert entertained a strong jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry (for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag); who, by greater submission, had

William
promises
Robert the
duchy of
Normandy.

The king
breaks his
word.

acquired the affections of their father. In this disposition on both sides, the greatest trifle sufficed to produce a rupture between them.

The three princes, residing with their father in the castle of l'Aigle in Normandy, were one day engaged in sport; and, after some mirth and jollity, the two younger took a fancy of throwing over some water on Robert as he passed through the court on leaving their apartment; a frolic which he would naturally have regarded as innocent, had it not been for the suggestions of Alberic de Grentmesnil, son of that Hugh de Grentmesnil whom William had formerly deprived of his fortunes, when that baron deserted him in England. The young man, mindful of the injury, persuaded the prince that this action was meant as a public affront; and the choleric Robert, drawing his sword, ran up stairs with an intention of taking revenge on his brothers. The whole castle was filled with tumult, which the king himself, who hastened from his apartment, found some difficulty to appease. But he could by no means appease the resentment of his eldest son; who, complaining of his partiality, left the court that very evening, and hastened to Rouen, with an intention of seizing the citadel of that place. But, being disappointed in this view by the precaution and vigilance of Roger de Ivery, the governor, he fled to Hugh de Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, who gave him protection in his castles; and he openly levied war against his father. The popular character of the prince, and a similarity of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to take part with him; and it was supposed that Matilda his mother, whose favourite he was, supported him in his rebellion by secret remittances of money, and by the encouragement which she gave his partisans.

All the hereditary provinces of William, as well as his family, were, during several years, thrown into convulsions by this war; and he was at last obliged to have recourse to England, where that species of military government which he had established gave him greater authority than the ancient

A rupture
between his
sons.

Robert is
insulted by
his bro-
thers.

He violent-
ly resents
it.

He rebels
against his
father.

His mother
is supposed
to assist
him with
money.

Robert.
power.
ties to
castle of
beroy.

a encoun-
ers the
ng and
horses
m.

ay are
ailed.

feudal institutions permitted him to exercise in Normandy. He called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert. The young prince was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoisis; which the king of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father; against whom he made an obstinate defence. There passed under the walls of this place many rencounters, which resembled more the single combats of chivalry than the military actions of armies; but one of them was remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and unhorsed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son; who, struck with remorse, instantly threw himself at his father's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. The resentment harboured by William was so implacable, that he did not immediately respond to this dutiful submission of his son; but, giving him his malediction, departed for his own camp on Robert's horse, which that prince had assisted him to mount. He soon after raised the siege, and marched with his army to Normandy: where the

interposition of the queen, and other common friends, brought about a reconciliation. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, to repel an inroad of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and to retaliate by a like inroad into that country. The Welsh, unable to resist William's power, were, about the same time, necessitated to pay a compensation for their incursions; and every thing was reduced to full tranquillity in this island.

Robert
comes to
England.

DOMESDAY BOOK. 1081.

THIS state of affairs gave William leisure to begin and finish an undertaking, which proves his extensive genius, and does honour to his memory: it was a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each district; their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties the number of tenants and cottagers.* He appointed commissioners, who entered every particular in their register by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of six years (for the work was so long in finishing), brought him an exact account of all the landed property of his kingdom.† This monument, called Domesday book, the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed

A general
survey of all
England.

It was
called
Domesday
book.

* It is also noted to whom each property formerly belonged. A specimen of this valuable and important record can hardly be out of its place here. "*Rex tenet Contone. Heraldus Comes tenuit, et pro 10 hidis geldavit. Terra est 10 carucatæ. In dominio sunt 2 carucatæ, et 2 servi, et 28 villani, et 2 bordarii cum 8 carucatis. Ibi molinus de 12 solidis et 6 denariis, et 20 acra prati, et 8 acra pasturæ, et 15 acra silvæ. Hoc manerium reddit 12 libras ad pensum.*" ("The king holds Contone. The earl Harold held it, and it was assessed at 10 hides. Here are 10 ploughlands; 2 of which, with 2 servants, are in demesne. And 28 villagers and 2 borderers occupy the other 8 ploughlands. Here is a mill of the value of 12 shillings and sixpence, and 20 acres of meadow, and 8 acres of pasture, and 15 acres of wood. The manor is let for 12 pounds by weight.")

It will be here observed, speaking of Harold, he is not named as king: "*Heraldus Comes tenuit.*" Where manors formerly held by Edward the Confessor are to be distinguished, it is always "*Rex Edwardus tenuit.*" From this we may conclude that the com-

missioners knew it would not be agreeable to William to give the late king the title which he had assumed.

† It was in 1080 that the survey was commenced, by the advice of a great council held in that year, and it was brought to a conclusion in 1086. With the exception of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland, it comprehended all England. The mode of making it was by presentment of juries, or certain persons sworn in every district before commissioners "called the king's justices." The sheriffs, the lords of manors, the priests of the several churches, the steward of each hundred, and six villains in every village, were required to give information on oath. It was to a board sitting at Winchester that the returns were made. Care was taken to mark what had been the extent and value of each property in the time of Edward the Confessor, which was indicated by the letters T. R. E., (Tempore Regis Edwardi.) Two books thus formed are still preserved, called the Great and Little Domesday Books. The latter contains but three counties, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.—Ed.

Domesday
book is still
preserved in
the Ex-
chequer.

by any nation, is still preserved in the exchequer. It serves to illustrate to us, in many particulars, the ancient state of England.* The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model to William in this undertaking.

Revenue of
the crown.

The king was naturally a great economist; and, though no prince had ever been more bountiful to his officers, it was merely because he had rendered himself universal proprietor of England, and had a whole kingdom to bestow. He reserved an ample revenue for the crown; and he kept possession of no less than fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors in different parts of England, which paid him rent, either in money, or in corn, cattle, and the usual produce of the soil. An ancient historian computes that his annual fixed income, besides fines and other casual profits, amounted to near four hundred thousand pounds a year; a sum which, if all circumstances be attended to, will appear wholly incredible. A pound in that age, as we have already observed, contained three times the weight of silver that it does at present; and the same weight of silver † would purchase near ten times more of the necessaries of life, though not in the same proportion of the finer manufactures. This revenue, therefore, would be equal to at least nine or ten millions at present; and, as that prince had neither fleet nor army to support, this leads us to suspect a great mistake in the computation: though, if we consider that avarice is always imputed to William, and that, having rendered himself master of all the lands in the kingdom, he would

Changes in
the value of
money.

certainly retain a great proportion for his own share; perhaps no king of England was ever more opulent, was more able to support, by his revenue, the splendour and magnificence of a court, or could bestow more on his pleasures, or in liberalities to his servants and favourites.

Great opu-
lence of
William.

THE NEW FOREST.

THERE was one pleasure to which William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely addicted, and that was hunting: but this pleasure he indulged more at the expense of his unhappy subjects, than to the loss of his own revenue. Not content with those large forests which former kings possessed, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence; and for that purpose he laid waste the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation.‡ At the same time he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

The new
forest made.

Property
wastefully
destroyed.

Severe new
laws.

The transactions recorded during the remainder of this reign may be considered more as domestic occurrences, which concern the prince, than as national events. Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and intrusted with a great share of power,

* All the estates were triply rated, viz: as they stood in the time of the Confessor, as they were first bestowed by William I., and as they were at the time of the survey. The manuscript of this invaluable record consists of twenty volumes; the first, a folio, including thirty-one counties, and three hundred and eighty-two double pages of vellum; and the second, a quarto, of four hundred and fifty pages, containing three counties and part of two others. They are preserved in the chapter house at Westminster; but until 1696, were kept in the Exchequer, under three locks. A printed edition of the Domesday book appeared in 1783, in two vols. folio, which was per-

fectured in 1816, by a third containing similar records known under the same title, with very copious indexes and an excellent introduction by Sir Henry Ellis, principal librarian of the British Museum.—*Thomson*.—Ed.

† This calculation, however correct when made by Mr. Hume, must be materially affected by the altered circumstances of the times.

‡ He depopulated a great part of Hampshire for the space of thirty miles, "where there had been," (saith Caxton) "six and twenty towns and fourscore religious houses."—*Baker*.—Ed.

had amassed immense riches; and, agreeably to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present acquisitions but as a step to farther grandeur. He had formed the chimerical project of buying the papacy; and, though Gregory, the reigning pope, was not of advanced years, the prelate had confided so much in the predictions of an astrologer, that he reckoned upon the pontiff's death, and upon attaining, by his own intrigues and money, that envied state of greatness. Resolving, therefore, to remit all his riches to Italy, he had persuaded many considerable barons, and among the rest Hugh earl of Chester, to take the same course; in hopes that, when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments. The king got intelligence of the design, and ordered Odo to be arrested. His officers, from respect to the immunities which the ecclesiastics now assumed, scrupled to execute the command, till the king himself was obliged in person to seize him; and, when Odo insisted that he was a prelate, and exempt from all temporal jurisdiction, William replied that he arrested him not as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. He was sent prisoner to Normandy; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Gregory, was detained in custody during the remainder of this reign.

Another domestic event gave the king much more concern; it was the death of Matilda his consort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preserved the most sincere friendship. Three years afterwards he passed into Normandy, and carried with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he willingly granted permission to make a pilgrimage to the holy land.

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1087.

HE was detained on the continent by a misunderstanding, which broke out between him and the king of France, and which was occasioned by inroads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. It was little in the power of princes at that time to restrain their licentious nobility; but William suspected that these barons durst not have provoked his

indignation, had they not been assured of the countenance and protection of Philip. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king sent him word that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre-dame as would perhaps give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after childbirth. Immediately on his recovery he led an army into L'Isle de France, laid every thing waste with fire and sword, and took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF WILLIAM.

BUT the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which soon after put an end to William's life. His horse starting aside, he bruised his belly on the pommel of the saddle; and, being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence which he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he issued orders that earl Morcar, Siward, Bearne, and other English prisoners, should be set at liberty. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to consent, with his dying breath, to release his brother Odo. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert; he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England; he bequeathed to Henry nothing but the possessions of his mother Matilda, but foretold that he would one day surpass both his brothers in power and opulence. He expired on the ninth of September, 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over

William
jeered by
the French.

William's
last illness.

He makes
presents to
churches
and monas-
teries.

His death.

England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy.*

Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence : his ambition lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, and ever submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with submission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes, and establish an unlimited authority. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion ; and he seemed equally ambitious of shew and parade in his clemency and in his severity. The maxims of his administration were austere ; but ill calculated for softening the rigours which, under the most gentle management, are inseparable from conquest. His attempt against England was the last great enterprise of the kind which, during the course of seven hundred years, has fully succeeded in Europe ; and the force of his genius broke through those limits, which first the feudal institutions, then the refined policy of princes, have fixed to the several states of Christendom. Though he rendered himself infinitely odious to his English subjects, the throne is still filled by his descendants : a proof that the foundations which he laid were firm and solid ; and

that, while he seemed only to gratify the present passion, he had still an eye towards futurity.

Some writers have been desirous of refusing to this prince the title of Conqueror in the sense which that term commonly bears ; and, on pretence that the word is sometimes in old books applied to such as make an acquisition of territory by any means, they are willing to reject William's title, by right of war, to the crown of England. It suffices to say that the duke of Normandy's first invasion of the island was hostile ; that his subsequent administration was entirely supported by arms ; that in the very frame of his laws he made a distinction between the Normans and English, to the advantage of the former ; that he acted in everything as absolute master over the natives ; and that, if there was an interval when he assumed the appearance of a legal sovereign, the period was very short. Scarce any of those revolutions, which have always been denominated conquests, appear equally violent, or were attended with so sudden an alteration both of power and property. The Roman state, which spread its dominion over Europe, left the rights of individuals in a great measure untouched ; and those civilized conquerors, while they made their own country the seat of empire, found that they could draw most advantage from the subjected provinces, by securing to the natives the free enjoyment of their own laws and of their private possessions. The barba-

* The old writers consider the evanescent character of human greatness to have been most singularly exemplified in the circumstances which marked his exit from life. His court speedily deserted the dead monarch. William was in haste to reach England ; Henry was impatient to secure the five thousand pounds in money, secured to him by his father's will ; and the corpse of the proud victor of Hastings, was left prostrate and naked on the floor. "Afterwards," says Baker, "William, archbishop of Rouen, commanded his body should be conveyed to Caen ; but his command was little regarded : till at last one Herlewyne, a country knight, at his own charge, caused his body to be embalmed and conveyed thither, where the abbot and monks meeting the corpse, suddenly, in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire broke out in the town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place ; and thus was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end, a few monks returned, and attended the hearse to the abbey

church ; but when the divine office was ended, and his body ready to be laid in the grave, one Anselm Fitz Arthur stood up and claimed that ground to have been his father's house, which king William had violently wrested from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his body with the earth of his inheritance. Whereupon, after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand, for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground itself, paid him by Henry, the king's youngest son, who only, of all his sons, was present at the funeral. And this was not all ; but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the sepulchre of stone which stood within the grave was hewn somewhat too strait, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence." The instant consequences were too sickening for description ; the corpse was again deserted.—ED.

His character.

No triumph in Europe like the conquest in seven centuries.

Profound policy of William.

His title of Conqueror questioned.

He ruled England as an absolute master.

Conduct Roman conquerors.

rians, who subdued the Roman empire, though they settled in the conquered countries, found a part only of the land sufficient to supply all their wants; and they were not tempted to seize extensive possessions, which they knew neither how to cultivate nor enjoy. But the Normans and other foreigners, who followed the standard of William, while they made the vanquished kingdom the seat of government, having totally subdued the natives, pushed the rights of conquest to the utmost extremity against them. Except the former conquest of England by the Saxons, who were induced by peculiar circumstances to proceed even to the extermination of the natives, it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. Contumely seems even to have been wantonly added to oppression; and the natives were universally reduced to such a state of meanness and poverty, that the English name became a term of reproach; and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any considerable honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baron of the realm. These facts are so apparent, that none would have been tempted to deny or elude them, were they not heated by the controversies of faction. But it is evident that the present rights and privileges of the people, who are a mixture of English and Normans, can never be affected by a transaction which passed seven hundred years ago; and, as all ancient authors* unanimously speak of the Norman dominion as a conquest by war and arms, no reasonable man will ever be tempted to reject their concurring and undoubted testimony.

King William had issue, besides his three sons who survived him, five daughters; to wit, (1) Cicily, a nun in the monastery of Feschamp, afterwards abbess in the holy Trinity at Caen, where she died in 1127. (2) Constantia, married to Alan Fergent, earl of Brittany. She died without issue. (3) Alice, contracted to Harold. (4) Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons;

William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen; of whom the eldest was neglected, on account of the imbecility of his understanding. (5) Agatha, who died a virgin, but was betrothed to the king of Galicia. She died on her journey thither, before she joined her bridegroom.

One of them only had issue.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

1087—1100.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM RUFUS.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING.—INVASION OF NORMANDY.—THE CRUSADES.—ACQUISITION OF NORMANDY.—QUARREL WITH ANSELM THE PRIMATE.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RUFUS.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM RUFUS. 1087.

WILLIAM, surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, had no sooner procured his father's commendatory letter to Lanfranc the primate, than he hastened to take measures for securing to himself the government of England. Sensible that a deed so informal, and so little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with great opposition, he trusted entirely for success to his own celerity; and, having left St. Gervas while William was breathing his last, he arrived in England before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance; and he got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of sixty thousand pounds, by which he hoped to encourage and increase his partisans. The primate, whose rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been entrusted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and, being connected with him by these ties, declared that he would pay a

William Rufus aspires to the throne

He hastens to England.

The primate favours his views.

* See note E at the end of the volume.

William is crowned. willing obedience to the last will of the Conqueror, his benefactor. Having assembled some bishops, and some of the principal nobility, he instantly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning the new king, and by this dispatch endeavoured to prevent all faction and resistance. At the same time Robert, who had been already acknowledged successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that duchy.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING.

Discontents threaten a revolution. But, though this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or opposition, there remained in England many causes of discontent, which seemed to menace that kingdom with a sudden revolution. The barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and in Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; and foresaw that, as it would be impossible to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must resign their ancient patrimony or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to the duchy they esteemed incontestible; his claim to the kingdom plausible; and they all desired that this prince should be put in possession of both. A comparison also of the personal qualities of the two brothers led them to give the preference to the elder. The duke was brave, sincere, and generous; even his predominant faults, his extreme indolence and facility, were not disagreeable to those haughty barons. The king, though equally brave, was violent, haughty, tyrannical; and seemed disposed to govern more by the fear than by the love of his subjects. Odo bishop of Baieux, and Robert earl of Mortaigne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, enforced all these motives with their partisans, and engaged them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king. They communicated their design to Eustace count of Bologne, Roger earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, Robert de Belesme, his eldest son, William bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, Roger Bigod, Hugh de Grentmesnil; and they easily procured the assent of these potent noblemen. The

Good qualities of Robert.

The king disposed to govern by fear.

A revolt.

conspirators, retiring to their castles, hastened to put themselves in a military posture; and, expecting to be soon supported by a powerful army from Normandy, they had already begun hostilities in many places.

The king, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English. As that people were now so thoroughly subdued that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, they zealously embraced William's cause, upon receiving general promises of good treatment, and of enjoying the license of hunting in the royal forests. The king was soon in a situation to take the field; and suddenly marched into Kent; where his uncles had seized the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester. These places he successively reduced by famine; and, though he was prevailed on by the earl of Chester, William de Warrenne, and Robert Fitz Hammon, who had embraced his cause, to spare the lives of the rebels, he confiscated all their estates, and banished them the kingdom. This success gave authority to his negociations with Roger earl of Shrewsbury, whom he detached from the confederates; and, as his powerful fleet, joined to the indolent conduct of Robert, prevented the arrival of the Norman succours, all the other rebels found no resource but in flight or submission. Some of them received a pardon, but the greater part were attainted; and the king bestowed their estates on the Norman barons who had remained faithful to him.

William, freed from the danger of these insurrections, took little care of fulfilling his promises to the English; who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were rather augmented by the violent impetuous temper of the present monarch. The death of Lanfranc gave soon after a full career to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of an arbitrary administration. Even the privileges of the church, held sacred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations. He seized the

Hostilities are commenced.

William subdues his uncles.

The revolt is quelled.

Death of Lanfranc.

temporalities of all the vacant bishoprics and abbeys; he delayed the appointing of successors to those dignities, that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenue; he bestowed some of the church lands on his captains and favourites; and he openly set to sale such sees and abbeys as he thought proper to dispose of. Though the murmurs of the ecclesiastics rose high against this grievance, the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, preserved general tranquillity in England.

INVASION OF NORMANDY. 1090.

THE king even thought himself enabled to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. The loose and negligent administration of that prince had emboldened the Norman barons to affect a great independency; and their mutual quarrels rendered that whole territory a scene of violence and outrage. Two of them, Walter and Odo, were bribed by William to deliver the fortresses of St. Valori and Albemarle into his hands. Others imitated the example of revolt; while Philip, king of France, was engaged by large presents to remain neuter. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from his brother Henry. This young prince, who had inherited nothing of his father's great possessions, but some of his money, had furnished Robert, while he was making his preparations against England, with the sum of three thousand marks; and, in return, had been put in possession of the Cotentin, which comprehended near a third of the duchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards, upon some suspicion, threw him into prison; but, finding himself exposed to invasion from the king of England, he now gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his assistance in suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. Conan, a rich burgess of Rouen, had entered into a conspiracy to deliver that city to William; but Henry, on the detection of his guilt, carried the traitor up to a high tower, and with his own hands flung him from the battlements.

The king appeared in Normandy at the

head of an army; and affairs seemed to have come to extremity between the brothers; when the nobility on both sides interposed, and mediated an accommodation. The chief advantage of this treaty accrued to William, who obtained possession of the territory of Eu, the towns of Aumale, Fescamp, and other places: but in return he promised that he would assist his brother in subduing Maine, which had rebelled; and that the Norman barons, attainted in Robert's cause, should be restored to their estates in England. The two brothers also stipulated that, on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore that they would employ their power to ensure the effectual execution of the whole treaty. A strong proof of the great independence and authority of the nobles in those ages!

Prince Henry, disgusted that so little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William besieged him, and had nearly reduced him by the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity, he replied, 'What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?' The king also, during this siege, performed an act of generosity which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of them drew his sword to dispatch him; when the king exclaimed, 'Hold knave! I am the king of England.' The soldier suspended his blow; and, raising the king from the ground, with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Prince Henry was soon after obliged to capitulate; and, being despoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about, with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

A treaty concluded.

William and Robert are reconciled.

They unite against their brother Henry.

The king is attacked and dismounted.

War with
Scotland.

Malcolm
invades
England,
and is slain.

William
renews his
attempts on
Normandy.

He gains
over the
French
king.

The continued intestine discord among the barons was alone in that age destructive; the public wars were commonly short, produced little bloodshed, and were attended with no memorable event. To this Norman war, which was so soon concluded, there succeeded (in 1091) hostilities with Scotland, which were not of longer duration. Robert here commanded his brother's army, and obliged Malcolm to accept of peace, and do homage to the crown of England. This peace was not more durable. Malcolm, two years after, levying an army, invaded England; and, after ravaging Northumberland, he laid siege to Alnwick, where, a party of Earl Moubray's troops falling upon him by surprise, a sharp action ensued, in which Malcolm was slain. This incident interrupted for some years the regular succession to the Scottish crown. Though Malcolm left legitimate sons, his brother Donald, on account of the youth of these princes, was advanced to the throne; but kept no long possession of it. Duncan, natural son of Malcolm, formed a conspiracy against him; and, being assisted by William with a small force, made himself master of the kingdom. New broils ensued with Normandy. The frank, open, remiss, temper of Robert was ill fitted to withstand the interested rapacious character of William; who was still encroaching on his brother's possessions, and instigating his turbulent barons to rebellion against him. The king, having gone over to Normandy to support his partisans, ordered an army of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and to be conducted to the sea coast, as if they were instantly to be embarked. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's minister, and the chief instrument of his extortions, exacted ten shillings a-piece from them in lieu of their service, and then dismissed them. This money was so skilfully employed by William, that it rendered him better service than he could have expected from the army. He engaged the French king by new presents to depart from the protection of Robert; and he daily bribed the Norman barons to desert: but was prevented from pushing his advantages by an incursion of the Welsh,

which obliged him to return to England. He found no difficulty in repelling the enemy; but was not able to make any considerable impression on a country guarded by its mountainous situation. A conspiracy of his own barons appeared a more serious concern, and engrossed all his attention. Robert Moubray, earl of Northumberland, was at the head of this combination; and he engaged in it the count d'Eu, Richard de Tonbridge, Roger de Lacey, and many others. The purpose of the conspirators was to dethrone the king, and to advance in his stead Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. William's dispatch prevented the design from taking effect, and disconcerted the conspirators. Moubray made some resistance; but, being taken prisoner, was attainted, and thrown into confinement, where he died about thirty years after. The count d'Eu denied his concurrence in the plot; and, to justify himself, fought, in the presence of the court, at Windsor, a duel with Geoffrey Bainard, who accused him: but, being worsted in the combat, he was condemned to be castrated, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alderi, another conspirator, was sentenced to be hanged.

The noble
conspire
against
William.

Their plot
is defeated.

THE CRUSADES. 1096.

BUT the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which now engrossed the attention of Europe, and have ever since engaged the curiosity of mankind, as the most signal monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation. After Mahomet had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabians; they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes, and, being animated with zeal for their new religion, they made deep impression on the eastern empire, which was far on the decline, with regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerusalem, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possession of infidels. But

Origin of
the Cru-
sades.

The fol-
lowers of
Mahomet
take Jeru-
salem.

the Arabians or Saracens were so employed in military enterprises, by which they spread their empire, in a few years, from the banks of the Ganges to the Streights of Gibraltar, that they had no leisure for theological controversy: and were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the several articles of their religious system. They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every man, paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having, in the year 1065, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusions attending their unsettled government, exposed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions: and these zealots returning, filled all Christendom with indignation against the infidels, who profaned the holy city by their presence. Gregory VII. had formed the design of uniting all the western Christians against the Mahometans: but the violent invasions of that pontiff on the civil power of princes had created him so many enemies, that he was not able to make great progress in this undertaking. The work was reserved for a meaner instrument; whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with the prevailing principles of the times.

Peter, commonly called the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of oppression under which the eastern christians laboured, he entertained the bold project of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations which held the holy city in subjection. He proposed his

views to Martin II., who filled the papal chair; and who, though sensible of the advantages which the head of the christian religion must reap from a religious war, resolved not to interpose his authority till he saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Placentia, which consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand seculars; and which was so numerous that it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain. The harangues of the pope, and of Peter, representing the dismal situation of their brethren, and the indignity suffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, here found the minds of men so well prepared, that the whole multitude suddenly declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform this service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God and religion.

But, though Italy seemed thus to have zealously embraced the enterprise, Martin knew that, to ensure success, it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement; and, having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design, being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes; and, when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one voice, 'It is the will of God!' Words deemed so memorable, that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour. The sign of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the Pagan world, was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder by all who enlisted in this sacred warfare.

Europe was at this time sunk into profound ignorance and superstition: the

A council held at Placentia.

Peter's plan approved.

A crusade determined upon.

The cross made the Christian warrior's badge.

Wretched
state of
Europe.

The people
poor and
disorderly.

The
crusades
deemed
the way to
Heaven.

All classes
join in the
enterprise.

ecclesiastics had acquired the greatest ascendant over the human mind; the people, who abandoned themselves to the worst crimes, knew of no other expiation than the observances imposed by their spiritual pastors; and it was easy to represent the holy war as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every violation of justice and humanity. But, amidst the abject superstition which now prevailed, the military spirit also had universally diffused itself; and was become the general passion of the nations governed by the feudal law. All the great lords possessed the right of peace and war; they were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other; the open country was become a scene of outrage and disorder; the cities, still mean and poor, were exposed to every insult; individuals were obliged to depend for safety on their own force, or their private alliances; and valour was the only excellence which gave one man the pre-eminence above another. When all the particular superstitions, therefore, were here united in one great object, the ardour for military enterprises took the same direction; and Europe, impelled by its two ruling passions, was loosened, as it were, from its foundations, and seemed to precipitate itself in one united body upon the east.

All orders of men, deeming the crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under these sacred banners, and were impatient to open the way with their sword to the holy city. Nobles, artisans, peasants, even priests, enrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious service was branded with the reproach of impiety, or (what perhaps was esteemed still more disgraceful) of pusillanimity. The infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money; and many of them, not satisfied

with the merit of this atonement, attended it in person, determined, if possible, to breathe their last in sight of that city where their Saviour had died for them. Women, concealing their sex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp; and commonly forgot still more the duty of the sex, by prostituting themselves, without reserve, to the army.* The greatest criminals were forward in a service which they regarded as a propitiation for all crimes; and the most enormous disorders were, during the course of those expeditions, committed by men inured to wickedness, encouraged by example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude soon became so great, that their most sagacious leaders, Hugh count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Raymond count of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen count of Blois, became apprehensive lest the greatness of the armament should disappoint its purpose: and they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Moneyless. These men took the road towards Constantinople through Hungaria and Bulgaria; and, trusting that Heaven by supernatural assistance would supply all their necessities, made no provision for subsistence on their march. They soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, attacked the disorderly multitude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The disciplined armies followed; and, passing the straits at Constantinople, were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted in the whole to seven hundred thousand combatants.

Women as-
sume ar-
mour.

The arma-
ment be-
comes too
great.

Three
hundred
thousand
men march
first.

Seven
hundred
thousand
assemble in
Asia.

* A great number of females accompanied them, considering that, as the Redeemer had died for their salvation, they ought to be prepared to suffer for his glory. As soldiers they marched to battle, but did not, in some cases, disdain to save their lives by means not at the command of the male crusaders. In the sanguinary struggle which took place near Dorylæum, where the renowned Tancred had nearly lost his life, we are told, "In the midst of the battle, and while the crusaders were rapidly falling under

the arrows of his soldiers, Soliman, at the head of a select band, fell upon the Christian camp. The most indiscriminate slaughter followed the surprise: but the *maidens* who had accompanied the army, losing their devotion for the moment, saved their lives by taking care to habit themselves in their most becoming dresses, and freely resigning themselves to the power of the victors." If such were the course pursued by the *maidens*, it may be presumed the wives and widows followed, if they did not set the example.—Ed.

Interested
objects of
the crus-
aders.

The Pope
makes the
Crusaders
attack his
enemies.

William
keeps aloof
from the
crusaders.

Robert sells
the duchy
of Nor-
mandy to
his brother
William.

Amidst this universal frenzy, which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe, men were not entirely forgetful of their present interests; and both those who went, and those who stayed behind, entertained schemes of gratifying their avarice or their ambition. The nobles were moved, from the romantic spirit of the age, to hope for opulent establishments in the east, the chief seat of arts and commerce during those ages; and, in pursuit of these chimerical projects, they sold their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many considerable fiefs, either by purchase or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the crusades from the infidels against his own enemies, whom he represented as equally criminal with the enemies of Christ. The convents and other religious societies bought the possessions of the adventurers; and they often diverted to this purpose what was intended to be employed against the infidels. But no one was a more immediate gainer by this epidemic fury than the king of England, who kept aloof from all connexions with those fanatical and romantic warriors.

ACQUISITION OF NORMANDY.

ROBERT duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the crusade; but, being always unprovided with money, he found that it would be impracticable for him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his numerous vassals and subjects, who were determined to follow him into Asia. He resolved, therefore, to mortgage, or rather to sell, his dominions; and he offered

them to his brother William for ten thousand marks.* The bargain was soon concluded. The king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, who were obliged to melt their plate to furnish the quota demanded of them; he was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the holy land, in pursuit of glory, and in full confidence of securing his eternal salvation.

The smallness of this sum, with the difficulties which William found in raising it, suffices to refute the account, heedlessly adopted by historians, of the enormous revenue of the Conqueror. Is it credible that Robert would consign to the rapacious hands of his brother such considerable dominions, for a sum which, according to that account, made not a week's income of his father's English revenue alone? Or that the king of England could not on demand, without oppressing his subjects, have been able to pay him the money? The Conqueror, it is agreed, was frugal as well as rapacious; yet his treasure at his death exceeded not sixty thousand pounds, which hardly amounted to his income for two months; another certain refutation of that exaggerated account.†

The fury of the crusades, during this age, less infected England than the neighbouring kingdoms; probably because the Norman conquerors durst not abandon their homes in quest of distant adventures. The selfish spirit also of the king, which kept him from kindling in the general flame, checked its progress among his subjects; and it is likely that he made the romantic chivalry of the crusades the object of his raillery. As an instance of his irreligion, we are told that he once accepted of sixty marks from a Jew, whose son had been converted to christianity,

Robert de-
parts for the
Holy Land.

Revenue of
William.

England
less infected
with the
crusaders'
zeal than
other
countries.

* Some writers make the sum demanded one third more, or pounds instead of marks. "At this tyme, many noblemen layd their landes and lordships to mortgage, to provide for the forenamed viage. Among which was Robert Curthoyse, duke of Normandie, he laied his dukedome to wedd to his brother Wylliam, kyng of Englande, for 10,000 pounds."—*Lanquette*.—Ed.

† "Though Ordericus may have given us an account somewhat too large, yet, considering the number of his manors, and the number of knights' were sixty thousand fees, which out of which escuage might he levy in times of action, he had, without doubt, a very great revenue either for peace or war."—*Discourse upon grants, &c.*

William
tries to re-
claim a con-
verted Jew.

The king
indifferent
about mat-
ters of re-
ligion.

William
moved to
atone for
past rapaci-
ty.

and who engaged him by that present to assist him in bringing back the youth to Judaism. William employed both menaces and persuasion for that purpose: but, finding the convert obstinate, he sent for the father, and told him that, as he had not succeeded, it was not just that he should keep the present; but, as he had done his utmost, it was but equitable that he should be paid for his pains; and he would therefore retain only thirty marks. At another time, it is said, he sent for some learned christian theologians and some rabbies, and bade them fairly dispute the question of their religion in his presence: he was perfectly indifferent; had his ears open to conviction; and would embrace that doctrine which should be supported by the most solid arguments. If this story be true, it is probable that he meant only to amuse himself by turning both into ridicule. But we must be cautious of admitting every thing related by the monkish historians: he had the misfortune to be engaged in quarrels with the ecclesiastics, particularly with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; and it is no wonder his memory should be blackened by the historians of that order.

QUARREL WITH ANSELM THE PRIMATE.

AFTER the death of Lanfranc, the king retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics: but, falling into a dangerous sickness, the clergy represented to him that he was in danger of eternal perdition, if before his death he did not make atonement for those multiplied sacrileges of which he had been guilty. He resolved, therefore, to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury; and sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety. The abbot earnestly refused the dignity, fell on his knees, wept, and entreated the king to change his purpose; and, when he found the prince obstinate in forcing the pastoral staff upon him, he kept his fist so fast clenched that it required the utmost violence

of the bystanders to open it, and force him to receive that ensign of spiritual dignity. William soon after recovered; and returned to his former violence and rapine. He detained in prison several persons whom he had ordered to be freed; he still preyed upon the ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as open as ever; and he kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues belonging to the see of Canterbury. But he found in Anselm that persevering opposition, which he had reason to expect from the ostentatious humility which that prelate had displayed in refusing his promotion.

The opposition made by Anselm was the more dangerous on account of the character of piety which he soon acquired in England, by his great zeal against all abuses, particularly those in dress and ornament. A mode in that age prevailed throughout Europe both among men and women, to give an enormous length to their shoes, to draw the toe to a sharp point, and to affix to it the figure of a bird's bill, which was turned upwards, and which was often sustained by gold or silver chains tied to the knee. The ecclesiastics took exception at this ornament, which they said was an attempt to belie the scripture, where it is affirmed that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they assembled some synods, who absolutely condemned it. But, though the clergy could overturn thrones, and had authority sufficient to send above a million of men on their errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against these long pointed shoes: on the contrary, that caprice maintained its ground during several centuries; and, if the clergy had not at last desisted from their persecution of it, it might still have been the prevailing fashion in Europe.

But Anselm was more fortunate in decrying the particular mode which was the object of his aversion. He preached zealously against the long hair and curled locks which were then fashionable among the courtiers; he refused the ashes on Ash Wednesday to those who were so accoutred; and his eloquence had such influence, that the young men universally abandoned that

Anselm
forced to
become
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

The king is
opposed by
Anselm.

Anselm
preaches
against the
shoes then
fashionable.

The fashion
was not
abandoned.

Anselm
condemns
long hair.

129

Helie besieges the garrison of Mans.

William again besieges Helie, but is wounded.

Military weakness of kings in that age.

to take him prisoner; but, having released him at the intercession of the French king and the count of Anjou, he found the province of Maine still exposed to his intrigues and incursions. Helie, being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, besieged the garrison in the citadel. William, who was hunting in the new forest when he received intelligence of this hostile attempt, was so provoked, that he immediately turned his horse, and galloped to the sea shore at Dartmouth; declaring that he would not stop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the offence.* He found the weather so cloudy and tempestuous that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to sea: but the king hurried on board, and ordered them to set sail instantly; telling them that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned. By this vigour and celerity he delivered the citadel of Mans from its present danger; and, pursuing Helie into his own territories, he laid siege to Majol, a small castle: but a wound which he received obliged him to raise the siege; and he returned to England.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RUFUS. 1100.

THE weakness of the greatest monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions against their nearest neighbours, appears the more surprising, when we consider the prodigious numbers which even petty princes, seconding the enthusiastic rage of the people, were able to assemble, and to conduct in dangerous enterprises to the remote provinces of

* One account is handed down to us that news of the danger of Mans was brought to him while he sat at dinner, upon which he declared no object should prevent his requiting the outrage forthwith; and masons were ordered to remove the wall of the house in which he was sitting, to give him a more direct passage. Caprice and whim often marked his conduct. On this occasion, having, by the celerity of his movements, according to some historians, captured Helie, the latter said, "now, indeed, you have taken me by a wile, but if I were at liberty again you should find me to do other kind of feats:" at which the king laughing, "well then," saith he, "go your waies and do your worst, and let us see what feats you will do."—*Baker*.

Asia. William, earl of Poitiers and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the glory, and not discouraged by the misfortunes, which had attended the former crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, computed by some historians to amount to sixty thousand horse, and a much greater number of foot; and he purposed to lead them into the holy land against the infidels. He wanted money for this expedition; and he offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, without entertaining any scruple on account of that iniquitous hand to which he resolved to consign them. The king accepted the offer; and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to escort the money, and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou; when an accident put an end to his life, on the 2nd of August, 1100. He was hunting, the sole amusement, and indeed the chief occupation, of princes in those rude times; when society was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new forest was the scene; and, as William had dismounted after a chase, Tyrrel, impatient to shew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him;† while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of

William, earl of Poitiers,

Offers to sell his lands to William.

The chase the sole amusement of princes.

The king is slain by accident while hunting.

† Portentous signs are said to have intimated his death. Baker says, "Notwithstanding forewarned by many signs of some great disaster toward him. he would needs, the day after Lammas, go a hunting in the New Forest; yet something respecting the many presages, he staying within all the forenoon. About dinner-time an artificer came, and brought him six cross-bow arrows, very strong and sharp; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir Walter Tyrel, a knight of Normandy, his bow bearer, saying, 'here Tyrel, take you two. for you know how to shoot them to purpose:' and so having drank more liberally than his custom, as it were in contempt of presages, out he rides into the New Forest."—*Ed*.

He is buried without ceremony.

William as tyrannical and rapacious.

stomach and constitution.

or king or brother.

William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony at Winchester.* His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied, in the interesting object of fixing his successor, to attend the funeral of a dead sovereign.

The memory of this monarch is transmitted to us with little advantage by the churchmen, whom he had offended; and, though we may suspect, in general, that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his conduct affords little reason for attributing to him any very estimable qualities. He seems to have been a tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; † and, if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made very little use of them in his administration; and he indulged, without reserve, that domineering policy which suited his temper, and which, if supported, as it was in him, with courage and vigour, proves often more successful in disorderly times than the deepest foresight and most refined artifice.

The monuments which remain of this prince, in England, are the Tower, and Westminster hall, which he built. The most laudable foreign enterprise which he undertook was the sending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore prince Edgar, the true heir of that kingdom, son of Malcolm and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling; and the enterprise proved successful. It was remarked in that age that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by an accident in the new forest; Richard, his nephew, natural son of duke Robert, lost his life in the same place, after the same

manner; and all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, impelling all the inhabitants of that large district to make room for his game, the just vengeance of Heaven was signalised, in the same place, by the slaughter of his posterity. William was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the fortieth year of his age. As he was never married he left no legitimate issue.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus, king of Norway, made a descent on the isle of Anglesea; but was repulsed by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. This is the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learned the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern nations.

Violent deaths of the Conqueror's posterity.

Last attempt from the northern nations upon England.

Difficulties experienced by the crusaders.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY I.

1100—1135.

THE CRUSADES—ACCESSION OF HENRY—MARRIAGE OF THE KING—INVASION BY DUKE ROBERT—ACCOMMODATION WITH ROBERT—CONQUEST OF NORMANDY—QUARREL WITH ANSELM RENEWED—COMPROMISE WITH HIM—WARS ABROAD—DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM—THE KING'S SECOND MARRIAGE—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY.

THE CRUSADES.

AFTER the adventurers in the holy war were assembled on the banks of the Bosphorus, opposite to Constantinople, they immediately experienced those difficulties which their zeal had hitherto concealed, and for which, even if they had foreseen

* His body was drawn in a collier's cart, with one horse, to the city of Winchester, where, the day following, it was buried in the cathedral church of St. Swithin.—*Baker*.—*Ed*.
† It admits of some doubt whether he was in all respects justly accused. The chronicler last quoted

says "for his prodigality there is not so much as an instance recorded, unless we take this for an instance; that, when his chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which, because they were new, he asked what they cost: and being told that they cost three shilings, in a great chafe, he threw them away; asking him

them, it would have been almost impossible to provide a remedy. The Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the western Christians for succour against the Turks, entertained hopes, and those but feeble ones, of obtaining such a moderate supply as, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy: but he was extremely astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed on a sudden by such an inundation of licentious barbarians; who, though they pretended friendship, despised his subjects as unwarlike, and detested them as heretical. By all the arts of policy, in which he excelled, he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but, while he employed professions and seeming services, towards the leaders of the crusade, he secretly regarded those imperious allies as more dangerous than the open enemies by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of disembarking them safely in Asia, he entered into a private correspondence with Soliman, emperor of the Turks; and practised every insidious art, for discouraging the Latins from making thenceforward any such prodigious migrations. His dangerous policy was seconded by the disorders inseparable from so vast a multitude; who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independent intractable spirit, determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, the influence of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert, and to the sword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of men impelled to war by less powerful motives. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward to the great end of their enterprise. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire; they defeated Soliman in

two great battles; they made themselves masters of Antioch; and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had so long retained those countries in subjection. The soldan of Egypt, whose alliance they had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem; and he informed them, by his ambassadors, that, if they came disarmed to that city, they might now perform their religious vows; and that all Christian pilgrims, who should visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. The offer was rejected; the soldan was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and, on his refusal, the champions of the cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem. By the detachments which they had made, and the disasters which they had undergone, they were diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but these were still formidable, from their valour, their experience, and the obedience which, from past calamities, they had learned to pay to their leaders. After a siege of five weeks, they took Jerusalem by assault; and, impelled by a mixture of military and religious rage, put the numerous garrison and inhabitants to the sword. Neither arms defended the valiant, nor submission the timorous; no age or sex was spared; infants on the breast were pierced by the same blow with their mothers; even a multitude, to the number of ten thousand persons, who had surrendered, and were promised quarter, were butchered in cool blood. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with dead bodies; and the triumphant warriors, after every enemy was subdued, immediately turned, with sentiments of humiliation and contrition, towards the holy sepulchre. They threw aside their arms, still streaming with blood; they advanced with reclined bodies, and naked feet and heads, to that

if he thought a pair of hose of three shillings to be fit for a king to wear, 'Get thee gone,' saith he, 'and let me have a pair of a mark.' His chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair, scarce so good as the former, and telling him that they cost a mark, 'I marry!' saith the king, 'these are

something like;' and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, than with seeing what they were worth." That he was distressed for money, there is no room to doubt, though we know little of his profusion. Daniel says "he was forced to resume his own grants."—Ed.

Alexis Comnenus claims aid from the Christians against the Turks.

His dominions are inundated with Crusaders.

They alarm Alexis.

He plots against them.

They defeat the emperor of the Turks.

The Crusaders become masters of Antioch.

They besiege Jerusalem.

The holy city is taken by assault.

The crusaders perpetrate a general massacre.

They engage in devotional exercises.



consistency of legislation.

Robert of Normandy returns to Europe.

He marries Sibylla.

Prince Henry, on his brother's death, secures the royal treasure.

William de Breteuil opposes Henry.

He claims the throne.

He is forced to yield.

Henry is crowned by the bishop of London.

All England submits.

Henry grants a charter.

sacred monument ; they sung anthems to their Saviour, who had there purchased their salvation by his death and agony ; and their devotion, enlivened by the presence of the place where he had suffered, so overcame their fury, that they dissolved in tears. So inconsistent is human nature with itself ! And so easily does the most effeminate superstition ally both with the most heroic courage and with the fiercest barbarity !

This great event happened on the fifth of July in the last year of the eleventh century. The Christian princes and nobles, after choosing Godfrey of Bouillon king of Jerusalem, began to settle themselves in their new conquests ; while some of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory which their valour had acquired. Among these was Robert duke of Normandy ; who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the crusade, had all along distinguished himself by the most intrepid courage, as well as by that affable disposition and unbounded generosity which gain the hearts of soldiers. In passing through Italy he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the count of Conversana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused. Indulging himself in this new passion, after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth in that delicious climate ; and, though his friends looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew when they could with certainty expect it. By this delay he lost the kingdom of England ; which the great fame he had acquired, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth and by the preceding agreement with his deceased brother, would, had he been present, have infallibly secured to him.

ACCESSION OF HENRY. 1100.

PRINCE Henry was hunting with Rufus in the new forest when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him ; and, being sensible of the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure. He

had scarcely reached the place when William de Breteuil, keeper of the treasure, arrived, and opposed himself to Henry's pretensions. This nobleman, who had been engaged in the same party of hunting, had no sooner heard of his master's death than he hastened to take care of his charge ; and he told the prince that this treasure, as well as the crown, belonged to his elder brother, who was now his sovereign ; and that he was determined, in spite of all other pretensions, to maintain his allegiance to him. But Henry, drawing his sword, threatened him with instant death if he dared to disobey him ; and, as others of the late king's retinue, who came every moment to Winchester, joined the prince's party, Breteuil was obliged to acquiesce in this violence.

Henry, without losing a moment, hastened with the money to London ; and, having assembled some noblemen and prelates, gained to his side, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted, king ; and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. In less than three days after his brother's death the ceremony of his coronation was performed by Maurice bishop of London, who was persuaded to officiate : and thus, by his courage and celerity, he intruded himself into the vacant throne. No one had sufficient spirit or sense of duty to appear in defence of the absent prince ; all men were seduced or intimidated ; present possession supplied the apparent defects in Henry's title, which was indeed founded on plain usurpation ; and the barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a claim which could now, they found, be opposed through the perils alone of civil war and rebellion.

But, as Henry foresaw that a crown, usurped against all rules of justice, would sit unsteady, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation oath, he passed a charter calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised that, at the death of any bishop or abbot, he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey, but would leave the

The redress of civil grievances proposed.

Henry promises great reforms.

Privileges granted to the vassals of barons.

whole to be reaped by the successor ; and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concession to the church, he proceeded to enumerate the civil grievances which he proposed to redress. He promised that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate on paying a just and lawful relief, without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns : he remitted the wardship of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who should be answerable for the trust : he promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage but by the advice of all the barons ; and, if any baron intended to give his daughter, sister, niece, or kinswoman in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to consult the king, who promised to take no money for his consent, nor ever to refuse permission, unless the person, to whom it was purposed to marry her, should happen to be his enemy : he granted his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing by will their money or personal estates ; and, if they neglected to make a will, he promised that their heirs should succeed to them : he renounced the right of imposing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands : he made some general professions of moderating fines ; he offered a pardon for all offences ; and he remitted all debts due to the crown : he required that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges which he granted to his own barons : and he promised a general observance of the laws of king Edward. This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that famous charter.

To give greater authenticity to these concessions, Henry lodged a copy of his charter in some abbey of each county ; as if desirous that it should remain a perpetual rule for the direction of his government.

* What is called a relief in the Conqueror's laws, preserved by Ingulphus, seems to have been the heriot ; since reliefs, as well as the other burdens of the feudal laws, were unknown in the age of the Confessor, whose laws these originally were.

Yet it is certain that, after the present purpose was served, he never thought of observing one single article of it ; and the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that, in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from king John, they could with difficulty find a copy of it. The grievances continued in their full extent ; and the royal authority lay under no manner of restriction. Reliefs of heirs, so capital an article, were never effectually fixed till the time of Magna Charta ; * and it is evident that the general promise here given, of accepting a just and lawful relief, ought to have been reduced to more precision, in order to give security to the subject. The oppression of wardship and marriage was perpetuated even till the reign of Charles II. And it appears from Glanville, the famous justiciary of Henry II, † that in his time, where any man died intestate, (an accident which must have been very frequent when the art of writing was so little known) the king, or the lord of the fief, pretended to seize all the moveables, and to exclude every heir, even the children of the deceased : a sure mark of a tyrannical and arbitrary government.

The Normans, indeed, who domineered in England, were, during this age, so licentious a people, that they may be pronounced incapable of any true or regular liberty. A people so insensible to the rights of their sovereign as to permit a younger brother to intrude into the place of the elder, whom they esteemed, and who was guilty of no crime but being absent, could not expect that that prince would pay any greater regard to their privileges, or allow his engagements to fetter his power. They had, indeed, arms in their hands, which prevented the establishment of a total despotism ; but their turbulent disposition frequently prompted them to make such use of their arms, that they were more

Henry pays no regard to his promises.

The royal authority is unrestricted.

Former exactions continued.

The Normans incapable of rational liberty.

† This practice was contrary to the laws of king Edward, ratified by the Conqueror, as we learn from Ingulphus. But laws had at that time very little influence ; power and violence governed every thing.

Henry's will the rule of government.

A limited monarchy under good.

Henry degrades Flambard.

recalls Anselm.

Anselm refuses to do homage to the king.

fitted to obstruct the execution of justice than to stop the career of oppression. The prince, finding that greater opposition was often made to him when he enforced the laws than when he violated them, was apt to render his own will and pleasure the sole rule of government. The very form of this charter of Henry proves that the Norman barons (for they, rather than the people of England, were chiefly concerned in it) were totally ignorant of the nature of limited monarchy, and ill qualified to conduct, in conjunction with their sovereign, the machine of government. It is an act of his sole power, contains some articles which bind others as well as himself, and is, therefore, unfit to be the deed of any one who possesses not the whole legislative power, and who may not at pleasure revoke all his concessions.

Henry, farther to increase his popularity, degraded and committed to prison Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, who had been the chief instrument of oppression under his brother. But this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter: he kept the see of Durham vacant for five years, and retained possession of all its revenues. Sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the persecutions which he had undergone from William, he sent repeated messages to him at Lyons, where he resided, and invited him to return and take possession of his dignities. On the arrival of the prelate he proposed to him the renewal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refused by any English bishop: but Anselm had acquired other sentiments by his journey to Rome, and gave the king an absolute refusal. He objected the decrees of the council of Bari, at which he himself had assisted; and he declared that, so far from doing homage for his spiritual dignity, he would not so much as communicate with any ecclesiastic who paid that submission, or who accepted of investitures from laymen. Henry, who expected to reap great advantages from the authority and popularity of Anselm, durst not insist on his demand: he only desired that the controversy might

be suspended; and that messengers might be sent to Rome, in order to accommodate matters with the pope, and obtain his confirmation of the laws and customs of England.

MARRIAGE OF THE KING.

THERE immediately occurred an important affair, in which the king was obliged to have recourse to the authority of Anselm. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the subsequent revolutions in the Scottish government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt Christina, in the nunnery of Rumsey. This princess Henry purposed to marry; but, as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act; and it behoved him to be very careful not to shock the religious prejudices of his subjects. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles, which was summoned at Lambeth. Matilda there proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in consequence of a custom familiar to the English ladies, who protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans by taking shelter under that habit, which was yet generally revered. The council admitted this reason as valid; they pronounced that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity. No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, and tended more to establish him on the throne. Though Matilda, during the life of her uncle and brothers, was not heir of the Saxon line, she was become very dear to the English on account of her connexions with it. And that people had felt so severely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with extreme regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration when the blood of their native princes should be mingled with that of their new sovereigns.

Henry wishes to marry Matilda of Scotland.

She had worn the veil of a nun, but not taken the vows.

Her marriage delights the English.

INVASION BY DUKE ROBERT.

1101.

Robert re-
turns to
Normandy.He proposes
to invade
England.Part of
Henry's
fleet goes
over to
Robert.Henry, in
danger,
claims the
aid of
Anselm.The bishop
exhorts the
army.

BUT the policy and prudence of Henry, which, if time had been allowed for these virtues to produce their full effect, would have secured him possession of the crown, ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of Robert, who returned to Normandy about a month after the death of William. He took possession of that duchy; and immediately made preparations for recovering England. The great fame which he had acquired in the east forwarded his pretensions; and the Norman barons expressed the same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom which had appeared on the accession of William. Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, William de la Warrene earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Gretnesnil, and many others of the principal nobility, invited Robert to make an attempt upon England; and promised, on his landing, to join him with all their forces. Even the seamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and they carried over to him the greater part of a fleet which had been equipped to oppose his passage. Henry, in this extremity, had recourse to the superstition of the people, in order to oppose their sentiment of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere; he seemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and a resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils and to the will of the sovereign pontiff. By these declarations he entirely gained the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons, were of the utmost service to him. Anselm scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity, in those professions which he made, of avoiding the tyrannical and oppressive government of his father and brother; he even rode

through the ranks of the army, recommended to the soldiers the defence of their prince, represented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognosticated to them the greatest happiness from so wise and just a sovereign. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the earls of Warwick and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz Hammon, powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, the army was retained in the king's interests, and marched, with seeming union and firmness, to oppose Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portsmouth.

Robert
reaches
PortsmouthACCOMMODATION WITH
ROBERT.

THE two armies lay in sight of each other for some days; and both princes, being apprehensive of the event, hearkened the more willingly to the councils of Anselm and the other great men, who mediated an accommodation between them. After some negociation, it was agreed that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of three thousand marks; that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect, the enemies of the other.

Robert
gives up his
claim to the
throne for a
pension.

This treaty, though calculated so much for Henry's advantage, he was the first to violate. He restored indeed the estates of all Robert's adherents; but was secretly determined that noblemen, who had both inclination and ability to disturb his government, should not long remain unmolested in their present opulence and grandeur. He began with the earl of Shrewsbury, who was watched by spies, and then indicted on a charge, consisting of forty-five articles. This turbulent nobleman, knowing his own guilt, as well as the prejudices of his judges and the power of his prosecutor, had recourse to arms for defence; but, being soon suppressed by the activity of

Henry pun-
ishes the
nobles who
had favour-
ed Robert.

he earl of
Hereford
banished.

Henry, he was banished, and his great estate was confiscated. His ruin involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger earl of Lancaster. Soon after followed the prosecution and condemnation of Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet, who had distinguished themselves among Robert's adherents. William de Warrenne was the next victim. Even William earl of Cornwall, son of the earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle, lost all the vast acquisitions of his family in England. Though the usual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons afforded a plausible pretence for those prosecutions, men easily saw, or conjectured, that the chief part of their guilt was not the injustice or illegality of their conduct. Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, imprudently ventured to come into England; and he remonstrated with his brother, in severe terms: but met with so bad a reception, that he began to apprehend danger to his own liberty, and was glad to purchase an escape by resigning his pension.

CONQUEST OF NORMANDY. 1106.

THE indiscretion of Robert soon exposed him to more fatal injuries. This prince, whose bravery and candour procured him respect while at a distance, had no sooner attained the possession of power and enjoyment of peace, than all the vigour of his mind relaxed; and he fell into contempt. Alternately abandoned to dissolute pleasures and to womanish superstition, he was so remiss, that his servants pillaged his money with impunity, stole from him his very clothes, and proceeded to practise every species of extortion on his defenceless subjects.* The barons, whom a severe administration alone could have restrained, gave reins to their unbounded rapine upon their vassals, and inveterate animosities against each other; and all Normandy, during the reign of this benign prince, was become a scene of violence and depredation. The Normans at last, observing the regular government which Henry had

been able to establish in England, applied to him, that he might use his authority for the suppression of these disorders; and thereby afforded him a pretence for interposing in the affairs of Normandy. Instead of employing his mediation to redress the grievances of the Normans, he was only attentive to support his own partisans, and to increase their number. Having found, in a visit which he made to that duchy, that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, he collected, by arbitrary extortions on England, a great army and treasure, and returned next year to Normandy. He took Bayeux by storm after an obstinate siege; he made himself master of Caen by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants; but, being repulsed at Falaise, and obliged by the winter season to raise the siege, he returned into England, after giving assurances to his adherents that he would persevere in supporting and protecting them.

Next year he opened the campaign with the siege of Tenchebray; and it became evident that he intended to usurp the entire possession of Normandy. Robert was at last roused from his lethargy; and, being supported by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Belesme, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view of finishing, in one decisive battle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered on that scene of action in which alone he was qualified to excel; and he so animated his troops by his example, that they threw the English into disorder, and had nearly obtained the victory; when the flight of Belesme spread a panic among the Normans, and occasioned their total defeat. Henry, besides doing great execution on the enemy, made near ten thousand prisoners; among whom was duke Robert himself, and all the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy. Rouen immediately submitted. Falaise, after some negotiation, opened its gates; and by this

The Norman barons claim the good offices of Henry.

He proceeds to Normandy with an army.

Robert advances against his brother.

Henry defeats and takes Robert prisoner.

* On one occasion it is stated that his mistresses and boon companions having carried off his clothes, while he slept, he could not go to church, nor indeed

rise on the following day till noon, having no lower garments to put on.—Ed.

Robert's
son is also
captured.

acquisition he got into his hands prince William, the only son of Robert. He assembled the states of Normandy; and, having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, having settled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and dismantled the castles lately built, he returned into England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and he died in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire; happy if, without losing his liberty, he could have relinquished that power which he was not qualified either to hold or exercise. Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of probity and honour beyond what was usual in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever since in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner taken in the battle of Tenchebray. Henry gave him his liberty, and settled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was distinguished by personal bravery: but nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other respect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the throne, he was allowed, during the reigns of so many violent usurpers, to live unmolested, and go to his grave in peace.

Edgar
Atheling is
also made
prisoner.

QUARREL WITH ANSELM RE- NEWED.

Dispute
respecting
ecclesiastical
benefices.

A LITTLE after Henry had completed the conquest of Normandy, he finished a controversy, which had been long depending between him and the pope, with regard to the investitures in ecclesiastical benefices; and, though he was here obliged to relinquish some of the ancient rights of the crown, he extricated himself from the difficulty on easier terms than most princes, who in that age engaged in disputes with

the apostolic see. The king's situation, in the beginning of his reign, obliged him to pay great court to Anselm. The advantages which he had reaped from the zealous friendship of that prelate had made him sensible how prone the minds of his people were to superstition, and what an ascendant the ecclesiastics had been able to assume over them. He had seen, on the accession of his brother Rufus, that, though the rights of primogeniture were then violated, and the inclinations of almost all the barons thwarted, yet the authority of Lanfranc the primate had prevailed. His own case afforded an instance in which the clergy had more evidently shewn their influence and authority. These recent examples, while they made him cautious not to offend that powerful body, convinced him that it was extremely his interest to retain the former prerogative of the crown in filling offices of such vast importance, and to check the ecclesiastics in that independence to which they visibly aspired. The choice which his brother, in a fit of penitence, had made of Anselm was so far unfortunate to the king's pretensions, that this prelate was celebrated for his piety and zeal, and austerity of manners; and retained a greater ascendant over the bigoted populace. The prudence and temper of the king appear in nothing more conspicuous than in the management of this delicate affair; where he was always sensible that it had become necessary for him to risk his whole crown, in order to preserve the most invaluable jewel of it.

Henry
courted the
church.

The king
claims to
have benefices
at his
disposal.

Anselm ce-
lebrated for
his piety.

Anselm had no sooner returned from banishment than his refusal to do homage to the king raised a dispute, which Henry evaded by promising to send a messenger, in order to compound the matter with Pascal II, who then filled the papal throne. The messenger, as was probably foreseen, returned with an absolute refusal to the king's demands; and that fortified by many reasons, which were well qualified to operate on the understandings of men in those ages. Pascal quoted the scriptures, to prove that Christ was the door; and he thence inferred that all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone, not through the civil magistrates, or any

An appeal
made to
Pascal II.

profane laymen. "It is monstrous," added the pontiff, "that a son should pretend to beget his father, or a man to create his God: priests are called gods in scripture, as being the vicars of God; and will you, by your abominable pretensions to grant them their investiture, assume the right of creating them?"

But, how convincing soever these arguments, they could not persuade Henry to resign so important a prerogative; and perhaps he thought that the absurdity of a man's creating his God, even allowing priests to be gods, was not urged with the best grace by the Roman pontiff. But, as he desired still to avoid coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he persuaded Anselm that he should be able, by farther negotiation, to attain some composition with Pascal; and despatched three bishops to Rome, while Anselm sent two messengers of his own, to be more fully assured of the pope's intentions. Pascal wrote back letters equally positive and arrogant, both to the king and primate; urging to the former that, by assuming the right of investitures, he committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the church, who was the spouse of Christ, and who must not admit of such a commerce with any other person; and insisting with the latter that the pretension of kings to confer benefices was the source of all simony; a topic which had but too much foundation in those ages.

Henry had now no other expedient than to suppress the letter addressed to himself, and to persuade the three bishops to prevaricate, and assert, upon their episcopal faith, that Pascal had assured them in private of his good intentions towards Henry, and of his resolution not to resent any future exertion of his prerogative in granting investitures; though he himself scrupled to give this assurance under his hand, lest other princes should copy the example, and assume a like privilege. Anselm's two messengers, who were monks, affirmed to him that it was impossible this story could have any foundation: but their word was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; and the king, as if he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to fill

the sees of Hereford and Salisbury, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who gave no credit to the asseveration of the king's messengers, refused not only to consecrate them, but even to communicate with them; and the bishops themselves, finding how odious they were become, returned to Henry the ensigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increased between the king and the primate. The former threw out menaces against such as should pretend to oppose him, in exerting the ancient prerogatives of his crown: and Anselm, sensible of his own dangerous situation, desired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the sovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleased to rid himself without violence of so inflexible an antagonist, readily granted him permission. The prelate was attended to the shore by multitudes of all ranks; who scrupled not in this manner to declare for their primate against their sovereign, and who regarded his departure as the final abolition of religion and true piety in the kingdom. The king, however, seized all the revenues of his see; and sent William de Warelwast to negotiate with Pascal, and to find some means of accommodation in this delicate affair.

The English minister told Pascal that his master would rather lose his crown than part with the right of granting investitures: 'And I,' replied Pascal, 'would rather lose my head than allow him to retain it.' Henry secretly prohibited Anselm from returning, unless he resolved to conform himself to the laws and usages of the kingdom; and the primate took up his residence at Lyons, in expectation that the king would at last be obliged to yield. Soon after he was permitted to return to his monastery at Bec in Normandy; and Henry, besides restoring to him the revenues of his see, treated him with the greatest respect, and held several conferences with him, in order to soften his opposition, and bend him to submission. The people of England, who thought all differences now accommodated, were inclined to blame their primate for absenting himself so long from his charge; and he daily received letters from his partisans, representing the

He is resisted by Anselm;

Who proceeds to Rome.

Firm determination of Pascal.

Anselm returns to Bec in Normandy.

Decline of
morals in
England.

Policy of
the court of
Rome.

It derived
its support
from the
foreign
clergy.

Solemn
frauds.

necessity of his speedy return. The total extinction, they told him, of religion and Christianity was likely to ensue from the want of his fatherly care; the most shocking customs prevail in England; and, the dread of his severity being now removed, these enormities openly appear every where, without sense of shame or fear of punishment.

The policy of the court of Rome has commonly been much admired; and men, judging by success, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from such slender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish an universal and almost absolute monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of so long a succession of men who filled the papal throne, and who were of such different ages, tempers, and interests, is not intelligible, and could never have place in nature. While the court of Rome was openly abandoned to the most flagrant disorders, even while it was torn with schisms and factions, the power of the church daily made a sensible progress in Europe; and the temerity of Gregory and caution of Pascal were equally fortunate in promoting it. The clergy, feeling the necessity which they lay under of being protected against the violence of princes, or rigour of the laws, were well pleased to adhere to a foreign head; who could freely employ the power of the whole church in defending her ancient or usurped properties and privileges, when invaded in any particular country. The monks, desirous of an independence on their diocesans, professed a still more devoted attachment to the triple crown; and the stupid people possessed no reason which they could oppose to the most exorbitant pretensions. Nonsense passed for demonstration; treaties were not supposed to be binding, where the interests of God were concerned; the ancient laws and customs of states had no authority against a divine right; impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity; and the champions of holy church, if successful, were celebrated as heroes, if unfortunate, were worshipped as martyrs; and all events thus turned out equally to the advantage of clerical

usurpations. Pascal himself, the reigning pope, was, in the course of this very controversy concerning investitures, involved in circumstances which would have drawn disgrace and ruin on any temporal prince. His person was seized by the emperor Henry V., and he was obliged, by a formal treaty, to resign to that monarch the right of granting investitures, for which they had long contended. In order to add greater solemnity to this agreement, the emperor and pope communicated together on the same host; one half of which was given to the prince, the other taken by the pontiff. The most tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced on either of them who should violate the treaty: yet no sooner did Pascal recover his liberty than he revoked all his concessions, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the emperor; who, in the end, was obliged to submit to the terms required of him, and to yield up all his pretensions, which he never could resume.

The king of England had very near fallen into the same dangerous situation. Pascal had already excommunicated the earl of Mellent, and the other ministers of Henry, who were instrumental in supporting his pretensions; he daily menaced the king with a like sentence; and he suspended the blow only to give him leisure to prevent it by a timely submission. The malcontents waited impatiently for the opportunity of disturbing his government by conspiracies and insurrections; the king's best friends were anxious, and the countess of Blois, his sister, a princess of piety, who had great influence over him, was affrighted with the danger of her brother's eternal damnation. Henry seemed determined to run all hazards, rather than resign a prerogative of such importance. While Pascal and Henry thus stood mutually in awe of each other, it was the more easy to bring about an accommodation between them, and to find a medium in which they might agree.

COMPROMISE WITH ANSELM.

1107.

BEFORE bishops took possession of their dignities, they had formerly been accus-

Pope Pascal
seized by
the emperor
Henry V.

He violates
the most
solemn
vows.

He threat-
ens Henry
with ex-
communi-
cation.

Henry reso-
lute not to
yield.

Investiture
of Bishops.Homage
done to
Kings.The king
resoneth
to the pope.

tomed to pass through two ceremonies ; they received from the hands of the sovereign a ring and a crosier, as symbols of their office ; and this was called their 'investiture : ' they also made those submissions which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of 'homage.' And, as the king might refuse both to grant the investiture and to receive the homage, though the chapter had, by some canons of the middle age, been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting investiture and of receiving homage. The emperors never were able, by all their wars and negotiations, to make any distinction be admitted between them : the interposition of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable : and the church openly aspired to a total independence on the state. But Henry had put England as well as Normandy in such a situation as gave greater weight to his negotiations : and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his resigning the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred ; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, and the king was content to retain some, though a more precarious, authority in the election of prelates.

After the principal controversy was accommodated, it was not difficult to adjust the other difference. The pope allowed Anselm to communicate with the prelates who had already received investitures from the crown ; and he only required of them some submissions for their past misconduct. He also granted Anselm a plenary power

of remedying every other disorder which, he said might arise from the barbarousness of the country.* Such was the ideas which the popes entertained of the English ; and nothing can be a stronger proof of the miserable ignorance in which that people were then plunged, than that a man who sat on the papal throne, should think himself entitled to treat them as barbarians.

During these controversies a synod was held at Westminster ; where the king, intent only on the main dispute, allowed some canons of less importance to be enacted, which tended to promote the usurpations of the clergy. The celibacy of priests was enjoined ; a point which it was still found very difficult to carry into execution : and even laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity. By this contrivance the pope augmented the profits which he reaped from granting dispensations ; and likewise those from divorces : for, as the art of writing was then rare, and parish registers were not regularly kept, it was not easy to ascertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank ; and any man, who had money sufficient to pay for it, might obtain a divorce, on pretence that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons. The synod also passed a vote, prohibiting the laity from wearing long hair. The aversion of the clergy to this mode was not confined to England. When the king went to Normandy, before he had conquered that province, the bishop of Seez, in a formal harangue, earnestly exhorted him to redress the manifold disorders under which the government laboured, and to oblige the people to poll their hair in a decent form. Henry willingly parted with his hair ; he cut it in the form which they required of him, and obliged all the courtiers to imitate his example.

The Eng.
ish demand
barbarities.A synod
held at
Westminster.Relations
not to marry
within
the seventh
degree.Long hair
prohibited.

* Anselm, according to Fox, did not enjoy his triumph, such as it was, with singular moderation. The martyrologist says, " Thus Anselmus, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after this victory gotten upon the kyng for which he so long fought : with joy and triumph sayleth into England, having all his popish requestes obtayned, when first he fieth like a Lyon upon the married priests contrary to the

word of God ; divorsyng and punishyng that by man's authority, which the eternall and Almyghty God had coupled. Next he looketh to them which did hold any church by farme under the Kyng. Against Simony lykewise ; and against them that married within the degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical authority."—ED.

WARS ABROAD.

THE acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition; being the ancient patrimony of his family. But the injustice of his usurpation was the source of great inquietude; involved him in frequent wars; and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those arbitrary taxes, of which all historians of that age unanimously complain. His nephew William was but six years of age when he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen. He soon repented his choice; but, when he desired to recover possession of William's person, Helie withdrew his pupil, and carried him to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection. In proportion as the prince grew up to man's estate he discovered virtues becoming to his birth; and, wandering through different courts of Europe, he excited the friendly compassion of many princes, and raised a great indignation against his uncle. Lewis the Gross, son of Philip, was at this time king of France; a brave and generous prince; who, having been obliged, during the lifetime of his father, to fly into England, to escape the persecutions of his step-mother Bertrude, had been protected by Henry, and had thence conceived a personal friendship for him. But these ties were soon dissolved after the accession of Lewis, who found his interests opposite to those of the English monarch. He joined, therefore, the counts of Anjou and Flanders in giving disquiet to Henry's government; and this monarch, to defend his foreign dominions, found himself obliged to go over to Normandy, where he resided two years. The war which ensued was attended with no memorable event; agreeably to the weak condition of the sovereigns in that age, whenever their subjects were not roused by some great and urgent occasion. Henry, by contracting his eldest son William to the daughter of Fulk, detached that prince from the alliance, and obliged the others to come to an accommodation with him. This peace was not of long duration. His nephew William retired to the court of

Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who espoused his cause; and the king of France having soon after joined the party, a new war kindled in Normandy, which produced no event more memorable than the former. At last the death of Baldwin, who was slain in an action near Eu, gave some respite to Henry, and enabled him to carry on war with more advantage against his enemies.

Lewis, finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by arms, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of applying to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclesiastics a pretence to interpose in the temporal concerns of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was assembled at Rheims by pope Calixtus II; presented the Norman prince to them; complained of the manifest usurpation of Henry; craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions; and represented the enormity of detaining in captivity so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He had sent over the English bishops to this synod; but had warned them that, if any farther claims were started by the pope or the ecclesiastics, he was determined to maintain the prerogatives transmitted to him by his predecessors. 'Go,' said he to them, 'salute the pope in my name; hear his apostolic precepts; but take care to bring none of his new inventions into my kingdom.' Finding, however, that it would be easier for him to elude than oppose the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambassadors orders to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. The complaints of the Norman prince were henceforth heard with great coldness by the council; and Calixtus confessed, after a conference which he had the same summer with Henry, and when that prince probably renewed his presents, that, of all men, whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive.

The warlike measures of Lewis proved as ineffectual as his intrigues. He laid a

Henry seeks to gain Normandy.

William, Henry's nephew, flies to foreign courts.

He is countenanced by Lewis the Gross.

Henry obliged to visit Normandy.

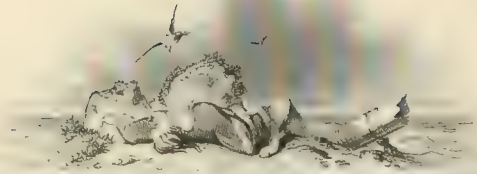
Henry's son engaged to the daughter of Fulk

The death of Baldwin.

A council appealed to against Henry.

Henry defends his conduct.

He vindicates himself by presents.



War between Lewis and Henry.

scheme for surprising Noyon ; but Henry, having received intelligence of the design, marched to the relief of the place, and suddenly attacked the French, at Brenneville, as they were advancing towards it. A sharp conflict ensued ; where prince William behaved with great bravery, and the king himself was in the most imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by Crispin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of William ; but, being rather animated than terrified by the blow, he immediately beat his antagonist to the ground, and so encouraged his troops by the example, that they put the French to total rout, and had very nearly taken the king prisoner. The dignity of the persons engaged in this skirmish, rendered it the most memorable action of the war. There were nine hundred horsemen who fought on both sides, yet there were only two persons slain ; the rest were defended by that heavy armour worn by the cavalry in those times. An accommodation soon after ensued between the kings, and the interests of young William were entirely neglected in it.

DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM.

1120.

BUT this public prosperity of Henry was much overbalanced by a domestic calamity which befel him. His only son William had now reached his eighteenth year ; and the king had taken care to have him recognised successor by the states of the kingdom, and had carried him over to Normandy, that he might receive the

Henry is wounded in battle.

An accommodation effected.

Henry's only son taken to Normandy.

homage of the barons of that duchy. The king, on his return, set sail for Barfleure, and was soon out of sight of land. The prince was detained by some accident,* and his sailors, as well as their captain Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having spent the interval in drinking, were so flustered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlessly carried the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. William was put into the long boat, and had got clear of the ship ; when, hearing the cries of his natural sister the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her : but the number who then crowded in soon sunk the boat, and the prince with all his retinue perished. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person who escaped ;† he clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephens also took hold of the mast ; but, being informed by the butcher that prince William had perished, he said that he would not survive the disaster ; and he threw himself headlong into the sea. Henry entertained hopes for three days that his son had put into some distant port of England : but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him he fainted ; and it was remarked that he never was seen to smile, nor ever recover his wonted cheerfulness.

The death of William may be regarded in one respect as a misfortune to the English ; because it was the immediate source of those civil wars which, after the

The king returns to England.

His son is lost at sea.

A hundred and forty young men perish.

Distress of the bereaved king.

* The king being in haste to return to England, was about to embark from Barfleure, when on the beach he was accosted by Thomas Fitz-Stephens, the master of the *Blanch Nef*, who had carried the conqueror over to England, and now claimed the honour of doing the same for the son. The king declined for himself having chosen his ship ; but not wishing wholly to disappoint the applicant, he told Fitz-Stephens he should take over his family, prince William, and Richard, an illegitimate son, his daughter, and their attendants. "The *Blanch Nef*," says Burette, "went out of the harbour worked by fifty strong rowers. The royal youth on board thought of nothing but mirth and jollity. They drove away with loud hootings the priests who had attended to bless the ship. Henry had given three hogsheads of

wine among the sailors, who were all drunk at starting, and Thomas Fitz-Stephens more so than the rest."—ED.

† Two men, a young knight and Beraud, a butcher of Rouen, clung to the main yard and floated with it. When Thomas Fitz-Stephens re-appeared on the surface of the water, he asked of them where was the king's son ? "Dead with the others," was their reply. He immediately sunk without further effort. In the middle of the night, the youth let go his hold from cold and exhaustion. Three fishermen in the morning passing with their barks, saw Beraud the butcher, who still sustained himself on the mainyard, preserved in a great measure by his sheep's-skin coat.—Burette.

Prejudices
of Prince
William
against the
English.

They were
shared by
the king.

No children
left by
Prince Wil-
liam.

Henry mar-
ries Adelais
daughter
of duke

demise of the king, caused such confusion in the kingdom: but it is remarkable that the young prince had entertained a violent aversion to the natives; and had been heard to threaten that, when he should be king, he would make them draw the plough, and would turn them into beasts of burden. These prepossessions he inherited from his father, who, though he was wont, when it might serve his purpose, to value himself on his birth, as a native of England, shewed an extreme prejudice against that people. All hopes of preferment, to ecclesiastical as well as civil dignities, were denied them during this whole reign. As the English had given no disturbance during the course of fifty years, this inveterate antipathy, in a prince of so much temper as well as penetration, forms a presumption that the English were still a barbarous people, even compared to the Normans, and impresses us with no very favourable idea of the Anglo Saxon manners.

KING'S SECOND MARRIAGE. 1121.

PRINCE William left no children; and the king had not now any legitimate issue; except one daughter, Matilda, whom in 1110 he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry V, and whom he had then sent over to be educated in Germany.* But, as her absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, Henry, who was now a widower, was induced to marry, in hopes of having male heirs; and he made his addresses to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and neice of pope Calixtus, a young princess of an amiable person. But Adelais brought him no children; and the prince, who was most likely to dispute the succession, recovered hopes of subverting his rival. William, the son of duke Robert, was still protected in the French court; and, as Henry's connexions with the count of Anjou were broken off by the death of his son, Fulk joined the party of the unfortunate prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and aided him in

raising disturbances in Normandy. But Henry found the means of drawing off the count of Anjou, by forming with him a nearer connexion than the former, and one more material to the interests of that count's family. The emperor, his son-in-law, dying without issue, he bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the eldest son of Fulk: and endeavoured to ensure her succession by having her recognised heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons both of Normandy and England to swear fealty to her. He hoped that the choice of this husband would be more agreeable to all his subjects than that of the emperor; as securing them from the danger of falling under the dominion of a great and distant potentate. But the barons were displeased that a step so material to national interests had been taken without consulting them; and Henry had too sensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread their resentment. It seemed probable that his nephew's party might gain force from the increase of the malcontents. An accession of power, which that prince acquired a little after, tended to render his pretensions still more dangerous. Charles earl of Flanders being assassinated during the celebration of divine service, king Lewis immediately put the young prince in possession of that county, to which he had pretensions in the right of his grandmother Matilda, wife to the conqueror. But William survived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which seemed to open the way to still farther prosperity. He was killed in a skirmish with the landgrave of Alsace, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the present, to the jealousy and inquietude of Henry.

The chief merit of this monarch's government consists in the profound tranquillity which he established and maintained during the greater part of his reign. The mutinous barons were retained in subjection; and his neighbours found him so well prepared, that they were discouraged from continuing or renewing their enterprises. In order to repress the incursions of the Welsh, he brought over

His nephew
William
causes new
disturban-
ces.

The Empe-
ror Henry's
son dies.

William's
party
increases in
strength.

William is
killed in a
skirmish.

General
tranquillity
preserved
by Henry.

* See note F at the end of the volume.

some Flemings in the year 1111, and settled them in Pembrokeshire, where they long maintained a different language, and customs, and manners, from their neighbours. Though his government seems to have been arbitrary in England, it was judicious and prudent. He wanted not attention to the redress of grievances; and historians mention in particular the levying of purveyance, which he endeavoured to moderate and restrain. The tenants in the king's demense lands were obliged to supply, gratis, the court with provisions, and to furnish carriages on the same hard terms, when the king made a progress into any of the counties. These exactions were levied in so licentious a manner, that the farmers, when they heard of the approach of the court, often deserted their houses, as if an enemy had invaded the country, and sheltered their persons and families in the woods from the insults of the king's retinue. Henry prohibited these enormities, and punished the persons guilty of them by cutting off their hands, legs, or other members. But the prerogative was perpetual; the remedy was temporary; and the violence itself of this remedy, so far from giving security to the people, was only a proof of the ferocity of the government, and threatened a quick return of like abuses.

One great and difficult object of the king's prudence was the guarding against the encroachments of the court of Rome, and protecting the liberties of the church of England. The pope, in the year 1101, had sent Guy, archbishop of Vienne, as legate into Britain; and, though he was the first that for many years had appeared there in that character, and his commission gave general surprise, the king was obliged to submit to this encroachment. But, in 1116, Anselm, abbot of St. Sabas, who was coming over with a like legantine commission, was prohibited from entering the kingdom; and pope Calixtus, then labouring under many difficulties, by reason of the pretensions of Gregory, was obliged to promise that he never would for the future, except when solicited by the king himself, send any legate into England. Notwithstanding this engagement, the pope, as

soon as he had suppressed his antagonist, granted the cardinal de Crema a legantine commission; and the king, who, by reason of his nephew's intrigues and invasions, found himself at that time in a dangerous situation, was obliged to submit to the exercise of this commission. A synod was called by the legate at London; where, among other canons, a vote passed, enacting severe penalties on the marriages of the clergy. The cardinal, in a public harangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity that a priest should dare to concentrate and touch the body of Christ immediately after he had risen from the side of a strumpet; for that was the decent appellation which he gave to the wives of the clergy. But it happened that the very next night the officers of justice, breaking into a disorderly house, found the cardinal in bed with a courtesan; an incident which threw such ridicule upon him that he immediately stole out of the kingdom. The synod broke up; and the canons against the marriage of clergymen were worse executed than ever.

Henry, in order to prevent this alternate revolution of concessions and encroachments, sent William, then archbishop of Canterbury, to remonstrate with the court of Rome. It was a usual maxim with every pope, when he could not prevail in any pretension, to grant princes or states a power which they had always exercised; to resume at a proper juncture the claim, and to pretend that the civil magistrate had possessed the authority only from a special indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting investitures, had passed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practised a like invention to elude the complaints of the king of England. He made the archbishop of Canterbury his legate; renewed his commission from time to time; and still pretended that the rights, which that prelate had ever exercised as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the apostolic see. The English princes, and Henry in particular, who were glad to avoid any immediate contest of so dangerous a

Marriages of the clergy again denounced.

Profligacy of a cardinal detected.

Henry remonstrates with the pope.

He yields to his authority.

nature, commonly acquiesced by their silence in these pretensions of the court of Rome.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY. 1135.

As every thing in England remained in tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity (in 1131) of paying a visit to Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderness for his daughter the empress Matilda, who was always his favourite. Some time after that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, to ensure her succession, made all the nobility of England and Normandy renew the oath of fealty, which they had already sworn to her. The joy of this event, and the satisfaction which he reaped from his daughter's company, who bore successively two other sons, made his residence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he seemed determined to pass the remainder of his days in that country; when an incursion of the Welsh obliged him to think of returning into England. He was preparing for the journey, but was seized with a sudden illness at St. Dennis le Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; leaving his daughter Matilda heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure.

This prince was one of the most accomplished that has filled the English throne; and possessed all the great qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. The affability of his address encouraged those who might be overawed by the sense of his dignity or of his wisdom; and, though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with discretion, and ever kept at a distance from all indecent familiarities

with his courtiers. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an ascendant, even had he been born in a private station; and his personal bravery would have procured him respect. By his great progress in literature he acquired the name of Beau-clerc, or the scholar: and, though the learning of that age was better fitted to corrupt than improve the understanding, his natural good sense preserved itself untainted, both from the pedantry and superstition which were then so prevalent among men of letters. His temper was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; and his ambition might be deemed moderate and reasonable, had not his conduct towards his brother and nephew shewed that he was too much disposed to sacrifice to it all the maxims of justice and equity. But the total incapacity of Robert for government afforded his younger brother a pretence for seizing the sceptre both of England and Normandy; and, when violence and usurpation are once begun, necessity obliges a prince to continue in the same criminal course, which his better judgment would otherwise have induced him to reject with indignation.

King Henry was much addicted to women; and historians mention no less than seven illegitimate sons and six daughters born to him. Hunting was also one of his favourite amusements; and he exercised great rigour against those who encroached on the royal forests, which were augmented during his reign, though their number and extent were already too great. To kill a stag was as criminal as to murder a man. He made all the dogs be mutilated which were kept on the borders of his forests; and he sometimes deprived his subjects of hunting on their own lands, or even cutting their own woods. In other respects he executed justice, and that with rigour; the best maxim which a prince in that age could follow. Stealing was first made capital in this reign. False coining, which was then a very common crime, and by which the money had been extremely debased, was severely punished by Henry. Near fifty criminals of this kind were at one time hanged or mutilated; and,

Henry was eloquent.

He was learned, but no pedant.

He was inordinately ambitious.

Henry had thirteen illegitimate children.

His laws were severe

Fifty persons executed for coining.

Henry visits Normandy.

Birth of a grandson, afterwards Henry II.

Death of the king.

He had great qualities.

The people's content.

though these punishments seem to have been exercised in a manner somewhat arbitrary, they were grateful to the people.* There is a code which passes under the name of Henry I., but the best antiquaries have agreed to think it spurious; it is, however, a very ancient compilation, and may be useful to instruct us in the manners and customs of the times. We learn from it that a great distinction was then made between the English and Normans, much to the advantage of the latter. The deadly feuds, and the liberty of private revenge, which had been avowed by the Saxon laws, were still continued, and were not yet wholly illegal.

A great distinction made between English and Normans.

Among the laws granted on the king's accession, it is remarkable that the reunion of the civil and ecclesiastical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted. But this law, like the articles of his charter, remained without effect, probably from the opposition of archbishop Anselm.

He grants a charter to London.

Henry, on his accession, granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter the

city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from scot, Danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's retinue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of hustings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey, are the chief articles of this charter.

The city allowed to elect its own Sheriff.

It is said that this prince, from indulgence to his tenants, changed the rent of his demesnes, which were formerly paid in kind, into money, which was more easily remitted to the exchequer. But the great scarcity of coin would render that commutation difficult to be executed, while at the same time provisions could not be sent to a distant quarter of the kingdom. This affords a probable reason why the ancient kings of England so frequently changed their place of abode; they carried their court from one place to another, that they might consume upon the spot the revenue of their several demesnes.†

He changed the practice of paying rents in kind.

English kings frequently changed their abodes.

* Counterfeiting the coin of the realm was sometimes punished by depriving the offender of his eyes.—ED.

† Camden has preserved some facts relative to Henry, which exhibit playfulness, and mark a disposition to teach the servitors of the court better manners than they had been accustomed to exhibit. Another personal story, however, has come down to us, which presents him in anything but an amiable light. There was a certain Luke de Barré, a knightly poet, who, in some of the disturbances, had been in arms opposed to Henry. He was unsuccessful; the king pardoned his offence; but he again rebelled, and aggravated the fault by writing satirical verses. De Barré was afterwards made prisoner; and then the king punished his fault with odious severity: he ordered the captive's eyes to be put out. Charles the Good, count of Flanders, remonstrated against the sentence, condemning it as barbarous, as contrary to the usages of chivalry, in the case of a knight, who had only sinned by doing battle in the cause of his lord. Henry was not to be moved. "Luke de Barré," said he, "has heretofore borne arms against me, and experienced my clemency; he has ungratefully requited it by attacking me in his verses, to make me the laughing stock of my enemies. From his example let other poets learn what they have to expect when they outrage a king of England." The cruel sentence was then carried into effect. A more agreeable story is told of him by Baker: "Guymond, the king's chaplain, observing that unworthy men, for the most part, were advanced to the best dignities of the church, as he celebrated divine service before

him, and was to read these words out of St. James. 'It rained not upon the earth III years and VI months,' he read it thus, 'It rained not upon the earth one one one years, and five one months.' The king observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but Guymond answered, that he did it of purpose, for such readers were soonest preferred by his majesty. The king smiled, and in a short time preferred him to the government of St. Frideswids, in Oxford." Duke Robert died before his brother in 1134, and was buried at Gloucester. When first brought to England as a prisoner, he had reasonable indulgence; but having attempted to escape, Henry is said to have deprived him of his eyes. On one occasion the king sending him a robe of scarlet, first trying it on himself, found the *Capouch* to be somewhat strait, upon which he said to those near him, "Carry this to my brother, for his head is less than mine." On the authority of Matthew of Westminster, this story is continued. "The messenger delivering the robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it, and being told the king had first assayed it, and what speech he had used, the duke replied, 'I have too long protracted a miserable life, since my brother is so injurious to me that he sends me his old clothes to wear,' and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort." The melancholy part of this statement is not borne out by the testimony of French writers. Burette represents Robert to have borne his captivity with gaiety. "Released from the cares of a public station, to which

CHAPTER VII.

STEPHEN.

1135.—1154.

ACCESSION OF STEPHEN.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF MATILDA.—STEPHEN TAKEN PRISONER.—MATILDA CROWNED.—STEPHEN RELEASED.—CIVIL WARS CONTINUED.—COMPROMISE WITH PRINCE HENRY.—DEATH OF THE KING.

IN the progress and settlement of the feudal law, the male succession to fiefs had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates, being considered as military benefices, not as property, were transmitted to such only as could serve in the armies, and perform in person the conditions upon which they were originally granted. But, when the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in a great measure, obliterated the primitive idea, the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles, which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally introduced their succession to government and authority. The failure, therefore, of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the succession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vassals in both states swear fealty to her, he presumed that they would not easily be induced to depart at once from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the irregular manner in which he himself had acquired the throne might have instructed him, that he had reason to dread, even from his own family, some invasion of his daughter's title, which he had taken such pains to establish.

Adela, daughter of William the conqueror, had been married to Stephen count of

Blois, and had brought him several sons; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry, who had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical profession, was created abbot of Glastenbury and bishop of Winchester; and, though these dignities were considerable, Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, attained establishments still more solid. The king had married him to Matilda, daughter and heir of Eustace count of Boulogne, who brought him, besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England, which in the distribution of lands had been conferred by the Conqueror on the family of Boulogne. Stephen also by this marriage acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England; as Mary, his wife's mother, was sister to David the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda the first wife of Henry, and mother of the empress. The king, still imagining that he strengthened the interests of his family by the aggrandizement of Stephen, took pleasure in enriching him by the grant of new possessions; and he conferred on him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. Stephen professed great attachment to his uncle; and appeared so zealous for the succession of Matilda, that, when the barons swore fealty to that princess, he contended with Robert earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son, who should first be admitted to give her this testimony of devoted zeal and fidelity. Meanwhile he continued to cultivate the friendship of the English nation. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the esteem of the barons; by his generosity, and by an affable and familiar address, unusual in that age among men of his high quality, he obtained the affection of the people, particularly the Londoners; and, though he dared not to take any steps towards his farther

He invites his sister's sons to England.

Stephen, the king's nephew, gains riches and honors.

Stephen swears fealty to Matilda.

Females admitted to the succession under the feudal system.

Henry names Matilda his successor.

he had never been equal, he passed joyously and in peace the last seventeen years of his life, in the splendid chateau assigned to him, forgetting, in the

enjoyment of luxury, that he was duke of Normandy, and ought to have been king of England."

He gains popularity with the English.

grandeur, lest he should expose himself to the jealousy of so penetrating a prince as Henry, he still hoped that, by accumulating riches, power, and popularity, he might be able to open his way to the throne.

ACCESSION OF STEPHEN. 1135.

Stephen aspires to the crown.

No sooner had Henry breathed his last, than Stephen, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to danger, gave full reins to his criminal ambition. He hastened over to England; and, though the citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprised of his purpose, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately saluted him king. His next point was to acquire the good-will of the clergy; and, by performing the ceremony of his coronation, to put himself in possession of the throne, from which he was confident it would not be easy to expel him. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, was useful to him in these capital articles. Having gained Roger bishop of Salisbury; who, though he owed a great advancement to the favour of the late king, preserved no sense of gratitude; he applied, in conjunction with that prelate, to William archbishop of Canterbury, and required him to give the royal unction to Stephen. The primate, who, as all the others, had sworn fealty to Matilda, refused to perform this ceremony; but his opposition was overcome by an expedient equally dishonourable with the other steps by which this revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the primate that the late king on his death bed had shewn a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda,

He is saluted king.

His brother the bishop of Winchester aids him.

The primate is gained over.

and had expressed his intention of leaving the count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions. William, either believing, or feigning to believe, Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon his head; * and from this religious ceremony that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority. Very few barons attended his coronation; but none opposed his usurpation. The sentiment of religion, which, if corrupted into superstition, has often little efficacy in fortifying the duties of civil society, was not affected by the multiplied oaths taken in favour of Matilda, and only rendered the people obedient to a prince who was countenanced by the clergy, and who had received from the primate the rite of royal unction and consecration.

Stephen is crowned.

Stephen, that he might farther secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all orders of men; to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, and correct all encroachments; and to the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegelt, and restore the laws of king Edward. The late king had a great treasure at Winchester, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds; and Stephen, by seizing this money, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security.† By means of this money the usurper ensured the compliance of the principal clergy and nobility; but, not trusting to this frail security, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoës, or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe abounded.

He grants a charter.

Stephen seizes the treasures of the late king.

* Stephen was crowned twenty-four days after the death of his predecessor, on the 26th December, 1135. The coronation of his queen took place on the 21st of March, in the following year.—ED.

† Besides the money mentioned in the text, the late king is stated, by old writers, to have amassed plate, jewels, and other valuables, to an immense amount, which Stephen immediately appropriated. "Having

no good title to the crown, he was forced to purchase the good-will of the principal men by gifts; and with these grants, he bought the dissembled affection of his courtiers. Malmesbury calls it *Simulatam, ad tempus Pacem*; for all this liberality could not make the nobles faithful to him; his whole reign having been nothing but a scene of treachery and bloodshed."—*Discourse upon Grants, &c.*—ED.

He procures
a bull in
his favour
from Rome.

These mercenary troops guarded his throne by the terrors of the sword ; and Stephen, that he might also overawe all malcontents by new and additional terrors of religion, procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and which the pope, pleased with an appeal to his authority in secular controversies, very readily granted him.

Stephen's
son estab-
lished in
Normandy.

Matilda and her husband Geoffrey were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an hereditary animosity against the Angevins, first applied to Theobald count of Blois, Stephen's eldest brother, for protection and assistance ; but, hearing afterwards that Stephen had got possession of the English crown, and having many of them the same reasons as formerly for desiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen. Lewis the younger, the reigning king of France, accepted the homage of Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, for the duchy ; and betrothed his sister Constantia to the young prince. The count of Blois resigned all his pretensions, and received in lieu of them an annual pension of two thousand marks ; and Geoffrey himself was obliged to conclude a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him, during that time, a pension of five thousand. Stephen, who had taken a journey to Normandy, finished all these transactions in person, and soon after returned to England.

Robert earl
of Gloucester
favours the
empress
Matilda.

Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, was a man of honour and abilities ; and, as he was much attached to the interests of his sister Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, it was chiefly from his resistance that the king had reason to dread a new revolution of government. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when he received intelligence of Stephen's accession, found himself much embarrassed concerning the measures which he should pursue. To swear allegiance to the usurper appeared to him a breach of oath to Matilda ; to refuse was to banish himself from England, and be

totally incapacitated from serving the royal family, or contributing to their restoration. He offered Stephen to do him homage, and to take the oath of fealty ; but with an express condition that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities : and Stephen, though sensible that this reserve was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends of that nobleman, to receive him on those terms. The clergy imitated that dangerous example : they annexed to their oaths of allegiance this condition, that they were only bound so long as the king supported the discipline of the church. The barons exacted terms still more destructive of public peace, as well as of royal authority : many of them required the right of fortifying their castles ; and the king found himself totally unable to refuse his consent to this exorbitant demand.* All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops. Wars between the nobles was carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter ; the barons even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction ; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws, were obliged, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, by submitting to his exactions, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many others. The aristocratical power, which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now risen to its utmost height during the reign of a prince who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others

He offers
fealty to
Stephen
condition-
ally.

His exam-
ple is gene-
rally fol-
lowed.

Wars break
out among
the barons.

Aggrandise-
ment of the
aristocracy.

* He not only gave permission to the nobles to fortify their castles, but to erect new ones on their

estates ; calculating that these would prove to him a strong defence against Matilda.—Ed.

the same violence to which he himself had been beholden for his sovereignty.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1138.

BUT Stephen was not of a disposition to submit long to these usurpations. Finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were resisted and abridged, he was also tempted to make his power the sole measure of his conduct. The mercenary soldiers, who chiefly supported his authority, having exhausted the royal treasure, subsisted by depredations; and every place was filled with complaints against the government. The earl of Gloucester, having now settled the plan of an insurrection, retired beyond sea, sent the king a defiance, solemnly renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions which had been annexed to the oath of fealty sworn by that nobleman. David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and, penetrating into Yorkshire, committed the most barbarous devastations on that country. The fury of his massacres enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him; and William earl of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, William Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger Moubray, Ilbert Lacey, Walter l'Espec, powerful barons, assembled an army, with which they encamped at North Allerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, called "the battle of the Standard," from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The king of Scots was defeated; and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped. This success might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated with prosperity as to engage in a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch.

Though the great power of the church in ancient times weakened the authority of the crown, and interrupted the course of

the laws, it may be doubted whether it was not rather advantageous that some limits were set to the power of the sword; and that men were taught to pay regard to some principles and privileges. The chief misfortune was, that the prelates on some occasions employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby often increased those disorders which it was their duty to repress. The bishop of Salisbury, in imitation of the nobility, had built two strong castles; one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes; and had laid the foundations of a third at Malmesbury. His nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, had erected a fortress at Newark. And Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy, who by their function seemed less entitled than the barons to such military securities. Making pretence of a fray which had arisen between the retinue of the bishop of Salisbury and that of the Earl of Brittany, he seized both that prelate and the bishop of Lincoln, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up those places of strength which they had lately erected.

Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, being armed with a legantine commission, now conceived himself to be an ecclesiastical sovereign no less powerful than the civil; and resolved to vindicate the clerical privileges which he pretended were here openly violated.* He assembled a synod at Westminster, and there complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures; who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, and had not awaited the sentence of a spiritual court, by which alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried. The synod ventured to send a summons to the king, charging him to appear before them; and Stephen, instead of resenting this indignity, sent Aubrey de Vere to plead his cause before that assembly. De Vere accused the two prelates of treason and sedition; but the synod refused to examine their conduct

Military power employed by the church against the king.

Stephen attacks the bishops.

The Bishop of Winchester resents his violence.

The king summoned before the synod.

* Henry was the youngest son of Stephen earl of Blois. He came to England in the time of Henry I, and became a favourite with that monarch. He had

been a monk in the monastery of Clugni. By king Henry he was made first abbot of Glastonbury, and afterwards bishop of Winchester.

An appeal
to the pope
contem-
plated.

till those castles of which they had been dispossessed were restored to them. The bishop of Salisbury declared that he would appeal to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partisans shewn a disposition of executing violence by the hands of the soldiery, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF MATILDA. 1139.

The empress
Matilda
lands in
England.

While this quarrel, joined to so many other grievances, increased the discontents, the empress, invited by the opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with Robert Earl of Gloucester, and a hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini earl of Sussex; and she excited her partisans to take arms in every county of England. Adelais, who had expected that her daughter-in-law would have invaded the kingdom with a much greater force, became apprehensive of danger; and Matilda, to ease her of her fears, removed first to Bristol, which belonged to her brother Robert, thence to Gloucester, where she remained under the protection of Milo, a gallant nobleman in those parts, who had embraced her cause. Soon after Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other barons, declared for her; and her party seemed every day to gain ground upon that of her antagonist.

Many persons
declare
in her fa-
vour.

Were we to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be easy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume: but those incidents, so confused both in time and place, could afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the reader. The war was spread into every quarter; and those turbulent barons, who had already shaken off, in a great measure, the restraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cause, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the

Civil wars.

people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers; who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons to slavery; and set fire to their houses. The poverty and persons even of the ecclesiastics, generally so much revered, were at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence.

The barons'
people be-
come li-
censed
robbers.

The general
disorder
produces a
famine.

STEPHEN TAKEN PRISONER. 1141.

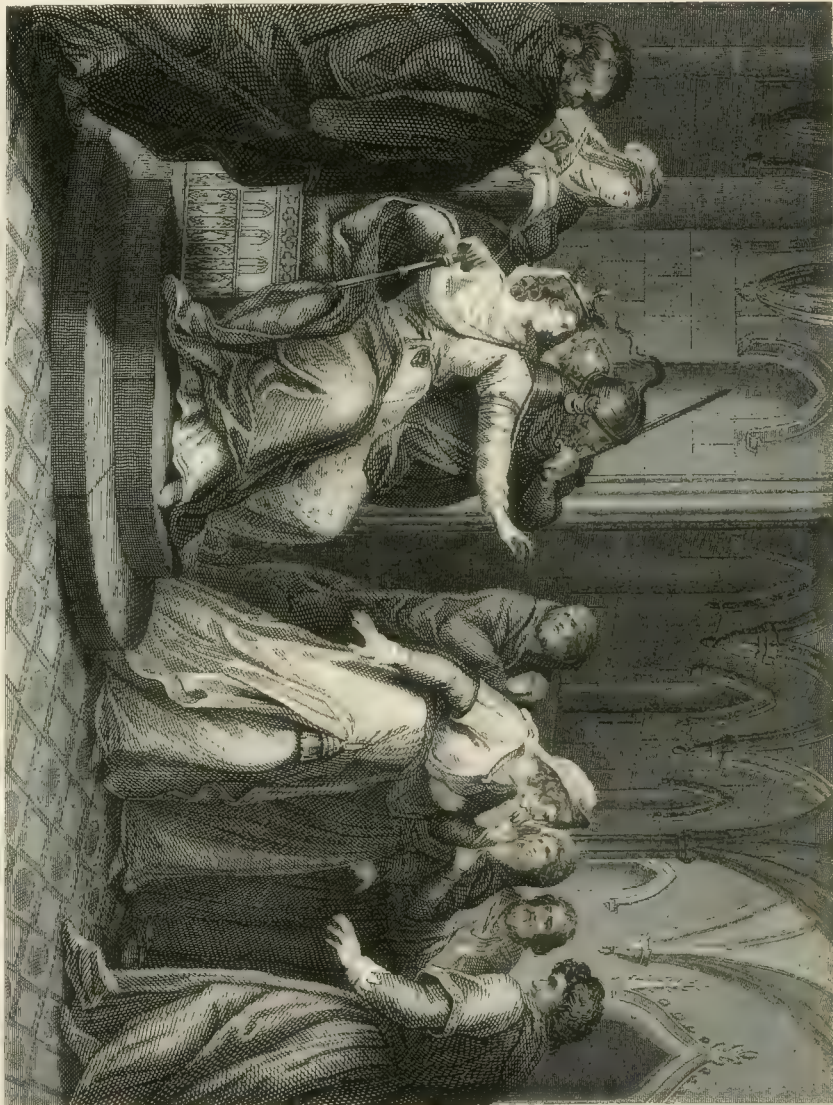
After several fruitless negotiations and treaties of peace, which never interrupted these destructive hostilities, there happened an event, which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Ralph earl of Chester, and his half-brother William de Roumara, partisans of Matilda, had surprised the castle of Lincoln; but the citizens, who were better affected to Stephen, having invited him to their aid, that prince laid close siege to the castle. The earl of Gloucester hastened with an army to the relief of his friends; and Stephen, informed of his approach, took the field with a resolution of giving him battle. After a violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight; and Stephen, surrounded by the enemy, was, after exerting great efforts of valour, borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Gloucester; and, though at first treated with humanity, was soon after, on some suspicion, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons.

Stephen be-
siegues Lin-
coln castle.

He is taken
prisoner.

Stephen's party was entirely broken by the captivity of their leader; and the barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The princess, however, knew that she was not secure of success unless she could gain the confidence of the clergy; and, as the conduct





his brother
at friend-
ship over
by Matilda.

they pro-
mise allegi-
ance to
Matilda.

uses and
wishes
announced
her fa-
ther.

Stephen's
reluctance
is
his brother.

of the legate had been of late very ambiguous, she employed every endeavour to fix him in her interests. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Winchester; where she promised, upon oath, that, if he would recognise her title as the sole descendant of the late king, and submit to the allegiance which he, as well as the rest of the kingdom, had sworn to her, he should be entire master of the administration, and in particular should, at his pleasure, dispose of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Earl Robert her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Milo of Glocester, and other great men, became guarantees for her observing these engagements; and the prelate was induced to promise her allegiance, burdened with the express condition that he should fulfil her promises. He then conducted her to Winchester, led her in procession to the cathedral, and with great solemnity, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, denounced curses against all those who cursed her, poured out blessings on those who blessed her, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and excommunicated such as were rebellious. Theobald archbishop of Canterbury soon after came also to court, and swore allegiance to the empress.

MATILDA CROWNED.

MATILDA, that she might farther ensure the attachment of the clergy, was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and, instead of assembling the states of the kingdom, she was content that the legate should summon an ecclesiastical synod, and that her title to the throne should there be acknowledged. The legate, addressing himself to the assembly, told them that, in the absence of the empress, Stephen his brother had been permitted to reign, and, previously to his ascending the throne, had seduced them by many fair promises of honouring and exalting the church, and of reforming all abuses: that it grieved him to observe how much that prince had been wanting to his engagements. He himself, in order to procure a redress of grievances, had formerly summoned the king before a council of bishops;

but, instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, had rather offended him by that expedient: that that prince was still his brother, and the object of his affections; but his interests must be regarded as subordinate to those of their heavenly Father, who had thrown him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had summoned them together for that purpose; and, having invoked the divine assistance, he now pronounced Matilda, the only descendant of Henry their late sovereign, queen of England. The whole assembly gave, or seemed to give, their assent to this declaration.

The only laymen summoned to this council, which decided the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; and even these were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. The deputies of London, however, insisted that their king should be delivered from prison; but were told by the legate that it became not the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated holy church with contumely. It is with reason that the citizens assumed so much authority, if it be true, what is related by Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary author, that that city could at this time bring into the field no less than eighty thousand combatants.

London, notwithstanding its great power, and its attachment to Stephen, was at length obliged to submit to Matilda; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom. But affairs remained not long in this situation. That princess was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered that, on this condition, he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate desired that prince Eustace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father. The Londoners applied for the establish-

He declares
Matilda
queen of
England.

Importance
of the Lon-
doners.

They could
furnish
eighty
thousand
combatants.

Matilda
passionate
and imperi-
ous.

Petitions
are pre-
emptorily
rejected.

ment of king Edward's laws, instead of those of king Henry, which, they said, were grievous and oppressive. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner.

STEPHEN RELEASED.

THE legate, who had probably never been sincere in his compliance with Matilda's government, availed himself of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. A conspiracy was entered into to seize the person of the empress; and she saved herself from the danger by a precipitate retreat. She fled to Oxford: soon after she went to Winchester; whither the legate, watching the opportunity to ruin her cause, had retired. But, having assembled all his retainers, he openly joined his force to that of the Londoners, and to Stephen's mercenary troops, and besieged Matilda in Winchester. The princess, being hard pressed by famine, made her escape; but in the flight earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy.* This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and soul of his own party as Stephen was of the other; and the empress, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange the prisoners on equal terms. The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever.

Earl Robert
taken pri-
soner.

CIVIL WARS CONTINUED. 1142.

EARL Robert, finding the successes on both sides nearly balanced, went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to the earl of Anjou; and he persuaded Geoffrey to allow his eldest son Henry, a young prince of great hopes, to take a journey into England, and appear at the head of his partisans.

Prince
Henry
visits Eng-
land.

This expedient produced nothing decisive. Stephen took Oxford after a long siege; he was defeated by earl Robert at Wilton; and the empress being harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, at last retired into Normandy, whither she had sent her son some time before. The death of her brother, about the same time, would have proved fatal to her interests, had not some incidents occurred which checked the course of Stephen's prosperity. This prince, finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party, were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy, endeavoured to extort from them a surrender of those fortresses; and he alienated the affections of many by this equitable demand. The church, which his brother had brought over to his side, had, after some interval, joined the other party. Eugenius III. had mounted the papal throne; the bishop of Winchester was deprived of the legantine commission, which was conferred on Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, the enemy of the former legate. That pontiff also, having summoned a general council at Rheims in Champagne, instead of allowing the church of England, as had been usual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five English bishops to represent that church, and required their attendance. Stephen, who, notwithstanding his present difficulties, was jealous of the rights of his crown, refused them permission to attend; and the pope took revenge by laying all Stephen's party under an interdict. The discontents of the royalists, at being thrown into this situation, were augmented by a comparison with Matilda's party, who enjoyed all the benefits of the sacred ordinances; and Stephen was at last obliged, by making submissions to Rome, to remove the reproach from his party.

Stephen
takes Ox-
ford.

He offends
the barons.

A general
council cal-
led at
Rheims.

England is
laid under
an interdict.

* She is represented to have been reduced to great extremities. From Winchester at one time she escaped, being "laid upon a horse's back, in manner of a dead corpse, and so conveyed to Gloucester;" at another, being besieged at Oxford, and the ground covered with snow, "she clad herself, and her four servants that were with her, in white clothes, which, being of the colour of snow, made her pass the

watches without being discerned." William of Malmesbury says, he could never exactly learn how the escape was effected; but the hardship and peril to which she was exposed were thought to have made such an impression on her mind, that she had afterwards little disposition to expose herself personally to the chances of war.—ED.

The weakness on both sides, rather than any decrease of mutual animosity, having produced a tacit cessation of arms in England, many of the nobility, Roger de Moubray, William de Warrenne, and others, enlisted themselves in a new crusade, which with surprising success, after former disappointments and misfortunes, was now preached by St. Bernard. But an event soon after happened which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, who had reached his sixteenth year, was desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which every gentleman in that age passed through before he was admitted to the use of arms, and which was even deemed requisite for the greatest princes. He intended to receive his admission from his great-uncle, David king of Scotland; and for that purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was attended by the most considerable of his partisans. He remained some time with the king of Scotland; made incursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he gave symptoms of those great qualities which he afterwards displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy he was, by

Matilda's consent, invested in that duchy; and upon the death of his father Geoffrey, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William duke of Guienne and earl of Poitou, had been married sixteen years, to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a crusade which that monarch conducted against the infidels; but, having there lost the affections of her husband, and even fallen under some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen, Lewis, more delicate than polite, procured a divorce, and restored her those rich provinces which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France.* Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, made successful courtship to that princess, and, espousing her six weeks after her divorce, got possession of all her dominions as her dowry. The lustre which he received from this acquisition, and the prospect of his rising fortune, had such an effect in England, that, when Stephen, desirous to ensure the crown to his son Eustace, required the archbishop of Canterbury to anoint that

He is now
duke of
Normandy.

Eleanor, the
queen of
France,
is
suspected
of
infidelity.

She is
divorced
from
her
husband.

Prince
Henry
marries
Eleanor.

* This princess was renowned for her beauty and gallantries. In the spirit of the times, when Lewis, her husband, commenced his crusade, she became the leader of a mixed train of male and female attendants; and was honoured with the somewhat oriental distinction of "the lady of the golden boots." Her conduct is believed to have been most flagitious. On reaching Antioch, which was then under the rule of her uncle Raymond of Poitiers, she was suspected not only of becoming his mistress, but of having conspired with him to deprive her husband of his liberty or life. She also engaged in an intrigue with a Saracen, named Saladin; not the sultan, but a low born man, who was only recommended to her by a handsome person. On his return to France, Lewis sought a divorce from his faithless consort. A council was called at Baugenci-sur-Loire; at which the bishop of Langres announced, that "the king could no longer place faith in his wife, and could never be sure of the legitimacy of his children; and he therefore claimed a divorce, on account of her known incontinence." It was suggested by the archbishop of Bordeaux, that the divorce should be granted, not on the grounds of the queen's adultery, but on that of the consanguinity of the parties being

an offence against the canonical law. This was suggested to Eleanor, who had been accustomed scornfully to name her husband a monk with a sword, and "qui aurait donné volontiers *sa part de paradis*, pour un présent plus joyeux." She was well content to regain her liberty. Suger, however, the abbot of St. Denis, to whom the reins of government had been confided during the absence of the king, opposed it with all his influence, and with success. At his death, no obstacle remained in the way; and the parties joyfully separated. Eleanor was immediately pursued by a host of suitors. Thibaud count of Chartres contemplated carrying her to his castle, and marrying her by force. In consequence of this, she quitted his capital by night, and passed down the Loire, towards Tours; where Geoffrey of Anjou, younger brother of the duke of Normandy, lay in ambush with a like design. Informed of the danger, Eleanor defeated this scheme; and on reaching Poitiers sent a messenger to Henry Plantagenet, her intended lord. He lost no time in throwing himself at her feet; and within six weeks from the day of her divorce, she became his wife, Henry being then but nineteen and she thirty years of age.—Ed.

The primate refuses to anoint Stephen's son.

prince as his successor, the primate refused compliance, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the violence and resentment of Stephen.

COMPROMISE WITH PRINCE

HENRY. 1153.

Henry and Stephen come to an accommodation.

HENRY, informed of these dispositions in the people, made an invasion on England. Having gained some advantage over Stephen at Malmesbury, and taken that place, he proceeded to throw succours into Wallingford, to which the king had advanced with a superior army to besiege. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides interposed, and set on foot a negotiation between the rival princes. The death of Eustace, during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion. An accommodation was settled, by which it was agreed that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime; that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to Henry; and that this prince should, on Stephen's demise, succeed to the kingdom, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate.

Henry declared heir to the English crown.

DEATH OF THE KING. 1154.

Death of Stephen.

AFTER all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry as to the heir of the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year after a short illness, prevented all those jealousies which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation.

England suffered great miseries during the reign of this prince: but his personal character appears not liable to any great exception; and he seems to have been well qualified, had he succeeded by a just title, to have promoted the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. He was possessed of industry and courage, to a great degree; though not endowed with a sound judgment, he was not deficient in abilities; he had the talent of gaining men's affections; and he never indulged himself in

the exercise of any cruelty or revenge. His advancement to the throne procured him neither tranquillity or happiness; and, though the situation of England prevented the neighbouring states from taking any durable advantage of her confusions, her intestine disorders were ruinous and destructive. The court of Rome was also permitted, during those civil wars, to make farther advances in her usurpations; and appeals to the pope, which had been strictly prohibited by the English laws, became now common in every ecclesiastical controversy.

His character not very exceptionable.

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY II.

1154.—1189.

STATE OF EUROPE.—OF FRANCE.—FIRST ACTS OF HENRY'S GOVERNMENT.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONTEST.—BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND BECKET.—CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.—BANISHMENT OF BECKET.—COMPROMISE WITH HIM, AND HIS RETURN.—HIS MURDER.—GRIEF AND SUBMISSION OF THE KING.

STATE OF EUROPE.

THE extensive confederacies, by which the European potentates are now at once united and set in opposition to each other, were totally unknown in ancient ages; and the theory of foreign politics in each kingdom formed a speculation much less complicated and involved than at present. Commerce had not yet bound together the most distant nations in so close a chain; wars, finished in one campaign, and often in one battle, were little affected by the movements of remote states; the imperfect communication among the kingdoms, and their ignorance of each others situation, made it impracticable for a great number of them to combine in one project or effort; and, above all, the independent situation of the barons or great vassals in each state gave

Confederacies of kings almost unknown.

The attention of princes confined to their own governments.

so much occupation to the sovereign, that he was more indifferent about what passed among his neighbours. Religion alone, not politics, carried abroad the views of princes; while it either fixed their thoughts on the holy land, whose conquest and defence was deemed a point of common honour and interest, or engaged them in intrigues with the Roman pontiff, to whom they had yielded the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and who was every day assuming more authority than they were willing to allow him.

England and France become more intimately connected.

Before the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, this island was as much separated from the rest of the world in politics as in situation; and, except from the inroads of the Danish pirates, the English had neither enemies nor allies on the continent. The foreign dominions of William connected them with the king and great vassals of France; and, while the opposite pretensions of the pope and emperor in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negociations, without meeting with opposition or support from the others.

The French nobles take advantage of their sovereign.

On the decline of the Carlovingian race, the nobles in every province of France, taking advantage of the weakness of the sovereign, and obliged to provide each for his own defence against the ravages of the Norman freebooters, had assumed an authority almost independent, and had reduced within very narrow limits the prerogative of their princes. The accession of Hugh Capet, by annexing a great fief to the crown, had brought some addition to the royal dignity; but this fief, though considerable for a subject, appeared a narrow basis of power for a prince at the head of so great a community. The royal demesnes consisted only of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compiègne, and a few places scattered over the northern provinces; in the rest of the kingdom the prince's authority was rather nominal than real. The vassals were entitled to make war without his permission on each other; they were even entitled, if they conceived themselves

Limited powers of the French king.

injured, to turn their arms against their sovereign; they exercised all civil jurisdiction, without appeal, over their tenants and inferior vassals; their common jealousy of the crown easily united them against any attempt on their exorbitant privileges; and, as some of them had attained the power of great princes, even the smallest baron was sure of immediate protection. Besides six ecclesiastical peerages, which, with the other immunities of the church, cramped extremely the general execution of justice, there were six lay peerages: Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne; which formed very extensive and puissant sovereignties. And, though the combination of all those princes and barons could muster a mighty power, yet was it very difficult to set that great machine in movement; it was almost impossible to preserve harmony in its parts; a sense of common interest alone could, for a time, unite them under their sovereign against a common enemy: but, if the king attempted to turn the force of the community against any mutinous vassal, the same sense of common interest made the others oppose themselves to his pretensions. Lewis the Gross, the last sovereign, marched at one time to his frontiers against the Germans at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men; but a petty lord of Corbeil, of Puiset, of Couci, was able, at another period, to maintain open war against him.

His nobles entitled to make war against him.

Six peerages form puissant sovereignties.

The authority of the English monarch was much more extensive within his kingdom, and the disproportion much greater between him and the most powerful of his vassals. His demesnes and revenue were large, compared to the greatness of his state; he was accustomed to levy arbitrary exactions on his subjects; his courts of judicature extended their jurisdiction into every part of the kingdom; he could crush any obnoxious baron; and, though the feudal institutions which prevailed in his kingdom had the same tendency as in other states, to exalt the aristocracy and depress the monarchy, it required in England a great combination of the vassals to oppose their sovereign lord; and there had not hitherto arisen any baron so powerful as of

The authority of the king of England great over his vassals.

No single baron able to oppose him.

himself to levy war against the prince, and to afford protection to the inferior barons.

While such were the different situations of France and England, the accession of Henry II., a prince of great abilities, possessed of so many rich provinces on the continent, might appear an event dangerous, and sufficient to break entirely the balance between the states. He was master, in the right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xaintoigne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, the Limousin. He soon after annexed Brittany to his other states, and was already possessed of the superiority over that province; which on the first cession of Normandy to Rollo the Dane, had been granted by Charles the Simple in vassalage to that formidable ravager. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior in extent and opulence to those territories which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. The vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord. The situation which had enabled Hugh Capet to depose the Carolingian princes seemed to be renewed, and that with much greater advantages on the side of the vassal; and, when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend some great disaster, but, in reality, it was this circumstance that saved the Capetian race.

The limited authority of the prince in the feudal constitutions prevented the king of England from employing with advantage the force of so many states, which were subjected to his government; and these different members were never thoroughly cemented into one monarchy. He soon became, both from his distant place of residence, and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and his subjects on the continent considered their allegiance as more naturally due to their superior lord, who was acknowledged to be the supreme head of their nation. He was always at hand to invade them; their immediate lord was often at too great a distance to protect

them; and any disorder in any part of his dispersed dominions gave advantages against him. The other powerful vassals of the French crown were rather pleased to see the expulsion of the English, and were not affected with that jealousy which would have arisen from the oppression of a co-vassal. By this means the king of France found it more easy to conquer those numerous provinces from England than to subdue a duke of Normandy or Guienne, a count of Anjou, of Maine, or Poictou. And, after reducing such extensive territories, which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility in uniting to the crown the other great fiefs which remained separate and independent.

But, as these important consequences could not be foreseen, the king of France remarked with terror the rising grandeur of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet; and, in order to retard its progress, he had ever maintained a strict union with Stephen, and had endeavoured to support the tottering fortunes of that bold usurper. But after this prince's death it was too late to think of opposing the succession of Henry, or preventing the performance of those stipulations which, with the unanimous consent of the nation, he had made with his predecessor. The English, harassed with civil wars, were little disposed to violate their oaths by excluding the lawful heir from the succession of their monarchy. Many of the most considerable fortresses were in the hands of his partisans; the whole nation had had occasion to see the noble qualities with which he was endowed, and to compare them with the mean talents of William the son of Stephen; and, as they were acquainted with his great power, and were pleased to see the accession of so many foreign dominions to the crown of England, they never entertained the least thoughts of resisting them. Henry, sensible of the advantages attending his situation, was in no hurry to arrive in England; and, being engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to depart from his enterprise till he had brought it to an issue. He then set out on his jour-

Advantages enjoyed by Henry in France.

A third of the French monarchy under his authority.

He is regarded as a foreigner in France.

Other vassals enable the French king to overrun Henry's provinces.

The king of France alarmed at the accession of Henry.

Henry's talents highly appreciated.

He is heartily welcomed in England.

ney, and was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who swore with pleasure the oath of fealty and allegiance to him.

FIRST ACTS OF HENRY'S GOVERNMENT.—1155.

Henry dismisses foreign mercenaries.

The first act of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders, and he sent them abroad, together with William of Ypres their leader, the friend and confident of Stephen. He revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and that princess, who had resigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no opposition to a measure so necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor; and he took proper measures against the like abuse. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and, that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the newly erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries to freebooters and rebels. The earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger the son of Milo of Gloucester, were inclined to make some resistance to this salutary measure; but the approach of the king with his forces soon obliged them to submit.

He demolishes the new castles, and makes important reforms.

Henry visits the French dominions.

Every thing being restored to full tranquillity in England, Henry went abroad to oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey; who, during his absence, had made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, had advanced some pretensions to those provinces, and had got possession of a considerable part of them.* On the king's appearance the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, resigning his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds, de-

parted and took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Hoel their prince, had put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year. The incursions of the Welsh then provoked him to make an invasion upon them; where the natural fastnesses of the country occasioned him great difficulties. His vanguard, being engaged in a narrow pass, was put to rout. Henry de Essex, the hereditary standard bearer, seized with a panic, threw down the standard, took to flight, and exclaimed that the king was slain; and, had not the prince immediately appeared, and led on his troops with great gallantry, the consequence might have proved fatal. For this Essex was afterwards accused of felony by Robert de Montfort; was vanquished in single combat; his estate was confiscated, and he himself was thrust into a convent. The submissions of the Welsh procured them an accommodation with England.

He invades Wales.

The Welsh make submission.

The martial disposition of the princes in that age engaged them to head their own armies in every enterprise, and their feeble authority made it commonly impracticable for them to delegate, on occasion, the command to their generals. Geoffrey, the king's brother, died soon after he had acquired possession of Nantz. Though he had no other title to that country than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants two years before, Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right; and he went over to support his pretensions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Brittany (for these titles are given indifferently by historians to those princes), pretended that Nantz had been lately separated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and on Geoffrey's death he took possession of the disputed territory. Lest the French king should interpose, Henry paid him a visit, an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France; though the former was only five years of age, the latter still in her cradle. Henry now advanced with his

Henry claims Nantz.

He contracts an alliance with France.

* See note G at the end of the volume.

Conan betroths his daughter to Henry's third son.

The king expects new acquisitions

Henry seeks to gain Toulouse.

Defects of an army of feudal vassals.

army into Brittany ; and Conan, in despair, delivered up the county of Nantz to him. The able conduct of the king procured more important advantages from this incident. Conan, harrassed with the turbulent disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch ; and he betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. The duke of Brittany died about seven years after ; and Henry being mesne lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other great dominions.

The king had a prospect of making still farther acquisitions, and suffered no opportunity of that kind to escape him. Philippa, duchess of Guienne, mother of queen Eleanor, was the only issue of William IV. count of Toulouse ; and would have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, desirous of preserving the succession in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother Raymond de St. Gilles by a contract of sale, which was in that age regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the title came to be disputed between the male and female heirs. Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, was the reigning sovereign ; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, this prince had recourse to the king of France, who was so much concerned in policy to prevent the farther aggrandizement of the English monarch. Lewis himself, when married to Eleanor, had asserted the justice of her claim, and had demanded possession of Toulouse ; but he now determined to defend by his power the title of Raymond. Henry found that nothing but a formidable army could maintain a claim which he had in vain asserted by arguments and manifestos.

An army composed of feudal vassals was commonly very intractable and undisciplined, both because of the independent spirit of the persons who served in it, and because the commands were not given, either by the choice of the sovereign, or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his

own vassals ; his rank was greater or less, proportioned to the extent of his property ; even the supreme command under the prince was often attached to birth ; and, as the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days at their own charge, (though, if the expedition were distant, they were put to great expense) the prince reaped little benefit from their attendance. Henry, sensible of these inconveniencies, levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces, a sum of money in lieu of their services ; and this commutation, by reason of the great distance, was still more advantageous to his English vassals. He imposed, therefore, a scutage of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds on the knight's fees ; a commutation to which, though it was unusual, and the first, perhaps, to be met with in history,* the military tenants willingly submitted : and with this money he levied an army, whose service was more durable and constant. Assisted by Berenger count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Nismes, he invaded the county of Toulouse ; and, after taking Verdun, Castlenau, and other places, he besieged the capital of the province, and was likely to prevail when Lewis, advancing before the arrival of his main body, threw himself into the place with a small reinforcement. Henry was urged by some of his ministers to prosecute the siege, to take Lewis prisoner, and to impose his own terms in the pacification ; but he either thought it so much his interest to maintain the feudal principles, by which his foreign dominions were secured, or bore so much respect to his superior lord, that he declared he would not attack a place defended by him in person, and immediately raised the siege. He marched into Normandy to protect that province against an incursion which the count of Dreux, instigated by king Lewis his brother, had made upon it. War was now openly carried on between the two monarchs, but produced no memorable event : it soon ended in a peace ; which was not, however, attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those rival princes. The fortress of Gisors, being part

Henry claims scutage from his vassals.

He invades Toulouse.

A war with France soon followed by a peace.

* See note H at the end of the volume.

of the dowry stipulated to Margaret of France, had been consigned by agreement to the knights templars, on condition that it should be delivered into Henry's hands after the celebration of the nuptials. The king, that he might have a pretence for immediately demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be solemnized between the prince and princess, though both infants; and he engaged the grand master of the templars, by large presents, as was generally suspected, to put him in possession of Gisors. Lewis, resenting this fraudulent conduct, banished the templars, and would have made war upon the king of England, had it not been for the mediation of pope Alexander III., who had been chased from Rome by the antipope Victor IV., and resided at that time in France. The two kings had, the year before, met the pope at the castle of Torci on the Loir; and they gave him such marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and, holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle. 'A spectacle,' cries Baronius in an ecstasy, 'to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!'

Henry, soon after he had accommodated his differences with Lewis by the pope's mediation, returned to England; where he commenced an enterprise, which, though required by sound policy, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without some loss and dishonour.

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONTEST. 1162.

THE usurpations of the clergy, which had been gradual, were now mounted to such a height, that the contest between the regale and pontificale was really arrived at a crisis in England; and it became necessary to determine whether the king or the priests, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, should be sovereign of the kingdom. The aspiring spirit of Henry was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects. From the commencement of his reign he had shewn

a fixed purpose to repress clerical usurpations, and to maintain those prerogatives which had been transmitted to him by his predecessors. During the schism of the papacy between Alexander and Victor, he had determined to remain neuter; and, when informed that the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Mans had acknowledged Alexander as legitimate pope, he was so enraged that, though he spared the archbishop on account of his great age, he immediately issued orders for overthrowing the houses of the bishop of Mans and archdeacon of Rouen;* and it was not till he had deliberately examined the matter by those views which usually enter into the councils of princes, that he allowed that pontiff to exercise authority over any of his dominions. In England, the mild character and advanced years of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merits in refusing to put the crown on the head of Eustace, son of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the lifetime of that primate, from taking any measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy; but after his death the king resolved to exert more activity; and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity Becket, his chancellor, on whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend.

BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THOMAS A BECKET, the first man of English descent who, since the Norman conquest, had, during the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable station, was born of reputable parents in London; and, being endowed both with industry and capacity, he early insinuated himself into the favour of archbishop Theobald, and obtained some preferments. By their means he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return he appeared to have made such proficiency in knowledge,

Henry bent on humbling the clergy.

Rival popes.

The archbishop of Canterbury dies, and is succeeded by Becket.

Becket born in London.

* See note I at the end of the volume.

Transacts
business at
Rome.

He is pro-
moted to
high offices.

Becket lives
sumptu-
ously.

Many
knights in
his service.

that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. He was afterwards employed with success by Theobald in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession he was recommended as worthy of farther preferment. Henry, who knew that Becket had been instrumental in supporting that resolution of the archbishop which had tended so much to facilitate his own advancement, was already prepossessed in his favour; and, finding that his spirit and abilities entitled him to any trust, he soon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor. The chancellor in that age, besides the custody of the great seal, had possession of all vacant prelacies and abbeys; he was the guardian of all such minors and pupils as were the king's tenants; all baronies which escheated to the crown were under his administration; he was entitled to a place in council, even though not particularly summoned; and, as he exercised also the office of secretary of state, and it belonged to him to countersign all commissions, writs, and letters patent, he was concerned in the dispatch of every business of importance. Besides exercising this high office, Becket was made provost of Beverley, dean of Hastings, and constable of the Tower; he was put in possession of the honours of Eye and Berkham, large baronies that had escheated to the crown; and, to complete his grandeur, he was intrusted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldest son. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, exceeded any thing England had ever seen in any subject. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephens, mentions that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs; lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and who could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty floor. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education

for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid, his amusements and occupations were gay. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military actions; he carried over, at his own charge, seven hundred knights, to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy he maintained, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train; and in an embassy to France with which he was intrusted, he astonished that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Henry, besides committing all his important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship, and, whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports, he admitted his chancellor to the party. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz-Stephens, which it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar who was shivering with cold. 'Would it not be very praiseworthy,' said the king, 'to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season?' 'It would, surely,' replied the chancellor; 'and you do well, sir, in thinking of such good actions.' 'Then he shall have one presently,' cried the king; and, seizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time, and they had both like to have tumbled off their horses, when Becket let go his coat, which the king bestowed on the beggar; who, being ignorant of the quality of the persons, was not a little surprised at the present.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good humour had rendered himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his master, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of confining within the ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges, and

The king
attends his
entertain-
ments.

Twelve
hundred
knights
maintained
by Becket.

Familiarity
of the king
and Becket.

Their jocu-
lar strife.

always shewed a ready disposition to comply with them, Henry, who never expected any resistance from that quarter, immediately issued orders for electing him archbishop of Canterbury. But this resolution, which was taken contrary to the opinion of Matilda and many of the ministers, drew after it very unhappy consequences; and never prince of so great penetration appeared to have so little understood the genius and character of his minister.

No sooner was Becket installed in this high dignity, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, with some pretensions of aspiring to be the first, than he totally altered his demeanour and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, of which his former busy and ostentatious course of life might have naturally bereaved him. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending that he must thenceforth be solely employed in the exercise of his spiritual function; but, in reality, that he might break off all connexions with Henry, and apprise him that Becket, as primate of England, was entirely a new personage. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp; in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which he was sensible would have an equal or a greater tendency to the same end. He wore sackcloth next his skin; which, by his affected care to conceal it, was more remarked by all the world: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: his usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he even rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: every one who made profession of

sanctity was admitted to his conversation and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as on the piety and mortification, of the holy primate: he seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers, or in perusing religious discourses: his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness and secret devotion: and all men of penetration plainly saw that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned towards a new and more dangerous object.

QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND BECKET. 1163.

BECKET waited not till Henry should commence those projects against the ecclesiastical power which he knew had been formed: he was himself the aggressor, and endeavoured to overawe the king by the boldness of his enterprises. He summoned the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which ever since the conquest had remained in the family of that nobleman; but which, as it had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury, Becket pretended his predecessors were prohibited by the canons to alienate.* The earl of Clare, besides the greatness of his own birth, and the extent of his possessions, was allied to all the principal families in the kingdom; his sister, who was a celebrated beauty, had farther extended his credit among the nobility, and was even supposed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not better discover, than by attacking so powerful an interest, his resolution of maintaining with vigour the rights, real or pretended, of his see.

William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was patron of a living which belonged to a manor that held of the archbishop of Canterbury; but Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and legal pretext, one Laurence to that living, who was violently expelled by Eynsford. The primate, making himself, as was usual in spiritual courts, both judge and party, issued, in a summary

He seems absorbed in piety & mortification.

Becket claims the barony of Tunbridge.

He intrudes on a manor held by William de Eynsford.

* Prescriptive rights were pleaded by the earl, the lands in question having been a grant to his grandfather by the Conqueror. To which Becket gave the

pitthy reply, that "he knew of no prescription for injustice, and that which had been seized without right must be restored."—Ed.

Eynsford
defends his
rights, and
is excom-
municated.

The king
with diffi-
culty gains
absolution
for him.

Henry still
opposes
clerical
usurpation.

A great
conflict be-
tween the
king and
Becket ex-
pected.

manner, the sentence of excommunication against Eynsford; who complained to the king that he, who held in capite of the crown, should, contrary to the practice established by the Conqueror, and maintained ever since by his successors, be subjected to that terrible sentence without the previous consent of the sovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all personal intercourse with Becket, sent him, by a messenger, his orders to absolve Eynsford; but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate. And it was not till after many remonstrances that Becket, though with the worst grace imaginable, was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

Henry, though grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted, determined not to desist from retrenching clerical usurpations. He was entirely master of his extensive dominions; the prudence and vigour of his administration, attended with perpetual success, had raised his character above that of any of his predecessors; the papacy seemed to be weakened by a schism which divided all Europe; and he rightly judged that, if the present favourable opportunity were neglected, the crown must be in danger of falling into an entire subordination under the mitre.

The union of the civil and ecclesiastical power serves extremely, in every civilized government, to the maintenance of peace and order; and prevents those mutual encroachments which, as there can be no ultimate judge between them, are often attended with the most dangerous consequences. During the progress of ecclesiastical usurpations, the state, by the resistance of the civil magistrate, is naturally thrown into convulsions; and it behoves the prince to provide in time sufficient barriers against so formidable a rival. This precaution had hitherto been much neglected in England, as well as in other catholic countries; and affairs at last seemed to have come to a dangerous crisis. A sovereign of the greatest abilities was now on the throne; a prelate of the most inflexible and intrepid character was possessed of the

primacy; the contending powers appeared to be armed with their full force; and it was natural to expect some extraordinary event to result from their conflict.

Among their other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; and, having introduced the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation, or species of atonement, for the remission of those penances, the sins of the people, by these means, had become a revenue to the priests; and the king computed that by this invention alone they levied more money than flowed, by all the funds and taxes, into the royal exchequer. That he might ease the people of so arbitrary an imposition, Henry required that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should for the future give his consent to every composition made with sinners for their spiritual offences.

The ecclesiastics in that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice, and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes; spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences: and, as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found that no less than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession, been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for these offences; and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers;

Sortid
schemes of
the clergy.

Profits
made by
penances.

Exemp-
tions
claimed by
ecclesiastics.

They com-
mit the
greatest
crimes with
impunity.

Becket
maintains
the privi-
leges of the
church.

maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted than degradation;* and, when the king demanded that immediately after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence.†

Henry, laying hold of so plausible a pretence, resolved to push the clergy with regard to all their privileges, which they had raised to an enormous height, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England; and he put to them this decisive question, Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops unanimously replied that they were willing, saving their own order. A device by which they thought to elude the present urgency of the king's demand, yet reserve to themselves, on a favourable opportunity, the power of resuming all their pretensions. The king left the assembly with visible marks of his displeasure; he required the primate instantly to surrender the honours and castles of Eye and Berkham. The bishops were terrified. Becket alone was inflexible; and nothing but the interposition of the pope's legate and almoner, Philip, could have prevailed on him to retract the saving clause, and give a general and absolute promise of observing the ancient customs.

But Henry was not content with a declaration in these general terms; he resolved to define expressly those customs with which he required compliance, and to put a stop to clerical usurpations before they could plead antiquity, as they already

did, a sacred authority in their favour. The claims of the church were open and visible. After a gradual and insensible progress during many centuries, the mask had at last been taken off; and several ecclesiastical councils, by their canons, which were pretended to be irrevocable and infallible, had positively defined those privileges and immunities which gave such general offence, and appeared so dangerous to the civil magistrate. Henry, therefore, deemed it necessary to define the limits of the civil power; to oppose his legal customs to their divine ordinances; to determine the exact boundaries of the rival jurisdictions; and he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he submitted this great and important question.

CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

1164.

THE barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons which he urged or by his superior authority; the bishops were overawed; and the following laws, commonly called 'the Constitutions of Clarendon,' were voted without opposition. It was enacted that all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts: that the churches belonging to the king's see should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent: that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts: that no person, particularly no clergyman of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's license: that excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their present place of abode: that laics should not be accused in spiritual courts,

* Yet, such was the infatuation of the people, that they believed this man, who could tolerate any crime to aggrandise the church, was the peculiar favourite of heaven. Several old authors, and Baker says, *good ones*, tell that, during the controversy in which he was subsequently engaged, some disorderly persons cut off his horses' tails. Awful punishment ensued, as the offenders' children "were born with tails like horses; and this continued long in the posterity!"—Ed.

† Nothing but devotion, not to the Supreme

Dangerous claims still persisted in by the church.

Henry calls a general council at Clarendon

The constitutions of Clarendon.

Clerks accused of crime to be tried in civil courts.

Henry demands submission from the clergy.

He requires them to submit to law.

Becket resists, but in the end gives way.

No chief-tenant of the crown to be excommunicated without the king's consent.

Bishops to be regarded as barons of the realm.

They are bound to assist the king against refractory barons.

except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses ; that no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under any interdict, except with the king's consent ; that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king ; and should be carried no farther without the king's consent : that, if any law suit arose between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical see, it should first be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged ; and, if it be found to be a lay see, the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts ; that no inhabitant in demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court, till the chief officer of the place where he resides be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give satisfaction to the church : that the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries, should be regarded as barons of the realm ; should possess the privileges, and be subjected to the burdens, belonging to that rank ; and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and assist at all trials, till the sentence, either death or loss of members, be given against the criminal : that the revenue of vacant sees should belong to the king ; the chapter, or such of them as he pleases to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent ; and that the bishop elect should do homage to the crown : that, if any baron or tenant in capite should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make such submissions ; if any of them throw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should assist the king with their censures in reducing him : that goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards : that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise ; but should leave these law suits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts :

and that the sons of villains should not be ordained clerks without the consent of their lord.

These articles, to the number of sixteen, were calculated to put an effectual stop to the usurpations of the church, which had threatened the total destruction of the civil power. Henry, therefore, by reducing those ancient customs of the realm to writing, by passing so many ecclesiastical ordinances in a national and civil assembly, fully established the superiority of the legislature above all papal decrees or spiritual canons, and gained a signal victory. But, as he knew that the bishops would take the first favourable opportunity of denying the authority which had enacted these constitutions, he resolved that they should all set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. None of the prelates dared to oppose his will, except Becket ; who, though urged by the earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the barons of principal authority in the kingdom, obstinately withheld his assent. At last Richard de Hastings, grand prior of the templars in England, threw himself on his knees before him ; and with many tears entreated him, if he paid any regard either to his own safety or that of the church, not to provoke the indignation of a great monarch, who was determined to take full revenge on every one that should dare to oppose him. Becket was at last obliged to comply ; and he promised, legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve, to observe the constitutions ; and he took an oath to that purpose. The king, thinking that he had now finally prevailed in this enterprise, sent the constitutions to pope Alexander, who then resided in France ; and he required that pontiff's ratification : but Alexander, though he had owed most important obligations to the king, plainly saw that these laws were calculated to establish the independency of England on the papacy, of the royal power on the clergy, and condemned them in the strongest terms ; abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only six articles, the least important which, for the sake of peace, he was willing to ratify.

Church usurpation likely to be checked.

The bishops generally assent to the new laws but Becket resists.

He at last takes an oath to observe them.

The pope annuls the constitutions of Clarendon.

Becket, when he observed that he might hope for support, expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance; and endeavoured to engage all the other bishops in a confederacy to adhere to their common rights, in which he represented the interest and honour of God to be deeply concerned. He redoubled his austerities, in order to punish himself for his criminal consent to the constitutions of Clarendon; he proportioned his discipline to the enormity of his supposed offence; and he refused to exercise any part of his archiepiscopal function till he should receive absolution from the pope, which was readily granted him. Henry resolved to take vengeance for this refractory behaviour; and attempted to crush him by means of that very power which Becket made such merit in supporting. He applied to the pope, that he should grant the commission of legate in his dominions to the archbishop of York: but Alexander, as politic as he, though he granted the commission, annexed a clause, that it should not empower the legate to execute any act in prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury; and the king, finding how fruitless such an authority would prove, sent back the commission by the same messenger that brought it.

The primate, however, who found himself still exposed to the king's indignation, endeavoured twice to escape secretly from the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds: and Henry hastened to make him feel the effects of an obstinacy which he deemed so criminal. He instigated John, mareschal of the exchequer, to sue Becket in the archiepiscopal court for some lands, part of the manor of Pageham; and to appeal thence to the king's court for justice. On the day appointed for trying the cause the primate

sent four knights to represent certain irregularities in John's appeal; and at the same time to excuse himself on account of sickness, for not appearing personally. This was represented as a grievous contempt; the four knights with difficulty escaped being sent to prison, as offering falsehoods to the court; and Henry summoned at Northampton a great council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate.

The king had raised Becket from a low station to the highest offices; had honoured him with his friendship; had trusted to his assistance in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy; and, when he found him become of a sudden his most rigid opponent, indignation against such signal ingratitude, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation.* The barons, notwithstanding, in the great council, voted whatever sentence he was pleased to dictate to them; and the bishops themselves, who undoubtedly bore a secret favour to Becket, concurred with the rest in the design of oppressing their primate. In vain did Becket urge that his court was proceeding with the utmost regularity in trying the mareschal's cause; which, however, he said, would appear from the sheriff's testimony to be entirely unjust and iniquitous; that he himself had discovered no contempt of the king's court; but on the contrary, by sending four knights to excuse his absence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: that he also, in consequence of the king's summons, personally appeared at present in the great council, ready to justify his cause against the mareschal; that, even should it be found that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had affixed a very slight penalty to that offence: and that,

The archbishop does not appear.

The king is excited at Becket's conduct.

The bishops concur with Henry.

Becket vindicates his conduct.

* He had hoped to find in Becket a willing agent of popular extortion and oppression, as he had found him a pliable and ready instrument of humiliating the prelates and barons of the realm in his capacity of chancellor. But herein lay the king's mistake. Thomas, a true Saxon in mind, in soul, and in sympathy, rejoiced in afflicting the great men of the nation, who were all Normans, and consequently the enemies and oppressors of his race; but the moment he became archbishop of Canterbury, instead of

lending his aid or countenance to the king towards diminishing the privileges of the inferior clergy and the people, who, it may be necessary to remark, were English or Saxons, he hesitated not to declare that he would be the guardian and protector of his kinsfolk and countrymen."—*Bussy*. It is to be regretted that whatever there was of kindly feeling for the English generally, was lost in the hateful zeal with which he laboured to exalt that particular body, of which he found himself a distinguished member.—*Ed.*

He is condemned for contempt of the king's court.

The primate submits to the decree.

He never objected to its irregularity.

New claims made by the king.

as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiscopal palace was seated, he was by law entitled to some greater indulgence than usual in the rate of his fine. Notwithstanding these pleas, he was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty which he had sworn, all his goods and chattels were confiscated; and, that this triumph over the church might be carried to the utmost, Henry bishop of Winchester, the prelate who had been so powerful in the former reign, was, in spite of his remonstrances, obliged, by order of the court, to pronounce the sentence.* The primate submitted to the decree; and all the prelates, except Folliot bishop of London, who paid court to the king by this singularity, became sureties for him. It is remarkable that several Norman barons voted in this council; and we may conclude with some probability, that a like practice had prevailed in many of the great councils summoned since the conquest: for the contemporary historian, who has given us a full account of these transactions, does not mention this circumstance as any wise singular; and Becket, in all his subsequent remonstrances, never founds any objection on an irregularity, which to us appears very palpable and flagrant. So little precision was there at that time in the government and constitution!

The king was not content with this sentence, however violent and oppressive. Next day he demanded of Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which the primate had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkham while in his possession. Becket, after premising that he was not obliged to answer to this suit, because it

was not contained in his summons; after remarking that he had expended more than that sum in the repairs of those castles, and of the royal palace at London; expressed however his resolution that money should not be any ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: he agreed to pay the sum, and immediately gave sureties for it. In the subsequent meeting the king demanded five hundred marks; which, he affirmed, he had lent Becket during the war at Toulouse; and another sum to the same amount, for which that prince had been surety for him to a Jew. Immediately after these two claims he preferred a third of still greater importance: he required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor; and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelaties, abbies, and baronies, which had been subjected to his management. Becket observed that, as this demand was totally unexpected, he had not come prepared to answer it. The king insisted upon sureties; and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans in a case of such importance.

It is apparent, from the known character of Henry, and from the usual vigilance of his government, that, when he promoted Becket to the see of Canterbury, he was, on good grounds, well pleased with his administration in the former high office with which he had intrusted him; and that, even if that prelate had dissipated money beyond the income of his place, the king was satisfied that his expenses had in the main been calculated for his service. Two years had since elapsed; no demand had, during that time, been made upon him; it was not till the quarrel arose con-

Becket consents to satisfy them.

Still further demands are made by Henry.

They appear to have been unjust.

* The grounds on which Becket justified his general haughty bearing will be collected from the answer which he gave to Robert earl of Leicester, when called upon by that nobleman "to answer what was objected to him, or hear his sentence." Rising up he said, "sentence! yea, son earl, hear you: when the church of Canterbury was given to me, I asked what manner of person that would make me, and it was answered, free and exempt from the king's court. *Et responsum est, liberum et quietum ab omnis nexu Curiali me redderet.* Free therefore and absolute as I am, I will not, nor am I bound, to answer to those things from which I am exempt." He

added "My son earl, observe by how much the soul is more worthy than the body, by so much the more I am to obey God rather than a terrene prince. But neither law nor reason permits that children or sons should condemn or judge their father, and therefore I decline the sentence of the king, yourself, and others, as being to be judged under God alone by the pope: *Unde Regis et tuum et aliorum judicium declino, sub deo solo a Domino papa judicandus.* To whose presence I do before you all appeal, putting both the dignity and order of the church of Canterbury, and my own, with all the things belonging unto them, under God's protection and his."—*State Trials.*—Ed.

cerning ecclesiastical privileges that the claim was started, and the primate was, of a sudden, required to produce accounts of such intricacy and extent. To find sureties that he should answer so boundless and uncertain a claim, which in the king's estimation amounted to forty-four thousand marks, was impracticable; and Becket's suffragans were extremely at a loss what counsel to give him in such a critical emergency. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester, he offered two thousand marks as a general satisfaction for all demands; but this offer was rejected by the king. Some prelates exhorted him to resign his see, on condition of receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion that he ought to submit himself entirely to the king's mercy: but the primate, thus pushed to the utmost, determined to brave all his enemies, to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection, to involve his cause with that of God and religion, and to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation.

After a few days spent in deliberation, Becket went to church, and said mass; where he had previously ordered that the introit to the communion service should begin with these words, 'Princes sat and spake against me;' the passage appointed for the martyrdom of St. Stephen, whom the primate thereby tacitly pretended to resemble in his sufferings for the sake of righteousness. He went thence to court, arrayed in his sacred vestments: as soon as he arrived within the palace gate he took the cross into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments.* The king, who was in an inner room, was astonished at this parade, by which the

primate seemed to menace him and his court with the sentence of excommunication; and sent some of the prelates to remonstrate. These prelates complained to Becket that, by subscribing himself to the constitutions of Clarendon, he had seduced them to imitate his example; and that now, when it was too late, he pretended to shake off all subordination to the civil power, and appeared desirous of involving them in the guilt which must attend any violation of those laws. Becket replied that he had indeed subscribed the constitutions of Clarendon, legally, and without fraud or reserve; but in these words was virtually implied a salvo for the rights of their order, which, being connected with the cause of God and his church, could never be relinquished: that, if he and they had erred in resigning the ecclesiastical privileges, the best atonement they could now make was to retract their consent, and to follow the pope's authority, who had solemnly annulled the constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from all oaths which they had taken to observe them: that a determined resolution was evidently embraced to oppress the church; the storm had first broken upon him; for a slight offence, and which too was falsely imputed to him, he had been tyrannically condemned to a grievous penalty; a new and unheard of claim was since started; and he plainly saw that he was the destined victim, who, by his ruin, must prepare the way for the abrogation of all spiritual immunities: that he strictly inhibited them who were his suffragans from assisting at any such trial, or giving their sanction to any sentence against him; he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff; and appealed

* A very serious view was taken of this proceeding. "He went into the king's chamber, carrying the cross himself erected, expecting the king's coming. The bishops dissuaded this as an indecent posture, and would not that he should have proceeded after this manner. The king took notice of it, and by out-cry, or proclamation, made by an herald, called together all the bishops and great men, to whom he made a great and grievous complaint, that the archbishop had in reproach of himself, and the kingdom, or government, so entered the court as a notable traitor, and so insolently as no christian

prince had ever seen or heard of the like behaviour. All were of the king's opinion, declaring him always a vain and proud man, and that such ignominy not only reflected on the king and kingdom, but upon themselves also, and said it had worthily happened to him, who had made such a man the second person in the kingdom, to whom all were subject, and none his equal. Therefore they all declared him to be a manifest traitor, and to be punished accordingly, who had not according to his oath observed terrene honour toward his prince."—*Brady*.—*Ed.*

Becket appeals to the pontiff against his judges.

to him against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might inflict: and that, however terrible the indignation of so great a monarch as Henry, his sword could only kill the body; while that of the church, intrusted into the hands of the primate, could kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdition.

BANISHMENT OF BECKET.

Appeals to the pope of rare occurrence.

APPEALS to the pope, even in ecclesiastical causes, had been abolished by the constitutions of Clarendon, and were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was a practice altogether unprecedented; it tended directly to the subversion of the government, and could receive no colour of excuse, except from the determined resolution, which was but too apparent in Henry and the great council, to effectuate the total ruin of the inflexible primate. The king would probably have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him; but Becket gave him no leisure to conduct the prosecution. He refused to hear the sentence, which the barons, sitting apart from bishops, and joined to some sheriffs and barons of the second rank,* had given upon the king's claim: he departed from the palace; asked Henry's immediate permission to leave Northampton; and, meeting with a refusal, withdrew secretly; wandered about in disguise for some time; and at last took shipping, and arrived safely at Gravelines.

Becket refuses to hear the sentence given against him by the barons.

He leaves England.

Becket is countenanced by foreign courts.

The violent and unjust prosecution of Becket had a natural tendency to make men overlook his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion. There were many other reasons which procured him countenance in foreign countries. Philip earl of Flanders, and Lewis

king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were well pleased to give him disturbance; and, forgetting that this was the common cause of princes, they affected to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the latter even honoured him with a visit at Soissons, in which city he had invited him to fix his residence. The pope gave a cold reception to a magnificent embassy which Henry sent to accuse him; while Becket himself, who had come to Sens in order to justify his cause before the sovereign pontiff, was received with the greatest marks of distinction. The king, in revenge, sequestered the revenues of Canterbury; and banished all the primate's relations and domestics, to the number of four hundred; whom he obliged to swear, before their departure, that they would instantly join their patron. But this policy, by which Henry endeavoured to reduce Becket sooner to necessity, lost its effect. The pope, when they arrived beyond sea, absolved them from their oath, and distributed them among the convents in France and Flanders: a residence was assigned to Becket in the convent of Pontigny; where he lived for some years in great magnificence, partly from a pension granted him on the revenues of that abbey, partly from remittances made by the French monarch.

He is supported by the pope and King of France.

The king sequesters the revenues of Canterbury.

Becket resides at Pontigny.

The more to ingratiate himself with the pope, Becket resigned into his hands the see of Canterbury, to which, he affirmed, he had been uncanonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate; and Alexander, besides investing him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the sentence which the great council of England had passed against him. Henry, after attempting in vain to procure a conference with the pope, who departed soon after for Rome, made provisions against the consequences of that breach which impended between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penal-

He gives up his see to the pope.

Henry seeks a reconciliation with the pope in vain.

* This historian is supposed to mean the more considerable vassals of the chief barons: these had no title to sit in the great council, and the giving them a place there was a palpable irregularity; which

however is not insisted on in any of Becket's remonstrances. A farther proof how little fixed the constitution was at that time.

He opposes the pope's mandates by severe decrees.

He opposes the clergy from obeying the interdicts of the pope.

The spiritual & civil equality with the civil power.

Henry rescinds the constitutions of the church.

ties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and punishable in secular clergymen by the loss of their eyes and by castration, in regulars by amputation of their feet, and in laics with death; and menacing with sequestration and banishment the persons themselves, as well as their kindred, who should pay obedience to any such interdict: and he farther obliged all his subjects to swear to the observance of these orders. Those were edicts of the utmost importance; and even changed, for a time, the national religion, by breaking off all communication with Rome: yet were they enacted by sole authority of the king, and derived entirely from his will and pleasure.

The spiritual powers, which in the primitive church were, in a great measure, dependent on the civil, had, by a gradual progress, reached an equality and independence; and, though the limits of the two jurisdictions were difficult to ascertain or define, it was not impossible but, by moderation on both sides, government might still have been conducted in that imperfect and irregular manner which attends all human institutions. But, as the ignorance of the age encouraged the ecclesiastics daily to extend their privileges, and even to advance maxims totally incompatible with civil government,* Henry had thought it high time to put an end to their pretensions, and formally, in a public council, to fix those powers which belonged to the magistrate, and which he was determined to maintain. In this attempt he was led to re-establish customs, which, though ancient, were beginning to be abolished by a contrary practice, and which were still more strongly opposed by the prevailing opinions and sentiments of the age. Principle, therefore, stood on the one side, power on the other; and, if the English had been actuated by conscience more than by present interest, the

controversy must soon have been decided against him. Becket filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured; he took it for granted that his cause was the cause of God; he assumed the character of champion for the patrimony of the Divinity; he pretended to be the spiritual father of the king and all the people of England; he even told Henry that kings reign solely by the authority of the church; and, though he had thus torn off the veil, he seemed still, from the general favour borne him by the ecclesiastics, to have all the advantage in the argument. The king, that he might employ the weapons of temporal power remaining in his hands, suspended the payment of Peter's pence; he made advances towards an alliance with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was engaged in violent wars with pope Alexander; he discovered some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III., the present antipope, who was protected by that emperor; and by these expedients he endeavoured to terrify the enterprising though prudent pontiff from proceeding to extremities against him.

But the violence of Becket, still more than the nature of the controversy, kept affairs from remaining long in suspense. That prelate, instigated by revenge, and animated by the present glory attending his situation, issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, and comprehending in general all those who favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon. These constitutions he annulled; he absolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself, only that the prince might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.

The situation of Henry was so unhappy, that he could employ no expedient for saving his ministers from this terrible cen-

Becket compares to the king's violence.

Becket declares his cause to be that of God.

Henry attempts to intimidate the pope.

Becket annuls the constitutions of Clarendon.

* 'Quis dubitet,' says Becket to the king, 'sacerdotes Christi regum et principum, omniumque

fidelium et magistrorum censerent?' Epist. S. Thom. p. 96, 148.

Henry again appeals to the pope.

Becket commands the sequestered English bishops to be restored.

Henry and Becket negotiate.

He obtains from Rome a dispensation for the marriage of his son.

sure, but by appealing to the pope himself, and having recourse to a tribunal whose authority he had himself attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals. Becket had obtained from the pope a legantine commission over England; and, in virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he summoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, to attend him; and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclesiastics sequestered on his account to be restored in two months to all their benefices. But John of Oxford, the king's agent with the pope, had the address to procure orders for suspending this sentence; and he gave the pontiff such hopes of a speedy reconciliation between the king and Becket, that two legates, William of Pavia and Otho, were sent to Normandy, where the king then resided; and they endeavoured to find expedients for that purpose; but the pretensions of the parties were, as yet, too opposite to admit of an accommodation. The king required that all the constitutions of Clarendon should be ratified; Becket, that, previously to any agreement, he and his adherents should be restored to their possessions: and the negotiation came to nothing. The cardinal of Pavia, being much attached to Henry, took care to protract the negotiation; to mitigate the pope, by the accounts which he sent of that prince's conduct; and to procure him every possible indulgence from Rome. About this time the king had the address to obtain a dispensation for the marriage of his third son Geoffrey with the heiress of Brittany; a concession which, considering Henry's demerits towards the church, gave great scandal both to Becket and to his zealous patron the king of France.

The intricacies of the feudal law had rendered the boundaries of power between the prince and his vassals, and between one prince and another, as uncertain as those between the crown and the mitre; and all wars took their origin from disputes which ought to have been decided only before a court of judicature. Henry, in prosecution of some controversies with the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the duchy of Guienne, had invaded the territories of

that nobleman; who had recourse to the king of France, his superior lord, for protection, and thereby kindled a war between the two monarchs. But this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations than it was frivolous in its cause; and, after some mutual depredations, and some insurrections among the barons of Poictou and Guienne, was terminated by a peace. The terms were rather disadvantageous to Henry, and prove that that prince had, by reason of his contest with the church, lost the superiority which he had hitherto maintained over France; an additional motive to him for accommodating those differences.

The pope and the king began at last to perceive that neither of them could expect a decisive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration of the controversy. Though the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; and, if England itself could, by its situation, be more easily guarded against the contagion of superstitious prejudices, his French provinces at least would be much exposed, on that account, to some great revolution or convulsion. He could not, therefore, reasonably imagine that the pope, while he retained such a check upon him, would formally recognise the constitutions of Clarendon; which both put an end to papal pretensions in England, and would give an example to other states of exerting a like independency. Pope Alexander, on the other hand, being still engaged in dangerous wars, might justly apprehend that Henry would join the party of his enemy. The disposition of minds on both sides, produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation. The nuncios Gratian and Vivian, having received a commission to endeavour a reconciliation, met with the king in Normandy; and, after all the differences seemed to be adjusted, Henry offered to sign the treaty, with a salvo to his royal dignity; which gave such umbrage to Becket, that the negotiation became fruitless, and the excommunications were renewed against the king's ministers. Another negotiation was

A war with France.

Peace restored.

Henry and the pope desirous of a reconciliation.

Each dreads the influence of the other.

Fruitless negotiations.

conducted at Montmirail, in presence of the king of France and the French prelates; where Becket also offered to make his submissions, with a salvo to the honour of God and the liberties of the church; which, for a like reason, was extremely offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference, under the same mediation, was broken off by Becket's insisting on a like reserve in his submissions: and even in a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, which it was usual for princes to grant in those times, and which was regarded as a sure pledge of forgiveness, Henry refused him that honour, under pretence that he had made a rash vow to that purpose. This formality served to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and, though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by a dispensation which the pope granted to Henry from his vow, that prince could not be prevailed on to depart from the resolution which he had taken.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch; 'There have been many kings of England, some of greater, some of less, authority than myself; there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury; holy and good men; and entitled to every kind of respect; let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us.' Lewis was so struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendship; but the bigotry of that prince, and their common animosity against Henry, soon produced a renewal of their former good correspondence.

COMPROMISE WITH, AND RETURN OF, BECKET. 1170.

ALL difficulties were at last adjusted; and

the king allowed Becket to return, on conditions both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making farther submission, be restored to all their livings; and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for concessions which entrenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict which was ready to be laid on all his dominions. It was easy to see how much he dreaded that event, when a prince of so high a spirit could submit to terms so dishonourable to prevent it. So anxious was Henry to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity; and even, on one occasion, humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted.

But the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from these expedients. During the heat of this quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and a sentence of excommunication to be fulminated against his person, he had thought it prudent to have his son, prince Henry, associated with him in royalty, and to make him be crowned king by the hands of Roger archbishop of York. By this precaution he both ensured the succession of that prince; and he preserved at least his family on the throne, if the sentence of excommunication should have the effect which he dreaded,* and should make his subjects renounce

The difficulties between Henry and Becket terminated.

Great concessions made to the prelate.

Henry holds Becket's stirrup.

Henry's son crowned.

* What moved the king with this precipitation, (to be beforehand with his grave,) may be deemed the jealousies which he had apprehended by his

brother's example, who, for all the oath of fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it through the working of the clergy; and was considering in

The ceremony forbidden by Becket.

It is protested against by the king of France.

The ceremony to be renewed to the prince, and extended to the princess.

The Archbishop of York suspended.

allegiance to him. Though this design was conducted with expedition and secrecy, Becket, before it was carried into execution, had got intelligence of it; and, being desirous of obstructing all Henry's measures, as well as anxious to prevent this affront to himself, who pretended to the sole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate in the coronation, he had inhibited all the prelates from assisting at this ceremony; had procured from the pope a mandate to the same purpose; and had incited the king of France to protest against the coronation of young Henry, unless the princess, daughter of that monarch, should at the same time receive the royal unction. There prevailed in that age an opinion, akin to its other superstitions, that the royal unction was essential to the exercise of the royal power; it was therefore natural both for the king of France, careful of his daughter's establishment, and for Becket, jealous of his own dignity, to demand, in the treaty with Henry, some satisfaction in this essential point. Henry, after apologising to Lewis for the omission, and excusing it on account of the secrecy and despatch requisite for the conducting that measure, promised that the ceremony should be renewed in the persons both of the prince and princess; and he assured Becket that, besides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger and the other bishops for the seeming affront, the primate should, as a farther satisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in this coronation. But the violent spirit of Becket, elated by the power of the church, and by the victory which he had already obtained, was not content with this voluntary compensation; but resolved to make the injury, which he pretended to have suffered, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in England he met the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy: he notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two

what terms . . . with them, and that, although he had won . . . w bishops unto him, was sure they loved him not, and what they might work with

bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. Reginald de Warrene, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of the king's ministers who were employed on their duty in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom? But the primate, heedless of the reproof, proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, he was received with acclamations. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. And, though he was obliged, by order of the young prince, who resided at Woodstoke, to return to his diocese, he found that he was not mistaken when he reckoned upon the highest veneration of the public towards his person and his dignity. He proceeded, therefore, with the more courage to dart his spiritual thunders; he issued the sentence of excommunication against Robert de Broc and Nigel de Sackville, with many others, who either had assisted at the coronation of the prince, or been active in the late persecution of the exiled clergy. This violent measure, by which he in effect denounced war against the king himself, is commonly ascribed to the vindictive disposition and imperious character of Becket; but we are not in his passions alone to look for the cause of his conduct, when he proceeded to these extremities. His sagacity had led him to discover all Henry's intentions; and he proposed, by this bold and unexpected assault, to prevent the execution of them.

The king, from his experience of the dispositions of his people, was become sensible that his enterprise had been too bold in establishing the constitutions of Clarendon; and in endeavouring to extort from the church of England, as well as from the pope, an express avowal of these

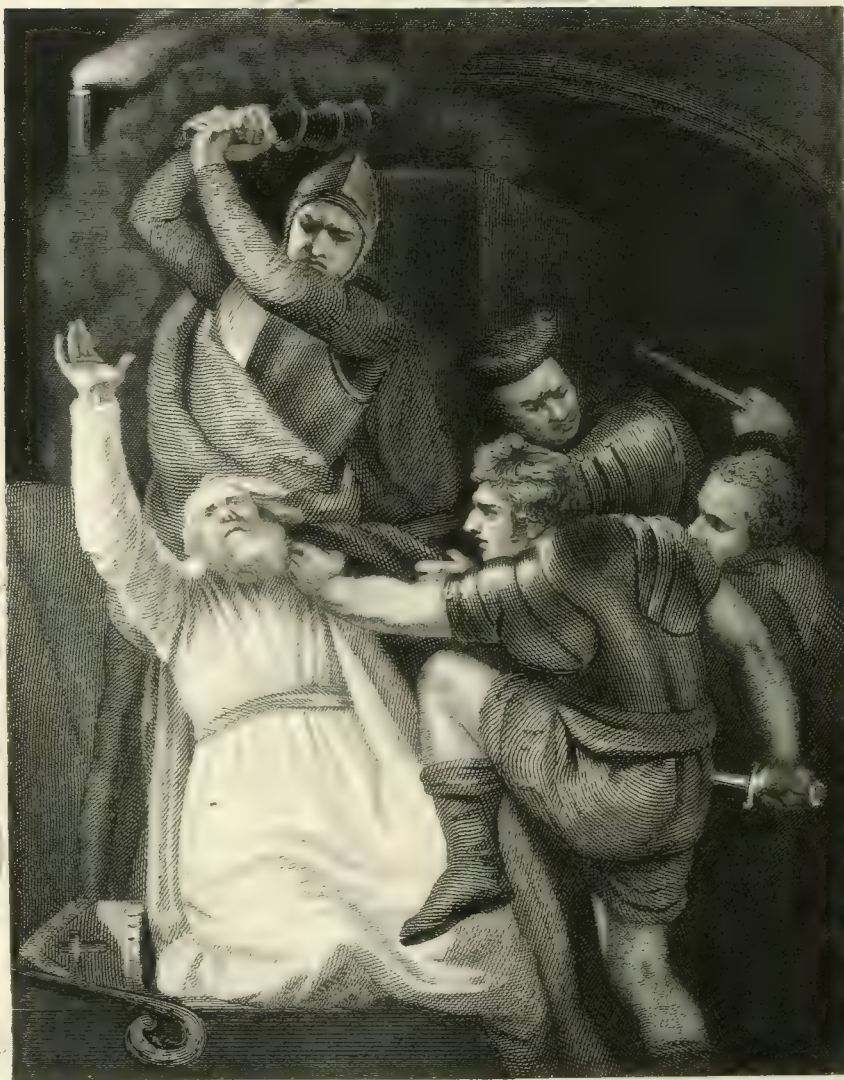
the people, if himself should fail, make him overdo his work."—*Daniel*.—ED.

The bishops of London and Salisbury excommunicated.

Triumphant return of Becket.

He pursues his enemies with rigour.

Henry feels that he had acted rashly.



disputed prerogatives. Conscious also of his own violence, he was not displeased to undo that which had given his enemies such advantage; and he was contented that the controversy should determine in that ambiguous manner, which was the utmost that princes in those ages could hope to attain in their disputes with the see of Rome. Though he dropped the prosecution of Becket, he still reserved to himself the right of maintaining that the constitutions of Clarendon, the original ground of the quarrel, were both the ancient customs and the present law of the realm; and, though he knew that the papal clergy asserted them to be impious in themselves, as well as abrogated by the sentence of the sovereign pontiff, he intended steadily to put those laws in execution, and to trust to the course of events, for success. He hoped that Becket's experience of a six years' exile would, after his pride was fully gratified by his restoration, be sufficient to teach him more reserve in his opposition; or, if any controversy arose, he expected to maintain with advantage, while the primate was in his power, the ancient and undoubted customs of the kingdom against the usurpations of the clergy. But Becket, assured of support from Rome, was little intimidated by dangers, which his courage taught him to despise, and which, even if attended with the most fatal consequences, would serve only to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory.

MURDER OF BECKET.

WHEN the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux, where the king then resided, and complained of the violent

proceedings of Becket, he instantly foresaw that the dangerous contest between the civil and spiritual powers (a contest which he himself had first roused, but which he had endeavoured, by all his late negotiations and concessions, to appease) must come to an immediate and decisive issue; and he was thence thrown into the most violent commotion. The archbishop of York remarked to him that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace. The king, vehemently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants; whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate.* Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from the court. Some menacing expressions, which they had dropped, gave a suspicion of their design; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders arrived too late. The assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived about the same time at Saltwoode, near Canterbury; and, being there joined by some assistants, proceeded to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and, though they threw out many menaces, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against violence, he immediately went to St. Benedict's church to hear vespers.† They followed him

* However sincere and lasting Henry's grief and contrition might be in the sequel, it cannot be denied that the language imputed to him on this occasion indicated, with sufficient clearness, a wish that the archbishop might be removed. "What!" he exclaimed, "dare a wretch who hath eaten my bread, a beggar that first came to my court on a limping pack-horse, carrying all his estate in a wallet behind him, dare he insult his king, the royal family, and trample on the whole kingdom, and will none of the lazy cowardly knights I now feed at my table deliver me from the outrages of this turbulent priest!"—ED.

† He refused to make any concession. The barons,

on their departure, charged his servants not to suffer him to flee. Becket, who overheard them, replied with great vehemence, "I will never flee from any man living. I am not come to flee, but to defy the rage of impious assassins." The barons, after this, having put on their coats of mail, and taking each a sword in his right hand and an axe in his left, they returned to the palace, and thence followed him to the church. Those about him would have closed the door, but he exclaimed, "Begone, ye cowards! I charge you, on your obedience, do not shut the door. What! make a castle of a church!"—Lord Lyttleton.

Henry is distressed at Becket's ingratitude.

Four gentlemen of the king's household conspire his death.

They seek Becket at Canterbury.

The murder of the prelate at the altar.

Becket appears to have been sincere.

The literature of the time enlisted on the side of the clergy.

thither, attacked him before the altar; and, having cloven his head with many blows,* retired without meeting any opposition.† This was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket; a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit; who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for religion. An extraordinary personage, surely, had he been allowed to remain in his first station, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the support of law and justice; instead of being engaged by the prejudices of the times, to sacrifice all private duties and public connexions to ties which he presented as superior to every civil and political consideration. No man can reasonably doubt of this prelate's sincerity. The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careless reasoner, much more every one whose interest, honour, and ambition, were engaged to support it. All the wretched literature of the times was enlisted on that side. Some faint glimmerings of common sense might sometimes pierce through the thick cloud of

* To the last Becket met his assailants with the same determination, "neither his mynde seemed any to be wored with feare, or his body astonished with horror. To whom one of the cruel knightes in the spirit of fary sayd, "Thou shalt instantly dye, for it is impossible thou shouldest longer live." Whereunto the archbishop answered with no less constancy of wordes than mynde, "I am prepared to dye for the cause of God, the defence of justice, and the liberty of the church: but if ye seek my life, I forbid yee on the beehalfe of Almighty God, and under the paine of incurring his curse, to hurt any way any other, bee hee monke, bee hee cleerke, bee hee layman, bee hee more, bee hee lesse, but let them be free from the paine, as they are no parties to the cause."—*The Life or the Ecclesiastical Historie of S. Thomas, Archbishops of Caterbury, Colloniae, 1639.*

The butchery which followed was most revolting. "They now rushed upon him, and endeavoured to drag him out of the church, with an intention (as they afterwards declared themselves) to carry him in bonds to the king; or if they could not do that, to kill him in a less sacred place. But he clinging fast to one of the pillars of the choir, they could not force him from thence. During the struggle he shook William de Tracy so roughly, that he almost threw him down; and as Reginald Fitz-Urse prest harder upon him than any of the others, he thrust him away and called him *pimp*. This opprobrious language more enraged that violent man; he lifted up his

ignorance, or, what was worse, the illusions of perverted science, which had blotted out the sun, and enveloped the face of nature: but those, who preserved themselves untainted by the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to justify. They were more indebted to their total want of instruction than to their knowledge, if they still retained some share of understanding. Folly was possessed of all the schools, as well as all the churches; and her votaries assumed the garb of philosophers, together with the ensigns of spiritual dignities. Throughout that large collection of letters which bears the name of St. Thomas, we find, in all the retainers of that aspiring prelate, no less than in himself, a most entire and absolute conviction of the reason and piety of their own party, and a disdain of their antagonists. The spirit of revenge, violence, and ambition, which accompanied their conduct, instead of forming a presumption of hypocrisy, are the surest pledges of their sincere attachment to a cause which so much flattered these domineering passions.

Ignorance of Becket's followers.

They are satisfied with their own piety.

sword against the head of Becket, who then bowing his neck, and joining his hands together in a posture of prayer, recommended his own soul and the cause of the church to God, and to the saints of that cathedral. But Edward Grime, one of the monks of Canterbury, interposed his arm to ward off the blow; it was almost cut off; and the archbishop also was wounded in the crown of his head. He stood a second stroke, which likewise fell on his head, in the same devout posture, without a motion, word, or groan; but after receiving a third he fell prostrate on his face; and all the accomplices pressing now to a share in the murder, a piece of his skull was struck off by Richard Brito. Lastly, Hugh the sub-deacon, who had joined them at Canterbury, scooped out the brains of the dead archbishop on the point of his sword, and scattered them over the pavement."

Lord Lyttleton.

The exact spot on which he died is still shewn at Canterbury. A portion of the stone marked by his blood, was carefully cut out, and carried to Rome as a precious relic, to be added to the treasures of the Vatican.—Ed.

† "The conduct of the actors in this dismal scene was very unlike that of common murderers. "When they had executed all they thought proper to do, they left Canterbury, passed the night in the country; but the next morning they again assembled in arms without the walls of the city; at which the monks were alarmed, and, apprehensive of some outrage

GRIEF AND SUBMISSION OF THE KING. 1171.

HENRY, on the first report of Becket's violent measures, had purposed to have him arrested: but the intelligence of his murder threw the prince into great consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had reason to apprehend. An archbishop of reputed sanctity assassinated before the altar, in the exercise of his functions, and on account of his zeal in maintaining ecclesiastical privileges, must attain the highest honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the most bloody tyrants that ever were exposed to the detestation of mankind. Interdicts and excommunications would, he foresaw, be armed with double force employed in a cause so calculated to work on the human passions, and so peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. These considerations gave the king the most unaffected concern; and, as it was extremely his interest to clear himself from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He shut himself up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his servants; he even refused, during three days, all food and sustenance. The courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his despair, were at last obliged to break in upon his solitude; and they employed every topic of consolation, induced him to accept of nourishment, and occupied his leisure in taking precautions against the consequences which he so justly apprehended.

The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the pope of his innocence, or rather to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submissions of England than from proceeding to

extremities against that kingdom. The archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, with five persons of inferior quality, were immediately dispatched to Rome; and orders were given them to perform their journey with the utmost expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors (who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age) found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet. It was at length agreed that Richard Barre, one of their number, should leave the rest behind, and run all the hazards of the passage, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might ensue from any delay in giving satisfaction to his holiness. He found, on his arrival, that Alexander was already wrought up to the greatest rage against the king, that Becket's partisans were daily stimulating him to revenge, that the king of France had exhorted him to fulminate the most dreadful sentence against England,* and that the very mention of Henry's name before the sacred college was received with every expression of horror and execration. The Thursday before Easter was now approaching, when it is customary for the pope to denounce annual curses against all his enemies; and it was expected that Henry should, with all the preparations peculiar to the discharge of that sacred artillery, be solemnly comprehended in the number.† But Barre found means to appease the

He sends an embassy to Rome.

He is at Rome.

The pope is greatly exasperated.

He is ultimately appeased.

against the primate's dead body, made haste to inter it in the church. Nothing was done to disturb it; the four knights departed out of Kent; and, without even endeavouring to see the young king, or any of his ministers, went together to a castle, which belonged to Hugh of Moreville, at Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, where they stayed for many months."—*Lord Luttleton.*

* Lewis had written to the pope, calling on him to draw the sword of St. Peter against Henry, "that horrible persecutor of God, who surpassed Nero in cruelty, Julian in apostacy, and Judas in treachery."—*Ed.*

† The curses which the pope occasionally put forth, if words can harm, were not a little formidable. About the commencement of this century the art of

Alarm of Henry on account of Becket's death.

He expects interdicts from Rome.

He gives himself up to despair.

The king resolves to make submission to the pope.

The murderers are excommunicated.

An enquiry ordered.

Becket's merit is extolled by the clergy.

He is canonized.

pontiff. The anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors, of Becket's murder. The abbot of Valasse, and the archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, with others of Henry's ministers, who soon after arrived, besides asserting their prince's innocence, made oath before the whole consistory that he would stand to the pope's judgment in the affair, and make every submission. The cardinals Albert and Theodin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose; and, though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict by the archbishop of Sens, Becket's great partisan, and the pope's legate in France, the general expectation, that the king would easily exculpate himself, prevented all the bad consequences which might be dreaded from that sentence.

The clergy, meanwhile, though their rage was happily diverted from falling on the king, were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in exalting him above all that devoted tribe who in several ages had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the temple. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his reliques were more numerous, more nonsensical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any confessor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by pope Alexander; a solemn jubilee was established for celebrating his merits; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of Christendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with heaven; and it was computed that in one year above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived in Canterbury and paid their devotions at

his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection to those who are actuated by the love of fame, that the wisest legislator, and most exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of praise as are lavished on the memory of pretended saints; whose whole conduct was probably to the last degree odious or contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a personage no less entitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory.

It may not be amiss to remark, before we conclude the subject of Thomas a Becket, that the king, during his controversy with that prelate, was on every occasion more anxious than usual to express his zeal for religion, and to avoid all appearance of profane negligence. He gave his consent to the imposing of a tax on all his dominions for the delivery of the holy land, now threatened by the famous Saladine. This tax amounted to two pence a pound for one year, and a penny a pound for the four subsequent. Almost all the princes of Europe laid a like imposition on their subjects, which received the name of Saladine's tax. During this period there came over from Germany about thirty heretics of both sexes, under the direction of one Gerard; simple ignorant people, who could give no account of their faith, but declared themselves ready to suffer for the tenets of their master. They made only one convert in England, a woman as ignorant as themselves; yet they gave such umbrage to the clergy that they were delivered over to the secular arm, and were burned on the forehead, and then whipped through the streets. They seemed to exult in their sufferings, and as they went along sung the beatitude, 'Blessed are ye when men hate

Pilgrimages are made to his tomb.

Pretended saints and conquerors pronounced by the world.

A tax imposed for delivery of holy land.

German fanatics visit England.

They are publicly whipped.

imprecation seems, from a bull issued by Pope Clement VI., to have reached perfection. "May God," said he, speaking of Louis of Bavaria, "smite him with madness and disease; may heaven crush him with its thunderbolts; may the wrath of God, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, fall on him in this world and the next; may the whole universe combine against him; may the earth swallow him up

alive; may his name perish in the first generation, and his memory disappear from the earth; may all the elements conspire against him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be massacred before the eyes of their father." To suffer under all these maledictions, something like the plurality of lives proverbially given to the feline race would be necessary.—ED.

you and persecute you.' After they were whipped they were thrust out, almost naked, in the midst of winter, and perished through cold and hunger; no one daring or being willing to give them the least relief. We are ignorant of the particular tenets of these people. It is probable that their departure from the standard of orthodoxy was still more subtle and minute. They seem to have been the first that ever suffered for heresy in England.

As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition against Ireland; by which he hoped to recover his credit, somewhat impaired by his late transactions with the hierarchy.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY II.

STATE OF IRELAND.—CONQUEST OF THAT ISLAND.—THE KING'S ACCOMMODATION WITH ROME.—REVOLT OF YOUNG HENRY AND HIS BROTHERS.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—PENANCE OF HENRY FOR BECKET'S MURDER.—KING OF SCOTLAND TAKEN PRISONER.—THE KING'S ACCOMMODATION WITH HIS SONS.—THE KING'S EQUITABLE ADMINISTRATION.—DEATH OF YOUNG HENRY.—CRUSADES.—REVOLT OF PRINCE RICHARD.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF HIS REIGN.

STATE OF IRELAND.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ireland probably from Britain; and the inhabitants of all these countries seem to have been so many tribes of the Celtæ, who derive their origin from an antiquity that lies far beyond the records of any history or tradition. The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and, as they were never invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of

society, and were distinguished by those vices alone to which human nature, not tamed by education, or restrained by laws, is for ever subject. The small principalities, into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other; the uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions; the usual title of each petty sovereign was the murderer of his predecessor; courage and force, though exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and tillage and agriculture were almost wholly unknown among them. They had felt the invasions of the Danes and other northern tribes; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish; and the only towns which were to be found in the island had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country; sought protection from any danger in their forests and morasses; and were still more intent on the means of mutual injury than on the expedients for common, or even for private, interest.

Besides many small tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal sovereignties in the island; Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and, as it had been usual for the one of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince who seemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed, even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measures, either for the establishment of order, or for defence. The ambition of Henry had, very early, been moved by the prospect of these advantages to attempt the subjection of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people who, confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpose he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires; and, not foreseeing the dangerous disputes

Succession to the throne regulated by murder.

The barbarisms of the Danes was civilization to Ireland.

Five sovereignties headed by Roderic king of Connaught.

Henry seeks a pretext for invading Ireland.

He applies for the sanction of pope Adrian III.

The pope issues a bull in favour of the enterprise.

He extorts Henry to extirpate the wickedness of the Irish.

Henry defers the invasion.

which he was one day to maintain with that see, he helped, for an imaginary convenience, to give sanction to claims now become dangerous to all sovereigns. Adrian III., who then filled the papal chair, was by birth an Englishman; and, being disposed to oblige Henry, he was easily persuaded to act as master of the world, and to make the acquisition of a great island to his spiritual jurisdiction. The Irish had, by precedent missions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Christianity; and, what the pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, they had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in 1156, issued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premising that this prince had ever shewn an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven, he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives: he considers his previously applying for the apostolic sanction a sure earnest of success: and, having established it as a point incontestable that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the gospel, which might fructify to their eternal salvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the see of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the island; commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign; and invests with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men. Henry did not immediately put his design in execution; but, being detained by more interesting business on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himself odious to his subjects; who seized the first occasion of throwing off the yoke. This prince had formed a design on Dovergilda, wife of Oronic prince of Breffny;

and, taking advantage of her husband's absence, (who had left his wife secure, as he thought, in an island surrounded by a bog,) he suddenly invaded the place, and carried off the princess. This exploit, though usual among the Irish, and rather deemed a proof of gallantry and spirit, provoked the husband; who, being strengthened by the alliance of Roderic king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourse to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne; craved his assistance in restoring him; and offered to hold his kingdom in vassalage under the crown of England. Henry readily accepted the offer; but, being embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, he declined for the present embarking in the enterprise, and gave Dermot no farther assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, supported by his authority, came to Bristol; and, after endeavouring, though for some time in vain, to engage adventurers, he formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul. This nobleman, who was of the illustrious house of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expensive pleasures; and, being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised assistance to Dermot, on condition that he should espouse Eva daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was assembling his succours Dermot went into Wales; and, meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he also obtained their promise of invading Ireland. Being now assured of succour, he returned privately to his own state; and, lurking in the monastery of Fernes, which he had founded (for this ruffian was a founder of monasteries), he prepared for the reception of his English allies.

CONQUEST OF IRELAND. 1172.

THE troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. That gentleman landed in Ireland

Dermot king of Leinster, carries off an Irish princess, and is expelled the kingdom.

He solicits Henry to aid his revenge; and offers vassalage.

Dermot forms a treaty with Strongbow and others.

He returns to England to wait for his allies.

Ireland invaded.



Discipline almost unknown in Ireland.

Wexford taken.

Dermot aspires to sole dominion over the Irish.

Earl Richard visits Normandy, and returns to Ireland with knights and followers.

Waterford taken.

with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. But this small body, being brave men, not unacquainted with discipline, and completely armed, (a thing almost unknown in Ireland), struck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergast, who about the same time brought over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the siege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes: and he made himself master of the place. Soon after, Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and, being joined by the former adventurers, composed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit, and give hostages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being restored to Leinster, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aspired to sole dominion over the Irish.

In prosecution of these views he sent over a messenger to the earl of Strigul, displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not satisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his subjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permission, prepared for the execution of his designs. He first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers; who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish that had ventured to attack him; and, as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious English, they made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural son, who had been left as a hostage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic and the other Irish princes, combining together, besieged Dublin with

an army of thirty thousand men: but earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of ninety knights with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and made preparations to attack Ireland in person. But Richard, and the other adventurers, found means to appease him, by offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown. That monarch landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers. He found the Irish so dispirited, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some lands on the English adventurers; gave earl Richard the commission of seneschal of Ireland; and after a few months, returned in triumph to England. By these trivial exploits was Ireland subdued, and annexed to the English crown.

The low state of commerce and industry, during those ages, made it impracticable for princes to support regular armies, which might retain a conquered country in subjection; and the extreme barbarism and poverty of Ireland could still less afford means of bearing the expense. The only expedient, by which a durable conquest could then be maintained, was by pouring in a multitude of new inhabitants, dividing among them the lands of the vanquished, and thereby transforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy the northern invaders of old, and of late the duke of Normandy, had been able to fix their dominions; and to erect kingdoms which were transmitted to the posterity of the first conquerors. But the state of Ireland rendered that island so little inviting to the English, that only a few of desperate fortunes could be persuaded to transport themselves thither; and, instead of reclaiming the natives, they were gradually assimilated to the ancient inhabitants, and degenerated from the

The Irish princes are defeated with great slaughter.

The English adventurers recalled.

Henry lands in Ireland.

He receives homage from the Irish, and returns to England.

Policy of ancient invaders.

The invaders of Ireland assimilated with the original Irish.

Arbitrary powers are exercised by commanders in Ireland.

Ireland through four centuries not fully subdued.

Henry is summoned by the pope's legates to Normandy.

customs of their own nation.* It was also found requisite to bestow great military and arbitrary powers on the leaders, who commanded a handful of men amidst such hostile multitudes; and law and equity became as much unknown in the English settlements as they had ever been among the Irish tribes. Palatinates were erected in favour of the new adventurers; independent authority conferred; the natives, never fully subdued, still retained their animosity against the conquerors; their hatred was retaliated; and from these causes the Irish, during four centuries, remained savage and untractable. It was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign that the island was fully subdued; nor till that of her successor that it gave hopes of becoming a useful conquest to the English nation.

THE KING'S ACCOMMODATION WITH ROME.

BESIDES that the easy submission of the Irish left Henry no farther occupation in that island, he was recalled by another incident, which was of the last importance. The two legates Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of archbishop Becket, were arrived in Normandy; and, being impatient of delay, sent him frequent letters, full of menaces if he protracted any longer making his appearance before them. He hastened to Normandy, and had a conference with them at Savigny; where their demands were so exorbitant that he broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade them do their worst. They perceived that the season was now past for taking advantage of that tragical incident. The time which Henry had happily gained had contributed to appease the minds of men; the event could not now have the same influence as when it was recent; and, as the clergy every day looked for an accommodation

with the king, they had not opposed the pretensions of his partisans, who had been very industrious in representing to the people his entire innocence in the murder, and his ignorance of the designs formed by the assassins. The legates, therefore, found themselves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry was so fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them. He declared upon oath, before the reliques of the saints, that, so far from commanding or desiring the death of the archbishop, he was extremely grieved when he received intelligence of it; but, as the passion which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct had probably been the occasion of his murder, he stipulated the following conditions as an atonement. He promised that he should pardon all such as had been banished for adhering to Becket, and should restore them to their livings; that the see of Canterbury should be reinstated in all its ancient possessions; that he should pay the templars a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights during a year in the holy land; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following, and, if the pope required it, serve three years against the infidels either in Spain or Palestine; that he should not insist on the observance of customs, derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstruct appeals to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, but content himself with exacting sufficient security from such clergymen as left his dominions to prosecute an appeal, that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown. Upon signing these concessions Henry received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by pope Adrian; and nothing proves more strongly the great abilities of this monarch, than his extricating himself on such easy terms from so difficult a situation. He had always insisted that the laws established at

He on oath declares himself innocent of Becket's murder.

Concessions are made to the pope.

Henry receives absolution.

* But even in this amalgamation the seeds of future discord were sown. The English laws were granted only to settlers of Norman origin, and to five of the principal septs, viz., the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Briens

of Thomond, the O'Lachlans or Melachans of Meath, and the Mac Murroghs or Kavenahs of Leinster. In after times, he who complained of wrong, "if not of the five bloods," could obtain no redress.—ED.

The consti-
tutions of
Clarendon
remain
in force.

numerous
of his family

deposed
son of
his
father

Clarendon contained not any new claims, but the ancient customs of the kingdom ; and he was still at liberty to maintain his pretensions. Appeals to the pope were indeed permitted by that treaty ; but, as the king was also permitted to exact reasonable securities from the parties, he had it virtually in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage by this seeming concession. And, on the whole, the constitutions of Clarendon remained still the law of the realm ; though the pope and his legates seem so little to have conceived the king's power to lie under any legal limitations, that they were satisfied with his departing, by treaty, from one of the most momentous articles of these constitutions, without requiring any repeal by the states of the kingdom.

Henry, freed from this dangerous controversy, seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity. A numerous progeny of sons and daughters gave both lustre and authority to his crown, prevented the dangers of a disputed succession, and repressed all pretensions of the ambitious barons. The king's precaution also, in establishing the several branches of his family, seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among the brothers, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. He had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poictou. Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany. And the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. He had also negociated, in favour of this prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert count of Savoy and Maurienne ; and was to receive as her dowry considerable demesnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Bresse, and Dauphiny. But this exaltation excited the jealousy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of embittering his future life and disturbing his government.

Young Henry, who was rising to man's estate, began to aspire to independence. Brave, ambitious, liberal, munificent, affable ; he discovered qualities which give great lustre to youth ; prognosticate a shining fortune ; but, unless tempered in mature age with discretion, are the fore-runner of the greatest calamities. It is said that, at the time when this prince received the royal unction, his father, to give greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table as one of the retinue ; and observed to his son that never king was more royally served. " It is nothing extraordinary," said young Henry to one of his courtiers, " if the son of a count should serve the son of a king." This saying, which might pass only for an innocent pleasantry, or even for an oblique compliment to his father, was however regarded as a symptom of his aspiring temper ; and his conduct soon after justified the conjecture.

REVOLT OF YOUNG HENRY, &c.
1173.

HENRY, agreeably to the promise which he had given both to the pope and French king, permitted his son to be crowned anew by the archbishop of Rouen ; and associated the princess Margaret, spouse to young Henry, in the ceremony. He afterwards allowed him to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Paris, who took the opportunity of instilling into the young prince those ambitious sentiments to which he was naturally but too much inclined. Though it had been the constant practice of France, ever since the accession of the Capetian line, to crown the son during the lifetime of the father, without conferring on him any present participation of royalty, Lewis persuaded his son-in-law that by this ceremony, he had acquired a title to sovereignty, and that the king could not, without injustice, exclude him from immediate possession of the whole, or at least a part of his dominions. In consequence of these extravagant ideas young Henry, on his return, desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England or the duchy of Normandy ; discovered great discontent on the refusal ; spake

Prince
Henry as-
pires to be
independent

The king
serves as
one of his
son's retin-
ue.

Prince
Henry is
again
crowned,
with his
spouse.

He goes to
France.

The prince
claims his
father's
crown.

He is protected by Lewis.

in the most undutiful terms of his father; and soon after, in concert with Lewis, made his escape to Paris, where he was protected by that monarch.

Queen Eleanor sets her sons against their father.

While Henry was alarmed at this incident, and had the prospects of dangerous intrigues, or even of a war, (which, whether successful or not, must be extremely calamitous and disagreeable to him) he received intelligence of new misfortunes, which must have affected him in the most sensible manner. Queen Eleanor, who had disgusted her first husband by her gallantries, was no less offensive to her second by her jealousy; and carried to extremity, in the different periods of her life, every circumstance of female weakness. She communicated her discontents against Henry to her two younger sons Geoffrey and Richard; persuaded them that they were also entitled to present possession of the territories assigned to them; engaged them to fly secretly to France; and was meditating herself an escape to the same court, and had even put on man's apparel for that purpose, when she was seized by orders from her husband, and thrown into confinement.* Thus Europe saw the best and most indulgent of parents at war with his whole family; three boys, scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, require a great monarch, in the full vigour of his age and height of his reputation, to dethrone himself in their favour; and several princes not ashamed to support them in these unnatural and absurd pretensions.

Henry appeals to Rome.

Henry, reduced to this perilous situation, had recourse to the court of Rome. Though sensible of the danger attending the interposition of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to the pope as his superior lord to excommunicate his enemies, and by these censures to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such reluctance to punish by the sword of the magistrate. Alexander issued the bulls required of him. But it was soon found that these spiritual weapons had not the same force as when employed

The pope issues bulls against the refractory princes, but ineffectually.

* Like many faithless wives, the resentment of Eleanor, where the constancy of Henry was in question, seems to have known no bounds. She is

in a spiritual controversy, and that the clergy were very negligent in supporting a sentence which was nowise calculated to promote the immediate interests of their order. The king, after taking in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms, and to enlist such auxiliaries as are the usual resource of tyrants, and have seldom been employed by so wise and just a monarch.

The loose government which prevailed in all the states of Europe, the many private wars carried on among the neighbouring nobles, and the impossibility of enforcing any general execution of the laws, had encouraged a tribe of banditti to infest the highways, to pillage the open country, and to brave all the efforts of the civil magistrate, and even the excommunications of the church. Troops of them were sometimes enlisted in the service of one prince or baron, sometimes in that of another: they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own. The peaceable and industrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged, for subsistence, to betake themselves to a like disorderly course, and a continual intestine war, pernicious to industry, as well as to the execution of justice, was carried on in the bowels of every kingdom. Those desperate ruffians received the name sometimes of Brabançons, sometimes of Routiers or Cottereaux; but for what reason is not agreed by historians; and they formed a kind of society among themselves, which set at defiance the rest of mankind. The greatest monarchs were not ashamed to have recourse to their assistance; and, as their habits of war and depredation had given them experience, hardiness, and courage, they generally composed the most formidable part of those armies which decided the political quarrels of princes. Several of them were enlisted among the forces levied by Henry's enemies; but the great treasures amassed by that prince enabled him to engage more numerous troops of them in his service; and the situation of his affairs

Lax execution of the laws.

The barbarians and banditti distinguished for their barbarous outrages.

Henry engages troops of Brabançons.

believed to have stirred up her sons to rebel against their father, and to have perpetrated murder on the celebrated beauty, Rosamond, herself.—Ed.

rendered even such banditti the only forces on whose fidelity he could repose any confidence. His licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant government, were more desirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants; and, as the king had ensured to his sons the succession to every particular province of his dominions, the nobles dreaded no danger in adhering to those who they knew must some time become their sovereigns. Prompted by these motives, many of the Norman nobility had deserted to his son Henry. The Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection had crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester had openly declared against the king. Twenty thousand Brabançons, therefore, joined to some troops which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the sole force with which he intended to resist his enemies.

Lewis, in order to bind the confederates in a closer union, summoned at Paris an assembly of the chief vassals of the crown, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry. This prince, in return, bound himself never to desert his French allies; and, having made a new great seal, he lavishly distributed among them many considerable parts of those territories which he purposed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, partly moved by the general jealousy arising from Henry's power and ambition, partly allured by the prospect of reaping advantage from the inconsiderate temper and the necessities of the young prince, declared openly in favour of the latter. William, king of Scotland, had also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive dominions.

Hostilities were first commenced by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne on the frontiers of Normandy. Those princes laid siege to Aumale, which was delivered

into their hands by the treachery of the count of that name. This nobleman surrendered himself; and, on pretence of thereby paying his ransom, opened the gates of all his other fortresses. The two counts next made themselves masters of Drincourt: but the count of Boulogne was here mortally wounded in the assault; and this incident put some stop to the progress of the Flemish arms.

In another quarter the king of France, strongly assisted by his vassals, assembled a great army of seven thousand knights and their followers on horseback, and a proportionable number of infantry: carrying young Henry along with him, he laid siege to Verneuil, which was vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors. After he had lain a month before the place, the garrison, being straitened for provisions, were obliged to capitulate; and they engaged, if not relieved within three days, to surrender the town, and to retire into the citadel. On the last of these days Henry appeared with his army upon the heights above Verneuil. Lewis, dreading an attack, sent the archbishop of Sens and the count of Blois to the English camp, and desired that next day should be appointed for a conference, in order to establish a general peace. The king, who passionately desired this accommodation, and suspected no fraud, gave his consent; but Lewis that morning, obliging the garrison to surrender according to the capitulation, set fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Henry, provoked at this artifice, attacked the rear with vigour, put them to rout, did some execution, and took several prisoners. The French army, as their time of service was now expired, immediately dispersed into their several provinces; and left Henry free to prosecute his advantages against his other enemies.

The nobles of Brittany, instigated by the Earl of Chester and Ralph de Fourgeres, were all in arms; but their progress was checked by a body of Brabançons, which the king, after Lewis's retreat, had sent against them. The two armies came to an action near Dol; where the rebels were

Hostilities
in Normandy.

Verneuil besieged
by Lewis and
prince
Henry.

Henry com-
pels them to
retreat.

The rebel-
lious nobles
are defeated
by the Bra-
bançons of
king Henry.

The town of
Dol is taken
by Henry.

defeated, fifteen hundred killed on the spot, and the leaders, the Earls of Chester and Fourgeres, obliged to take shelter in the town of Dol. Henry hastened to form the siege of that place, and obliged the governor and garrison to surrender themselves prisoners. By these happy successes the insurrections were entirely quelled in Brittany; and the king, thus fortunate, willingly agreed to a conference with Lewis, in hopes that his enemies, finding all their mighty efforts frustrated, would terminate hostilities, on some moderate and reasonable conditions.

The kings
of England
and France
meet in
conference.

The two monarchs met between Trie and Gisors; and Henry had here the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than supporting the claims of the young princes, the king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to insist on, and could be extorted from him by nothing but his parental affection, or by the necessity of his affairs. He insisted only on retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with some places of surety in that kingdom; or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne. He promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey. And, if these concessions were not deemed sufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates, who were present, should require. The Earl of Leicester was also present, and, either from the impetuosity of his temper, or from a view of abruptly breaking off a conference which must cover the allies with confusion, he gave vent to the most violent reproaches against Henry; and he even put his hand to his sword, as if he meant to attempt some violence against him. This furious action threw the whole company into confusion, and put an end to the treaty.

The nego-
ciation ab-
ruptly
broken off.

The chief hopes of Henry's enemies seemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England, where his authority was exposed to the most imminent danger. One article of prince Henry's agreement with his foreign confederates was, that he should resign Kent, with Dover, and all its

Dover pro-
mised by the
Prince to
the Earl of
Flanders.

other fortresses, into the hands of the earl of Flanders. Yet so little national or public spirit prevailed among the independent English nobility, so wholly bent were they on the aggrandisement each of himself and his own family, that, notwithstanding this pernicious concession, which must have produced the ruin of the kingdom, the greater part of them had conspired to support the prince's pretensions. The king's principal resource lay in the church and the bishops, with whom he was now in perfect agreement; whether that the decency of their character made them ashamed of supporting so unnatural a rebellion, or that they were entirely satisfied with Henry's atonement for the murder of Becket, and for his former invasion of ecclesiastical immunities. That prince, however had resigned none of the essential rights of his crown; he maintained still the same prudent jealousy of the court of Rome; admitted no legate into England, without his swearing to attempt nothing against the royal prerogatives; and he had even obliged the monks of Canterbury, who pretended to a free election on the vacancy made by the death of Becket, to choose Roger, prior of Dover, in the place of that turbulent prelate.

The grant
is approved
by the no-
bles.

Henry de-
pends on the
support of
the church.

He asserts
his preroga-
tive against
the monks.

The king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed great devastations; but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, he retreated, and agreed to a cessation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march southward with his army, in order to oppose an invasion which the earl of Leicester, at the head of a great body of Flemings, had made upon Suffolk. The Flemings had been joined by Hugh Bigod, who made them masters of his castle of Framlingham; and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be supported by Leicester's vassals, they were met by Lucy, who, assisted by Humphry Bohun the constable, and the earls of Arundel, Gloucester, and Cornwall, had advanced to Farnham with a less numerous, but braver, army to oppose them. The Flemings, who were mostly weavers and artificers (for manufatures were now beginning to be estab-

The earl of
Leicester
and a body
of Flemings
invade
England.

lished in Flanders), were broken in an instant, ten thousand of them were put to the sword, the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders were glad to compound for a safe retreat into their own country.

This great defeat did not dishearten the malcontents; who, being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's sons, determined to persevere in their enterprise. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Moubray, Architel de Mallory, Richard de Morreville, Hamo de Mascie, together with many friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester, rose in arms. The fidelity of the earls of Clare and Gloucester was suspected; and the guardian, though vigorously supported by Geoffrey bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond, found it difficult to defend himself from so many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with a great army of eighty thousand men; which, though better fitted for committing devastation than for executing any military enterprise, was become dangerous from the present factious and turbulent spirit of the kingdom.

Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger; and he determined by his presence to overawe the malcontents, or to subdue them. He landed at Southampton; and hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the ashes of Thomas a Becket, and tender his submissions to a dead enemy. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man whose violence and ingratitude had so long dis-

quieted his government, he submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics successively inflicted upon him.* Next day he received absolution; and, departing for London, got soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots; and which, being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas a Becket.

KING OF SCOTLAND TAKEN PRISONER.

WILLIAM king of Scots, though repulsed before the castle of Prudhow and other fortified places, had committed the most horrible depredations upon the northern provinces: but, on the approach of Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, seconded by Barnard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umfreville, William de Vesci, and other northern barons, together with the gallant bishop of Lincoln, he thought proper to retreat, and he fixed his camp at Alnwick. He had here weakened his army extremely, by sending out numerous detachments in order to extend his ravages; and he lay absolutely safe as he imagined. But Glanville made a hasty and fatiguing march to Newcastle; and allowing his soldiers only a small interval for refreshment, he set out towards evening for Alnwick. He marched that night above thirty miles; arrived in the morning, under cover of a mist, near the Scottish camp; and, regardless of the great numbers of the enemy, he began the attack with his small, but determined, body of cavalry. William was living in such supine security that he took the English, at first, for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning:

* The bishops and abbots commenced the flagellation, and the monks followed. There were eighty who assisted on this occasion, and each inflicted from three to five lashes. It is more than probable that the

pious zeal of the holy fraternity did not make them forget that the offender under punishment was a king.—ED.

The Scotch king is taken.

The ravagers fly in great disorder.

All England tranquilized.

Hostilities in Normandy.

but, the sight of their banners convincing him of his mistake, he entered on the action with no greater body than a hundred horse, in confidence that the numerous army which surrounded him would soon hasten to his relief. He was dismounted on the first shock, and taken prisoner; while his troops fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation. The dispersed ravagers made the best of their way to their own country; and, discord arising among them, they proceeded even to mutual hostilities, and suffered more from each other's sword than from that of the enemy.

This great and important victory proved at last decisive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. The bishop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his submissions; Hugh Bigod was obliged to surrender all his castles, and throw himself on the king's mercy; no better resource was left to the earl of Ferrars and Roger de Moubay; the inferior rebels imitating the example, all England was restored to tranquillity in a few weeks; and, as the king appeared under the immediate protection of Heaven, it was deemed impious any longer to resist him. The clergy exalted anew the merits and powerful intercession of Becket; and Henry, instead of opposing this superstition, plumed himself on the new friendship of the saint, and propagated an opinion which was so favourable to his interests.

Prince Henry, who was ready to embark at Gravelines with the earl of Flanders and a great army, hearing that his partisans in England were suppressed, abandoned all thoughts of the enterprise, and joined the camp of Lewis; who, during the absence of the king, had laid siege to Rouen. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants; and Lewis tried to gain the town by a stratagem which, in that superstitious age, was deemed not very honourable. He proclaimed in his own camp a cessation of arms, on pretence of celebrating the festival of St. Laurence; and, when the citizens, supposing themselves in safety, were so imprudent as to remit their guard, he purposed to take

some advantage of their security. Happily some priests had, from mere curiosity, mounted a steeple, where the alarm-bell hung; and, observing the French camp in motion, they immediately rang the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their several stations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, hurried to the assault, had already mounted the walls; but, being repulsed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Next day Henry, who had hastened to the defence of his Norman dominions, passed over the bridge in triumph, and entered Rouen in sight of the French army. The city was now in absolute safety; and the king, in order to brave the French monarch, commanded the gates, which had been walled up, to be opened; and he prepared to push his advantages against the enemy. Lewis saved himself by a new piece of deceit, not so justifiable. He proposed a conference for adjusting the terms of a general peace, which he knew would be greedily embraced by Henry; and, while the king of England trusted to the execution of his promise, he made a retreat with his army into France.

THE KING'S ACCOMMODATION WITH HIS SONS.

THERE was, however, a necessity on both sides for an accommodation. Henry could no longer bear to see his three sons in the hand of his enemy; and Lewis dreaded lest this great monarch, victorious in all quarters, might take revenge for the many dangers and disquietudes which the arms, and still more the intrigues, of France had found means to raise him. After making a cessation of arms, a conference was agreed on near Tours; where Henry granted his sons much less advantageous terms than he had formerly offered; and received their submissions. The most material of his concessions were some pensions and some castles which he granted them for the place of their residence; together with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and honours.

Treachery of Lewis defeated.

King Henry enters Rouen in triumph.

A conference proposed for a general peace.

Henry is reconciled to his sons.

Of all those who had embraced the cause of the young prince, William king of Scotland was the only considerable loser by that unjust enterprise. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ransom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken prisoners; but it cost William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland, and all his other possessions; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage; that the bishops should take an oath of fealty; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince, if the latter should break his engagements; and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedborough, should be delivered into Henry's hands till the performance of articles.* This humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigour. William, being released, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his successors for their superior lord. The English monarch stretched still farther the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland. Few princes have been so fortunate as to gain considerable advantages over their weaker neighbours with less violence and injustice than was practised by Henry against the king of Scots, whom he had taken prisoner in battle, and who had wantonly engaged in a war, in which all the neighbours of that prince, and even his own family, were, without provocation, combined against him.

THE KING'S EQUITABLE ADMINISTRATION. 1175.

HENRY, having thus extricated himself

with honour from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, was employed for several years in the administration of justice, in the execution of the laws, and in guarding against those inconveniences which either the past convulsions of his state, or the political institutions of that age, unavoidably occasioned. The provisions which he made shew such largeness of thought as qualified him for being a legislator; and they were calculated as well for the future as the present happiness of his kingdom.

He enacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, false coining, arson; and ordained that these crimes should be punished by amputation of the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes had been gradually disused; and seems to have been entirely abolished by the rigour of these statutes. The superstitious trial by water ordeal, though condemned by the church, still subsisted; but Henry ordained that any man accused of murder, or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the country, should, even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm.

All advances towards reason and good sense are slow and gradual. Henry, though sensible of the great absurdity attending the trial by duel or battle, did not venture to abolish it; he only admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by an assize or jury of twelve freeholders. This seems to have been very ancient in England, and was fixed by the laws of King Alfred. But the barbarous and violent genius of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by battle, which had become the general method of deciding important controversies. It was never abolished by law in England; and there is an instance of it so late as the reign of Elizabeth. But the institution revived by this king, more suitable to a civilised people, gradually prevailed over it.

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itiner-

Reform in the administration of justice.

Robbery and murder punished by amputation.

Trial by jury, and wager by battle not abolished.

Justices appointed to go circuits.

* Lanquette says, "Wylliam yelded for his rauensome the citee of Carlell, the castell of Bamburgh, the new castell upon Tine, and swore for ever to be

true to the kynge,—and as well he as his successors, to do their homage as often as it should bee required."—ED.

The judges
circuits
curbed the
barons.

ant justices to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, was another important ordinance of this prince, which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressive barons, and to protect the inferior gentry and common people. Those justices were either prelates or considerable noblemen; who, besides carrying the authority of the king's commission, were able, by the dignity of their own character, to give weight and credit to the laws.

New fort-
resses demo-
lished.

That there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, the king was vigilant in demolishing all the new castles of the nobility in England as well as in his foreign dominions; and he permitted no fortress to remain in the custody of those whom he found reason to suspect.

An assize of
arms fixed.

But, lest the kingdom should be weakened by this demolition of the fortresses, the king fixed an assize of arms, by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves in a situation for defending themselves and the realm. Every man possessed of a knight's fee was ordained to have for each fee a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield and a lance; every free layman, possessed of goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every one that possessed ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all burgesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a wambais; that is, a coat quilted with wool, tow, or such like materials. It appears that archery, for which the English were afterwards so renowned, had not at this time become very common. The spear was the chief weapon employed in battle.

Murder
punished
but by ec-
clesiastical
censures.

The clergy and the laity were in a strange situation with regard to each other, and such as may seem incompatible with any species of government. If a clergyman were guilty of murder, he could be punished by degradation only; if he were murdered, the murderer was exposed to nothing but excommunication and ecclesiastical censures; and the crime was atoned for by penances and submission.

* It was usual for the kings of England, after the conquest of Ireland, to summon the barons and members of that country to the English parliament.

† Spelman even doubts whether the law were not

Hence the assassins of Thomas a Becket himself, though guilty of the most atrocious wickedness, and the most repugnant to the sentiments of that age, lived securely in their own houses, without being called to account by Henry himself; who was so much concerned to punish that crime, and who professed, or affected, on all occasions, the most extreme abhorrence of it. It was not till they found their presence shunned as excommunicated persons that they were induced to take a journey to Rome, to throw themselves at the feet of the pontiff, and to submit to the penances imposed upon them: after which they continued to possess, their honours and fortunes; and seem even to have recovered the countenance and good opinion of the public. But, as the king, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which he endeavoured still to maintain, had subjected the clergy to a trial by the civil magistrate, it seemed but just to give them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience. It was enacted that the murderers of clergymen should be tried before the justiciary, in the presence of the bishop or his official; and, besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels.

The assass-
sins of Bec-
ket submit
to do pen-
ance.

The clergy
subjected to
trial.

The king passed an equitable law, that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal be surety for the debt; and that the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. It is remarkable that this law was enacted by the king in a council which he held at Verneuil, and which consisted of some prelates and barons of England; as well as some of Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Brittany; and the statute took place in all these last mentioned territories,* though totally unconnected with each other.† A certain proof how irregular the ancient feudal government was, and how near the sovereigns approached to despotism, though in others they seemed scarcely to possess

Vassals not
liable for the
debts of
their lords.

Great
irregularity
of the
feudal
system.

also extended to England: if it were not, it could only be because Henry did not choose it; for his authority was greater in that kingdom than in his transmarine dominions.



any authority. If a prince much dreaded and revered, like Henry, obtained but the appearance of general consent to an ordinance which was equitable and just, it became immediately an established law. If the prince were hated or despised, the fullest and most authentic assembly had no authority. Thus all was confusion and disorder; no regular idea of a constitution; force and violence decided every thing.

The success which had attended Henry in his wars did not much encourage his neighbours to form any attempt against him. Scotland remained in that state of feudal subjection to which he had reduced it, and gave him no farther inquietude. He sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland, with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince, by which he enraged the Irish chieftains, obliged the king soon after to recall him. The king of France had fallen into an abject superstition; and was induced, by a devotion more sincere than that of Henry, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the cure of Philip, his eldest son. He probably thought himself well entitled to the favour of that saint on account of their ancient intimacy; hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, when he was so highly exalted in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor. The monks, sensible that their saint's honour was concerned, failed not to publish that Lewis's prayers were answered, and that the young prince was restored by Becket's intercession. That king himself was soon after struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his understanding. Philip, though a youth of fifteen, took on him the administration till his father's death, which happened soon after, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the greatest monarch that had governed that kingdom since the age of Charlemagne. The superior years and experience of Henry, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalry, for a long time, arose between them. The English monarch employed his good

offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France; and he was successful in mediating a reconciliation between Philip and his mother and uncles. These services were but ill requited by Philip; who, when he came to man's estate, encouraged Henry's son's in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards him.

Prince Henry, equally impatient of obtaining power, and incapable of using it, renewed to the king the demand of his resigning Normandy; and, on meeting with a refusal, he fled with his consort to the court of France: but, not finding Philip disposed to enter into war for his sake, he accepted of his father's offers of reconciliation, and made him submissions. It was a cruel circumstance in the king's fortune that he could hope for no tranquillity from the criminal enterprises of his sons but by their mutual discord and animosities, which threw his state into convulsions. Richard, whom he had made master of Guienne, and who had displayed his valour and military genius by suppressing the revolts of his mutinous barons, refused to obey Henry's orders in doing homage to his elder brother for that duchy; and he defended himself against young Henry and Geoffrey, who carried war into his territories. The king composed this difference; but immediately found his eldest son engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against himself.

DEATH OF YOUNG HENRY.—1183.

WHILE the young prince was conducting these criminal intrigues he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Turenne, to which he had retired, and, seeing the approaches of death, he was at last struck with remorse for his behaviour towards his father. He sent a message to the king, who was not far distant; expressed his contrition, and entreated the favour of a visit, that he might at least die with the satisfaction of having obtained his forgiveness. Henry apprehended that his sickness was entirely feigned, and durst not intrust himself into his son's hands: but, when he received intelligence of young Henry's death, and the proofs of his sincere repen-

Philip encourages Henry's dissident sons.

They all oppose the king of England.

Prince Henry attacked by fever.

The prince solicits a visit from his father, but is refused.

Prince
Henry dies.

tance, he was affected with the deepest sorrow ; he thrice fainted ; he accused his own hard-heartedness in refusing the dying request of his son ; and he lamented that he had deprived that prince of the last opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and of pouring out his soul in the bosom of his reconciled father. This prince died in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

Richard
prepares for
war with
his father
and brothers.

The behaviour of his surviving children did not tend to give the king any consolation for the loss. As prince Henry had left no posterity, Richard was become heir to all his dominions ; and the king intended that John, his third surviving son, and favourite, should inherit Guienne : but Richard refused his consent, fled into that duchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well against his father as against his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in possession of Brittany. Henry sent for Eleanor his queen, the heiress of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the dominion of these territories ; which that prince, either dreading an insurrection in her favour, or retaining some sense of duty towards her, readily performed ; and he peaceably returned to his father's court. No sooner was this quarrel accommodated than Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's family, broke out into violence, demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Brittany ; and, on meeting with a refusal, fled to the court of France, and levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the duchy of Brittany, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was also superior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, disputed some time his title to this wardship ; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

A reconciliation
is effected by
the queen.

Prince
Geoffrey is
killed in a
tournament.

CRUSADES.

The cru-
sades.

BUT the rivalship between these potent princes, and all their inferior interest,

seemed now to have given place to the general passion for the relief of the holy land, and the expulsion of the Saracens. Those infidels, though obliged to yield to the immense inundation of Christians in the first crusade, had recovered courage, and, attacking the settlements of the Europeans, had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for succours from the west. A second crusade, under the emperor Conrade, and Lewis VII., king of France, in which there perished above two hundred thousand men, brought them but a temporary relief ; and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility fall, returned with little honour to Europe. But these repeated misfortunes, which drained the western world of its people and treasure, were not yet sufficient to cure men of their passion for those spiritual adventures ; and a new incident rekindled with fresh fury the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventurers among the Latin Christians. Saladin, a prince of great generosity, bravery, and conduct, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the east ; and, finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important, territory. Taking advantage of dissensions among the champions of the cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power ; and gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance ; the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued ; and except some maritime towns, nothing considerable remained of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, it had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire.

Distress of
the Christians
in the
East.

Saladin
makes war
on them.

Fall of Je-
rusalem.

The western christians were astonished on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III., it is pretended, died of

grief; and his successor, Gregory VIII., employed the whole time of his short pontificate in rousing to arms all the christians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven who did not vindicate from the dominion of the infidels the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from slavery that country which had been consecrated by the footsteps of their Redeemer. William Archbishop of Tyre, having procured a conference, on the twenty-first of January, 1188, between Henry and Philip near Gisors, enforced all these topics; gave a pathetic description of the miserable state of the eastern Christians; and employed every argument to excite the ruling passions of the age, superstition and jealousy of military honour. The two monarchs immediately took the cross; many of their most considerable vassals imitated the example; and, as the emperor Frederick I. entered into the same confederacy, men flattered themselves that an enterprise, which had failed under the conduct of many independent leaders or of imprudent princes, might, by the efforts of such potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy issue.

The kings of France and England imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveable goods, on such as remained at home: but, as they exempted from this burden most of the regular clergy, the secular aspired to the same immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to assist the crusade with their prayers alone; and it was with some difficulty they were constrained to desist from an opposition, which in them, who had been the chief promoters of those pious enterprises, appeared with the worst grace imaginable. This backwardness of the clergy is perhaps a symptom that the enthusiastic ardour, which had at first seized the people for crusades, was now considerably abated; and that the frenzy was chiefly supported by the military genius and love of glory in the monarchs.

REVOLT OF PRINCE RICHARD. 1189.

BUT before this great machine could be

put in motion, there were still many obstacles to surmount. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with Richard; and, working on his ambitious temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present independence by dismembering it. In order to give a pretence for hostilities between the two kings, Richard broke into the territories of Raymond count of Toulouse, who immediately carried complaints of this violence before the king of France as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry; but received for answer that Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin that his enterprise against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. The king of France still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berri and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouse. Henry retaliated, by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a conference at the accustomed place between Gisors and Trie, in order to find means of accommodating their differences. They separated on worse terms than before; and Philip, to shew his disgust, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been usually held, to be cut down; as if he was determined to carry the war to extremities against the king of England. But his own vassals refused to serve in so invidious a cause; and he was obliged to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and his secret alliance with Philip, of which he had before entertained some suspicion. The king of France required that Richard should be crowned king of England in the lifetime of his father; should be invested in all his transmarine dominions; and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had been affianced, and who had

Prince Richard's ambition is excited against his father.

Philip invades Henry's foreign dominions.

Henry retaliates.

Philip demands that Richard should marry his sister.

Henry
refuses to
comply.

already been conducted into England. Henry had experienced such fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures as if he had already been the lawful possessor.* Several historians assert that Henry himself had become enamoured of young Alice, and mention this as an additional reason for his refusing these conditions: but it is superfluous to assign a cause, which the great prudence and advanced age of that monarch render somewhat improbable.†

Prince
Richard is
excommu-
nicated.

Cardinal Albano, the pope's legate, displeased with these increasing obstacles to the crusade, excommunicated Richard as the chief spring of discord: but the sentence of excommunication proved entirely ineffectual in the present case. The chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of such as still adhered to the king. Henry, disquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous subjects, had again recourse to papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni, who had succeeded Albano in the legateship, to threaten Philip with an interdict on all his dominions. But Philip despised the menace, and told Anagni that it belonged

France
threatened
with an
interdict.

* The manner in which this was done, as well as the consequences of the act, exhibit Richard's fierce impetuosity, in a very strong light. Henry having refused to the king of France what he had demanded on behalf of Richard, "Friends," exclaimed the latter to those about him, "you shall now witness something, that you little expected to see." Then, putting his hands between those of Philip, he pronounced the oath of fealty to him as to his suzerain, before his father's face. Humbled by the consciousness of his weakness, Henry, as in other cases of difficulty, claimed the interposition of the pope; and cardinal de Anagni repaired to Ferté Bernard, to attempt bringing about a reconciliation between the father and son. After fruitless efforts to effect

not to the pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less in those between him and his rebellious vassal. He even proceeded so far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England; while Richard, still more outrageous, offered to draw his sword against the legate, and was hindered by the interposition alone of the company from committing violence upon him.

Philip and
Richard
sternly
resist the
Pope's
legate.

The king of England was now obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and to engage in a war with France, and with his eldest son, a prince of great valour, on such disadvantageous terms. Ferté-Bernard fell first into the hands of the enemy: Mans was next taken by assault; and Henry, who had thrown himself into that place, escaped with some difficulty: Amboise, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard: Tours was menaced; and the king, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice or infidelity of his governors, expected the most dismal issue to all his enterprises. While he was in this state of despondency, the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours so subdued his spirit, that he submitted to all the rigorous terms which were imposed upon him. He agreed that Richard should marry the princess Alice; that that prince should receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his subjects, both in England and his transmarine dominions; that he himself should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France as a compensation for the charges of the war; that

War be-
tween
France and
England.

Henry,
humbled,
consents to
the pro-
posed mar-
riage of
Richard.

this, he declared he would excommunicate them both; upon which Richard drew his sword and rushed on the cardinal, who was glad to withdraw as fast as his horse could carry him. He is said in the text to have acted the like part when Phillip was threatened with the same penalty. The incident is probably in one case misplaced; it is not likely that such an outrage could be repeated.—ED.

† It was very generally understood that Alice, who resided in England, had become the favourite of Henry, after the death of Rosamond. The king, it was added, went so far as to solicit the pope for a divorce from Eleanor, that Alice might take her place as his queen.—ED.

his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty by force, and, in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals, who had entered into confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for the offence.*

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY. 1189.

BUT the mortification which Henry, who had been accustomed to give the law in most treaties, received from these disadvantageous terms, was the least that he met with on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons, to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connexions with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his second son John; who had always been his favourite, and who had even, on account of his ascendant over him, often excited the jealousy of Richard. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding his last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his parental care: and this finishing blow, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon near Saumur.†

His natural son Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to the nunnery of Fontevrault, where it lay in state in the abbey church. Next day Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithstanding his criminal conduct, was not wholly destitute of generosity, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and, as the attendants observed that at that very instant blood gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, he exclaimed, agreeably to a vulgar superstition, that he was his father's murderer; and he expressed a deep sense, though too late, of that undutiful behaviour which had brought his parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign, the greatest prince of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful in extent of dominion of all those that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice without rigour, and temperate without austerity. He preserved health, and kept himself from corpulency, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. When he could enjoy leisure he cultivated his natural talents by study above any other prince of his time. His affections, as well as his enmities, were

Hedies
from grief.

Late re-
membrance
of
Richard.

Henry the
ablest and
best man,
arch of the
time.

His talents
cultivated
by study.

* A thunder storm is mentioned as one of the causes of his concluding this treaty. "He who never saw fear (but in the backs of his enemies) leaves now the defence of Mans, and flies away with seven hundred men, having promised the city never to give it over in regard, as his father was there buried and himself born; and afterwards comes to his last parl with the king of France, between Turvin and Arras: where, at their first meeting, (no man suspecting his wrath,) a thunderbolt, with so terrible a crack, lighted just between them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for some time. Within a while after they came together again; when suddenly began as fearful a thunder as the former; which so amazed the king of England, as he had fallen from his horse had he not been supported by those about him. And

in this sort began the proem of that treaty."—*Daniel*.

† The capture of the city of Mentz, his birth-place, in connexion with John's perfidy, seems to have been too much for the unhappy monarch to endure with moderate fortitude. "Hearing that the town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction of mind, that it made him break out in these blasphemous words: 'I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a city so dear unto me to be taken from me.' But he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed, Mentz was the city in which he was born, and to have this city taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had lost this city, he scarce seemed to be alive."—*Baker*.

He discov-
ers the
treachery of
prince John.

Mortifica-
tion and
despair of
Henry.

Henry re-
sembles his
grand-
father.

warm and durable ; and his long experience of the ingratitude of men never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. His character has been transmitted to us by several writers who were his contemporaries ; and it extremely resembles, in its most remarkable features, that of his maternal grandfather Henry I., excepting only that ambition, which was a ruling passion in both, found not in the first Henry such unexceptionable measures of exerting itself ; and pushed that prince into measures, which were both criminal in themselves, and were the cause of farther crimes, from which his grandson's conduct was happily exempted.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

French
maxims
prevail in
his time.

THIS prince, like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, except Stephen, passed more of his time on the continent than in this island. He was surrounded with the English gentry and nobility when abroad ; the French gentry and nobility attended him when he resided in England ; both nations acted in the government as if they were the same people ; and, on many occasions, the legislatures seem not to have been distinguished. As the king and all the English barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people were regarded as the models of imitation. All foreign improvements, therefore, such as they were, seem now to have been, in a good measure, transplanted into England ; and that kingdom was become little inferior, in all the fashionable accomplishments, to any of its neighbours on the continent. The more homely, but more sensible, manners and principles of the Saxons were exchanged for the affectation of chivalry and the subtilties of school philosophy. The feudal ideas of civil government, the Romish sentiments in religion, had taken entire possession of the people : by the former the sense of submission towards princes was somewhat diminished in the barons ; by the latter the devoted attachment to papal authority was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families, established

Foreign
improvements
introduced.

The
Romish
religion
prevails.

in England, had now struck deep root ; and, being entirely incorporated with the people, they no longer thought that they needed the protection of the crown for the enjoyment of their possessions, or considered their tenure as precarious. They aspired to the same liberty and independence which they saw enjoyed by their bretheren on the continent, and desired to restrain those exorbitant prerogatives, which the necessity of war and the violence of conquest had at first obliged them to indulge in their monarch.

The history of all the preceding kings of England since the conquest gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal institutions ; the licentiousness of the barons, their spirit of rebellion against the prince and laws, and of animosity against each other. The conduct of the barons in the transmarine dominions of those monarchs afforded perhaps still more flagrant instances of these convulsions ; and the history of France, during several ages, consists almost entirely of narrations of this nature. The cities, during the continuance of this violent government, could neither be numerous nor populous ; and there occur instances which seem to evince that their police was in general loose and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders with those by which the country was generally invested. It was a custom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the sons and relations of considerable citizens, to form themselves into a confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the passengers, and to commit with impunity all sorts of disorder. By these crimes it had become so dangerous to walk the streets by night, that the citizens durst no more venture abroad after sunset than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy. The brother of the earl of Ferrars had been murdered by some of those nocturnal rioters ; and the death of so eminent a person so provoked the king, that he swore vengeance against the criminals, and became thenceforth more rigorous in the execution of the laws.

There is another instance given by

The Nor-
man barons
amalgama-
te with
the English
people.

They
restrain the
monarch.

Strife of the
barons.

Disorders
in London.

To walk
after sun-
set dan-
gerous.

historians, which proves to what a height such riots had proceeded. A band of them had attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; had broken through a stone wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the house sword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pee, and supported by his faithful servants, appeared in the passage to oppose them. He cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered; and made such stout resistance that his neighbours had leisure to assemble and come to his relief. The man who lost his hand was taken, and was tempted by the promise of pardon to reveal his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and best born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and, though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged. It appears from a statute of Edward I. that these disorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the curfew, to carry a weapon, or to walk without a light or lantern. It is said, in the preamble of this law, that, both by night and by day, there were continual frays in the streets of London.

Henry's care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation that foreign and distant princes submitted their differences to his judgment. Sanchez king of Navarre, having some controversies with Alfonso king of Castile, was contented, though Alfonso had married the daughter of Henry, to choose this prince for a referee; and they agreed each to consign three castles into neutral hands, as a pledge of their not departing from his award. Henry gave a sentence which was submitted to by both parties. These two Spanish kings sent each a stout champion to the court of England, in order to

defend his cause by arms, in case the way of duel had been chosen by Henry.

Henry so far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of confiscating ships which had been wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were alive in the ship, that the vessel and goods should be restored to the owners.

The reign of Henry was remarkable also for an innovation which was afterwards carried farther by his successors. This prince was disgusted with the species of military force which was established by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was extremely burdensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to serve only forty days; they were unskilful and disorderly; and they were apt to carry into the camp the same refractory and independent spirit to which they were accustomed in their civil government. Henry, therefore, introduced the practice of making a commutation of their military service for money; and he levied scutages from his baronies and knight's fees, instead of requiring the personal attendance of his vassals. There is mention made, in the history of the exchequer, of these scutages, in his second, fifth, and eighteenth year; and other writers give us an account of three more of them. When the prince had thus obtained money he made a contract with some of those adventurers in which Europe at that time abounded; they found him soldiers of the same character with themselves, who were bound to serve for a stipulated time. The armies were less numerous, but more useful, than when composed of all the military vassals of the crown.

This prince was also the first that levied a tax on the moveables or personal estates of his subjects, nobles as well as commons.* Their zeal for the holy wars made them

* To save his purse (in regard every continual charge of horse and armour was heavy unto him,) he caused every man's lands and substance to be rated for the furnishing thereof; ordaining, that whosoever had a hundred pounds Anjouin money, in goods and chattles, should find a horse and all military furniture thereunto; and whosoever had in

chattel forty, thirty, or twenty pounds, in Anjouin money, should find a corslet, head-piece, launce, and sword, or bow and arrows; with a strict prohibition that no man should sell or pawn his armour, but be bound to leave it, when he died, to his next heir —Daniel.

The Danegelt is remitted.

submit to this innovation ; and, a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in the following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the crown. The tax of Danegelt, so generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

Henry softens the forest laws.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England to repeat the ceremony of their coronation thrice every year, on assembling the states at the three great festivals. Henry, after the first years of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be very expensive and very useless. None of his successors revived it. He mitigated the rigour of the forest laws, and punished any transgressions of them, not capitally, but by fines, imprisonments, and other more moderate penalties.

Violent controversy between two bishops

Since we are here collecting some detached incidents which show the genius of the age, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel between Roger archbishop of York and Richard archbishop of Canterbury. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities. Cardinal Haguezun, being sent in 1176 as legate into Britain, summoned an assembly of the clergy at London ; and, as both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand, this question of precedency begat a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of archbishop Richard fell upon Roger in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows that he was taken up half dead, and his life was with difficulty saved. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the legate, in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity.

Henry represses the luxury of the monks.

We are told by Gyraldus Cambrensis that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves one day prostrate on the ground and in the mire before Henry, complaining, with many tears, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut of three dishes from their table. ' How many has he left you ? ' said the king.

' Ten only,' replied the disconsolate monks. ' I myself,' exclaimed the king, ' never have more than three ; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number.'

Henry leaves three daughters.

This king left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, who inherited no territory, though his father had often intended to leave him a part of his extensive dominions. He was thence commonly denominated Lackland. Henry left three legitimate daughters ; Maud, born in 1156, and married to Henry duke of Saxony ; Eleanor born in 1162, and married to Alphonso king of Castile ; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William king of Sicily.

He leaves sons by his mistress Rosamond.

Henry is said, by ancient historians, to have been of a very amorous disposition. They mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford ; namely, Richard Longespée, or Longsword (so called from the sword he usually wore), who was afterwards married to Ela the daughter and heir of the earl of Salisbury ; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln, then archbishop of York. All the other circumstances of the story commonly told of that lady seem to be fabulous.

CHAPTER X.

RICHARD I.

1189—1199.

THE KING'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE CRUSADE—SETS OUT ON THE CRUSADE—TRANSACTIONS IN SICILY—KING'S ARRIVAL IN PALESTINE—STATE OF PALESTINE—DISORDERS IN ENGLAND—THE KING'S HEROIC ACTIONS IN PALESTINE—HIS RETURN AND CAPTIVITY IN GERMANY—WAR WITH FRANCE—THE KING'S DELIVERY AND RETURN TO ENGLAND—WAR WITH FRANCE—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

THE compunction of Richard for his undutiful behaviour towards his father was durable, and influenced him in the choice

Compunction of Richard.

* Poets and romance writers have given this lady great celebrity. They represent queen Eleanor to

have discovered " Fair Rosamond in a fanciful labyrinth, where she had been concealed by her lover,

of his ministers and servants. Those who had favoured his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were surprised to find that they were hated and despised by him. The faithful ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master. This prudent conduct might be the result of reflection; but it was commonly ascribed to a principle still more virtuous and more honourable.

Richard, that he might make atonement to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, immediately sent orders for releasing the queen dowager from confinement; and he intrusted her with the government of England till his arrival. His bounty to his brother John was rather profuse and imprudent. Besides bestowing on him the county of Mortaigne in Normandy, granting him a pension of four thousand marks a year, and marrying him to Avisa the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he increased this appanage, which the late king had destined him, by other extensive grants and concessions. He conferred on him the whole estate of William Peverell, which had escheated to the crown: he put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them: he delivered over to him no less than six earldoms; Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Dorset, Lancaster, and Derby: and, endeavouring by favours to fix that vicious prince in his duty, he put it too much in his power to depart from it.

PREPARATION FOR THE CRUSADE.

1189.

THE king, impelled more by love of mili-

and compelled her to take poison." For this there is authority that can be relied upon. Baker says, Henry's most famous concubine "was Rosamond, daughter of Walter Lord Clifford, whom he kept at Woodstock, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could find the way in; yet queen Eleanor did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of jealousy quicker of finding out than the eye of care in hiding. What the queen did to Rosamond

tary glory than by superstition; acted as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the holy land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation, and made them find a crusade less dangerous, and attended with more immediate profit. The prejudices of the age had made the lending of money on interest pass by the invidious name of usury; yet the necessity of the practice had continued it: and the greater part of that kind of dealing fell into the hands of the Jews; who, being already infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to lose, and were apt to exercise a profession, odious in itself, sometimes by rapine and extortion. The industry of this people had put them in possession of all the ready money, which the profusion common to the English, with other European nations, enabled them to lend at exorbitant interest. The monkish writers represent it as a great stain on the government of Henry, that he had protected this infidel race from all injuries and insults; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace a pretence for venting their animosity against them. The king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at his coronation;* but some of them, bringing him large presents from their nation, presumed to approach the hall in which he dined. Being discovered, they were exposed to the insults of the bystanders; they took to flight; the people pursued them; the rumour was spread that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a command so agreeable was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace; those who had kept at home were exposed to equal danger; the people broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners;

when she came to her is uncertain; but this is certain, that Rosamond lived but a short time after, and lies buried in the nunnery of Godstow, near to Oxford."—ED.

* A minute account of this monarch's coronation is extant; written by Hoveden and Ralph de Diceto, the dean of St. Paul's, who were present. It does not differ so remarkably from the ceremonial observed in subsequent reigns, as to claim a place here; but

He contem-
plates war
against the
infidels.

The Jews
are deemed
odious.

They are
prohibited
from ap-
pearing at
Richard's
coronation.

A general
massacre of
the Jews.

Richard
accepts the
ministers of
his father,
who had
opposed
him.

He releases
Queen Elea-
nor.

He acts
generously
by prince
John.

Richard
grants
John
estates, cas-
tles and
earldoms.

where the Jews barricadoed their doors and defended themselves with vigour; the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way through their flames to exercise their pillage and violence; the usual licentiousness of London, which the sovereign power with difficulty restrained, broke out with fury, and continued these outrages; the houses of the rich citizens, though Christians, were next plundered; and weariness and satiety at last put an end to the disorder. Yet, when the king empowered Glanville the justiciary to inquire into the authors of these crimes, the guilt was found to involve so many of the most considerable citizens, that it was deemed prudent to drop the prosecution; and very few suffered. But the disorder stopped not at London. The inhabitants of the other cities of England, hearing of this slaughter of the Jews, imitated the example. In York, five hundred, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then, setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral, where their bonds were kept, and made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar. The compiler of the Annals of Waverly, in relating these events, blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to destruction.

The ancient situation of England, when the people possessed little riches, and the public no credit, made it impossible for sovereigns to bear the expense of a steady war, even on their frontiers; much less could they find regular means for the support of distant expeditions, like those into

Palestine, which were more the result of popular frenzy than of deliberate policy. Richard, therefore, knew that he must carry with him all the treasure necessary for his enterprise, and that both the remoteness of his own country and its poverty made it unable to furnish him with those continued supplies which so perilous a war must require. His father had left him a treasure of above a hundred thousand marks; and the king endeavoured to augment this sum by all expedients, how pernicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown; the offices of greatest trust and power, even those of forester and sheriff, anciently so important, became venal; the dignity of chief justiciary, in whose hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws, was sold to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks; the same prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for life; many of the champions of the cross, who had repented of their vow, purchased the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who stood less in need of men than of money, dispensed, on these conditions, with their attendance. Elated with the hopes of fame, which in that age attended no wars but those against the infidels, when some of his wiser ministers objected to this dissipation of the revenue and power of the crown, he replied that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. Nothing could be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all future interests, in comparison of the crusade, than his selling, for ten thousand marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick;* the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course

Richard prepares for a crusade.

He makes great efforts to meet the expenses.

Important offices put up for sale.

Richard sells the vassalage of Scotland.

it deserves notice, that it appears from de Diceto that the representative of the late sovereign was not held to be king *de facto*, till he had been crowned. He writes, "Richard earl of Poitou, being by hereditary right to be made king (*promovendus in regem*) after his solemn and due election by the clergy and laity, took his three-fold oath, &c."—ED.

* The document drawn up on this occasion, as given by lord Hailes, after declaring that Richard rendered up to William, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, the castles of Rokesborough and Berwick, proceeds in a strain little in accordance with that filial love which he had affected since his father had

been consigned to the grave; it runs thus: "Moreover, we have granted to him an acquittance of all obligations which our father *extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity.*" saving such homage as, of right, the predecessors of William had been accustomed to render to the kings of England." The document concluded by declaring that all evidence in his possession of the homage done to Henry II., by the barons and clergy of Scotland, should be given up; and it set forth that all such evidence, whether given up or not, should be regarded as cancelled.—ED.

Considerable citizens were among rioters.

Butchery of the Jews at York.

Ancient situation of England.

of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the usual terms merely for the territories which that prince held in England. The English, of all ranks, were oppressed by numerous exactions. Menaces were employed, both against the innocent and the guilty, in order to extort money from them; and, where a pretence was wanting against the rich, the king obliged them, by the fear of his displeasure, to lend him sums which he knew it would never be in his power to repay.

But Richard, though he sacrificed every interest to the success of this enterprise, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. 'You counsel well,' replied Richard; 'and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates.*'

Richard, jealous of attempts which might be made during his absence, laid prince John, as well as his natural brother Geoffrey archbishop of York, under engagements, confirmed by their oaths, that neither of them should enter the kingdom till his return; though he thought proper, before his departure, to withdraw this prohibition. The administration was left in the hands of Hugh bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp bishop of Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm. The latter was a Frenchman of mean birth, and of a violent character; who had insinuated himself into favour, whom Richard had created chancellor, and whom he had engaged the pope also to invest with

the legantine authority, that he might the better ensure the public tranquillity. All the military and turbulent spirits flocked about the person of the king, and were impatient to distinguish themselves against the infidels in Asia; whither his inclinations, his engagements, led him, and whither he was impelled by messages from the king of France, ready to embark in this enterprise.

The emperor Frederic, a prince of great spirit and conduct, had already taken the road to Palestine at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, collected from Germany and all the northern states. Having surmounted every obstacle thrown in his way by the artifices of the Greeks and the power of the infidels, he had penetrated to the borders of Syria; when, bathing in the cold river Cydnus during the greatest heat of the summer season, he was seized with a mortal distemper, which put an end to his life. His army, under his son Conrade, reached Palestine; but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men; and was unable to make any progress against the great power, valour, and conduct, of Saladin. These reiterated calamities had taught the kings of France and England the necessity of trying another road to the holy land; and they determined to conduct their armies thither by sea, and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with the western parts of Europe. The place of rendezvous was appointed in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, found their combined army amount to one hundred thousand men; a mighty force, animated with glory and religion, conducted by two warlike monarchs, and not to be overcome by their

The emperor Frederic proceeds to the Holy Land.

He dies.

His army is nearly annihilated.

Philip and Richard set out for Palestine.

* The levity of Richard may seem out of its place in the anointed champion of religion; but the warriors who were ready to lay down their lives in the cause of the cross were never miracles of piety in their ordinary course of life. One of the eminent crusaders in 1101, was William the eighth, duke of Aquitaine. This vindicator of our holy faith, William of Malmesbury declares, had given himself up to every kind of vice. Among other dissolute acts, he caused a castle to be laid out in the form of

a nunnery, which he declared he would fill, not with nuns, but with harlots; and named the most celebrated prostitute of the time to be the lady abbess. His own wife he put away, and took the wife of another, some say of his own brother; and when the bishop of Poitiers, in consequence, was about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him, he seized the prelate by the hair of his head, and threatened to kill him with his dagger, if he did not immediately absolve him.—Ed.

Great exactions on all classes.

Want of sanctity in Richard's conduct.

Richard leaves the government in the hands of the bishops of Durham & Ely.

own misconduct, or by the unsurmountable obstacles of nature.

THE KING SETS OUT ON THE CRUSADE. 1190.

THE French prince and the English here reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, and subjected themselves to the penalty of excommunication if they should violate this public and solemn engagement. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles; with a view of meeting their fleets, which were to rendezvous in these harbours. They put to sea; and were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This incident laid the foundation of animosities which proved fatal to their enterprise.

Richard and Philip were, by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory. And these causes of emulation, which, against the common enemy, might have stimulated them to martial enterprises, soon excited, during the present leisure, quarrels between monarchs of such a fiery character. Equally haughty, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated with the least appearance of injury, and were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those causes of complaint which arose between them. Richard, candid, undesigning, violent, laid himself open to the designs of his antagonist; who, provident, interested, intriguing, failed not to take all advantages. And thus both the circumstances of their disposition in which they were similar, and those in which they differed, rendered it impossible for them to persevere in that harmony which was so necessary to the success of their undertaking.

TRANSACTIONS IN SICILY.

THE last king of Sicily and Naples was William II., who had married Joan, sister to Richard; and who, dying without issue,

had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Constantia, the only legitimate descendant surviving of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been honoured with the royal title. This princess had, in expectation of that rich inheritance, been married to Henry VI., the reigning emperor; but Tancred, her natural brother, had fixed such an interest among the barons, that, taking advantage of Henry's absence, he had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim against all the efforts of the Germans. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave him apprehensions; and he was uncertain whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in a strict alliance with the emperor his competitor; Richard was disgusted by his rigours towards the queen dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, because she had opposed his succession to the crown. Tancred, therefore, sensible of the present necessity, resolved to pay court to both these formidable princes; and he was not unsuccessful. He persuaded Philip that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprise against the infidels by any attempt against a Christian state. He restored queen Joan to her liberty; and even found means to make an alliance with Richard, who stipulated by treaty to marry his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, to one of the daughters of Tancred. But, before these terms of friendship were settled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and of the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, and had possessed himself of a small fort which commanded the harbour; and kept himself extremely on his guard against their enterprises. The citizens took umbrage; mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English; Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel. While the two kings, meeting in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of those Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard pushed forwards, in

Constantia on the death of Joan's husband, succeeds to the throne.

The two kings agree not to invade each other's dominions.

They sail, but are forced to stop at Messina.

Richard and Philip rivals.

The King of England exposed by his frankness to the artful designs of Philip.

Joan released by Richard from confinement at Palermo.

Jealousies of the kings of England and France.

order to inquire into the reason of this extraordinary movement. The English, insolent from their power, and inflamed with former animosities, wanted but a pretence for attacking the Messinese; they soon chased them off the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to restrain them from pillaging and massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave orders, in token of his victory, that the standard of England should be erected on the walls. Philip exclaimed against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard: but Richard informed him, by a messenger, that, though he himself would willingly remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and, if the French king attempted such an insult, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, content with this species of haughty submission, recalled his orders. The difference was seemingly accommodated; but still left rancour and jealousy in the breasts of the two monarchs.

Tancred, who, for his own security, desired to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice which might have been attended with consequences still more fatal. He shewed Richard a letter, signed by the French king, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy; in which that monarch desired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the English, and promised to assist him in putting them to the sword as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to the information; but was too candid not to betray his discontent to Philip; who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falsehood. Richard either was, or pretended to be, entirely satisfied.

Lest these jealousies and complaints should multiply between them, it was proposed that they should, by a solemn treaty, obviate all future differences. But this expedient started a new dispute. When Richard, in every treaty with the late king, insisted strenuously on being allowed to marry Alice of France, he had

only sought a pretence for quarrelling; and never meant to take to his bed a princess suspected of a criminal amour with his own father. After he became master he no longer spake of that alliance; he even took measures for espousing Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured during his abode in Guienne. Queen Eleanor was daily expected with that princess at Messina; and, when Philip renewed to him his applications for espousing his sister Alice, Richard was obliged to give him an absolute refusal. It is pretended by Hoveden and other historians, that he was able to produce such convincing proofs of Alice's infidelity, and even of her having born a child to Henry, that her brother desisted from his applications, and chose to wrap up the dishonour of his family in silence and oblivion. It is certain, from the treaty itself, which remains, that, whatever were his motives, he permitted Richard to give his hand to Berengaria; and, having settled all other controversies with that prince, he immediately set sail to the holy land. Richard awaited some time the arrival of his mother and bride; and, when they joined him, he separated his fleet into two squadrons, and set forward. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berengaria, and the Queen Dowager of Sicily, his sister, attended him on the expedition.

The English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest; and the squadron in which the two princesses were embarked was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Limisso in that island. Isaac, prince of Cyprus, who assumed the magnificent title of Emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused to the princesses liberty, in their dangerous situation, of entering the harbour of Limisso. Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant; entered Limisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion and established governors over the island. The Greek prince, being

Richard never intended to marry the princess Alice.

He refuses the sister of the French king.

His bride joins him at Messina.

She is shipwrecked and imprisoned by Isaac of Cyprus.

Richard takes Limisso.

Richard
liberates
Berengaria,
and impris-
ons Isaac.

He marries
her and
sails for
Palestine.

thrown into prison and loaded with irons, complained of the little regard with which he was treated; upon which Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror. The king here espoused Berengaria; who immediately embarking, carried along with her to Palestine the daughter of the Cypriot prince; a dangerous rival, who was believed to have seduced the affections of her husband. Such were the libertine character and conduct of the heroes engaged in this pious enterprise!

THE KING'S ARRIVAL IN PALESTINE.

Richard
and Philip
unite
against
Acre.

Saladin de-
fends it.

Richard
and Philip
emulate
each other,

THE English army arrived in time to partake in the glory of the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of the German army, conducted by the Emperor Frederic, and the separate bodies of adventurers who continually poured in from the west, had enabled the king of Jerusalem to form this important enterprise: but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place under the command of Caracos, his own master in the art of war, and molesting the besiegers with continual attacks and sallies, had protracted the success of the enterprise, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians; and these princes, sharing the honour and danger of every action, gave hope of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed on this plan of operations: when the French monarch attacked the town, the English guarded the trenches; next day, when the English prince conducted the assault, the French succeeded him in providing for the safety of the assailants. The emulation between those rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of

that age, acquired a great and splendid reputation. But discord soon arose between these jealous and haughty princes.

STATE OF PALESTINE.

THE family of Bouillon, which had first been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry II. of England, married the heiress of that kingdom, and transmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Anjevin race ending also in a female, Guy de Lusignan, by espousing Sibylla, the heiress, had succeeded to the title; and, though he lost his kingdom by the invasion of Saladin, he was still acknowledged by all the Christians for king of Jerusalem. But, as Sibylla died without issue during the siege of Acre, Isabella, her youngest sister, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Lusignan to resign his pretensions to her husband Conrade, marquis of Montferrat. Lusignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable and indefeasible, had recourse to the protection of Richard, attended on him before he left Cyprus, and engaged him to embrace his cause. There needed no other reason for throwing Philip into the party of Conrade; and the opposite views of these great monarchs brought dissension into the Christian army, and retarded all its operations. The Templars, the Genoese, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrade; the Flemings, the Pisans, the knights of the hospital of St. John, adhered to Richard and Lusignan. But, notwithstanding these disputes, as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners; stipulated, in return for their lives, other advantagers to the Christians, such as the restoration of the Christian prisoners, and the delivery of the wood of the true cross; and this great enterprise, which had long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, was after the loss of three hundred thousand men, brought to a happy period.

But Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and of redeeming

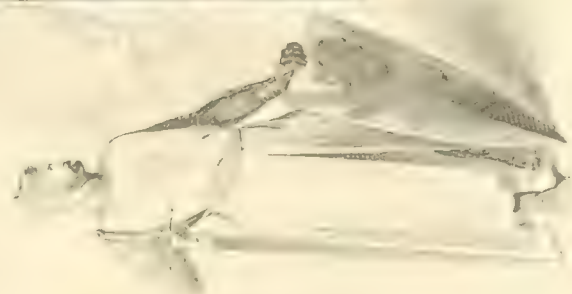
New
jealousies
are kindled.

Contest for
the throne
of Jeru-
salem.

Philip and
Richard op-
pose each
other's
views.

The Sara-
cens are
overpower-
ed.

The true
cross sur-
rendered to
the con-
querors.



the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his bad state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left, however, to Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence. But he had no sooner reached Italy than he applied, it is pretended, for a dispensation from this vow; and, when denied that request, he still proceeded, though after a covert manner, in a project which the present situation of England rendered inviting, and which gratified both his resentment and his ambition.

DISORDERS IN ENGLAND.

IMMEDIATELY after Richard had left England, and begun his march to the holy land, the two prelates, whom he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other. Longchamp, presumptuous in his nature, elated by the favour which he enjoyed with his master, and armed with the legantine commission, could not submit to an equality with the bishop of Durham: he even went so far as to arrest his colleague, and to extort from him a resignation of the earldom of Northumberland, and of his other dignities, as the price of his liberty. The king ordered, by letters from Marseilles, that the bishop should be reinstated in his offices; but Longchamp had still the boldness to refuse compliance, on pretence that he himself was better acquainted with the king's secret intentions. He proceeded to govern the kingdom by his sole authority; to treat all the nobility with arrogance; and to display his power and riches with an invidious ostentation. He never travelled without a strong guard of fifteen hundred foreign soldiers; nobles and knights were proud of being admitted into his train; his retinue wore the aspect of

royal magnificence; and when, in his progress through the kingdom, he lodged in any monastery, his attendants, it is said, were sufficient to devour, in one night, the revenue of several years.* The king, who was detained in Europe longer than the haughty prelate expected, hearing of this ostentation, and being also informed of the insolent tyrannical conduct of his minister, thought proper to restrain his power. He sent new orders, appointing Walter archbishop of Rouen, William Mareshal earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, counsellors to Longchamp, and commanding him to take no measure of importance without their approbation. But such general terror had this man impressed by his violent conduct, that even the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul durst not produce this mandate of the king's; and Longchamp still maintained an uncontrolled authority over the nation. But, when he proceeded so far as to throw into prison Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had opposed his measures, this breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such an universal ferment that prince John, disgusted with the small share he possessed in the government, and personally disobliged by Longchamp, ventured to summon, at Reading, a general council of the nobility and prelates, and cite him to appear before them. Longchamp thought it dangerous to intrust his person in their hands, and shut himself up in the tower of London; but, being soon obliged to surrender that fortress, he fled beyond sea, concealed under a female habit, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor and chief justiciary; the last of which was conferred on the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of prudence and moderation. The commission of legate, however, which had been renewed to Longchamp by pope Celestine, still gave him great authority in the kingdom, enabled him to disturb the government, and forwarded the views of Philip. That monarch first attempted to carry open war into Normandy:

* The ostentation of this prelate was equal to that of the most arrogant of his order. Lanquette says of him, "Wylliam, bishop of Elie, to whom king Richard had committed the governance of

Englande, practised much crueltee, and used to ryde with a thousande horses; whereby he greaved the places in whiche he sojourned."—ED.

Philip at-
tempts to
make war
on Richard.

Prince John
gained over
to his views.

but, as the French nobility refused to follow him in an invasion of a state which they had sworn to protect; and as the pope was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the cross, threatened him with ecclesiastical censures; he desisted from his enterprise, and employed the expedient of secret policy and intrigue. He debauched prince John from his allegiance; promised him his sister Alice in marriage; offered to give him possession of all Richard's transmarine dominions: and, had not the authority of queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the English council, prevailed over the inclinations of that turbulent prince, he was ready to have crossed the seas, and to have put in execution his criminal enterprises.

THE KING'S HEROIC ACTIONS. 1192.

THE jealousy of Philip was every moment excited by the glory which the great actions of Richard were gaining him in the east; and which, being compared to his own desertion of that popular cause, threw a double lustre on his rival. His envy, therefore, prompted him to obscure that fame which he had not equalled; and he embraced every pretence of throwing the most violent calumnies on the king of England. There was a petty prince in Asia, commonly called 'The old man of the mountain,' who had acquired such an ascendant over his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit deference to his commands; esteemed assassination meritorious when sanctified by his mandate; courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders; and fancied that, when they sacrificed their lives for his sake, the highest joys of paradise were

the infallible reward of their devoted obedience. It was the custom of this prince, when he imagined himself injured, to despatch secretly some of his subjects against the aggressor, to charge them with the execution of his revenge, to instruct them in every art of disguising their purpose; and no precaution was sufficient to guard any man against the attempts of these subtle and determined ruffians.* The greatest monarchs stood in awe of this prince of the Assassins, (for that was the name of his people; whence the word has passed into most European languages); and it was the highest indiscretion in Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, to offend and affront him. The inhabitants of Tyre, governed by that nobleman, had put to death some of this dangerous people: the prince demanded satisfaction; for, as he piqued himself on never beginning any offence, he had his regular and established formalities in requiring atonement. Conrade treated his messengers with disdain. The prince issued the fatal orders. Two of his subjects, who had insinuated themselves in disguise among Conrade's guards, openly, in the streets of Sidon, wounded him mortally; and, when they were seized and put to the most cruel tortures, they triumphed amidst their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been destined by heaven to suffer in so just and meritorious a cause.

Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from suspicion. Though that monarch had maintained the cause of Lusignan against Conrade, he had become sensible of the bad effects attending those dissensions, and voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival all

His assass-
sins the ter-
ror of
princes.

They mur-
der the
Marquis of
Montferrat.

Richard
had fa-
voured
Lusignan.

* The followers of this strange being not only deemed no danger too great to be encountered, but no labour too excessive to be endured, in the cause of their awful master. Murders, ordered by him, were performed with the coolest deliberation: the case of Conrade formed an instance of it. Several months before this event, two of his adherents made their appearance in Tyre, assumed the religious habit, and made themselves conspicuous for their supposed sanctity. An opportunity offering for the accomplishment of their object, while Conrade was

sharing in the festivities of the city, they prepared for committing the deed, and on his return buried their daggers in his body. The alarm was given, and a great tumult ensued. One of the assassins escaped, and concealed himself in a church, into which the bleeding victim was carried. Perceiving that Conrade still lived, and that the mandate of the old man of the mountain had not been duly obeyed, the desperado instantly sprang from his hiding place, and, inflicting a new blow, extinguished the last spark of life.—ED.

The old
man of the
mountain.

The King of France accuses Richard of murder.

Philip complains Richard's guilt to all Europe.

great battle in Palestine.

Saladin is aided by Richard.

pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem. Conrad, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard; the prince of the Assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe; yet on this foundation the king of France thought fit to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat. He filled all Europe with exclamations against the crime; appointed a guard for his own person, in order to defend himself against a like attempt; and endeavoured by these shallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom he himself had deserted, and who was engaged with so much glory in a war universally acknowledged to be the common cause of Christendom.

But Richard's heroic conduct in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers under his command determined to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea coast with that intention. Saladin purposed to intercept their passage; and he placed himself on the road with an army amounting to three hundred thousand combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age; and the most celebrated for the military genius of the commanders, for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. Both the right wing of the Christians, commanded by d'Avesnes, and the left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were, in the beginning of the day, broken and defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, restored the battle; attacked the enemy with intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part both of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand were said to have

perished in the field. Ascalon fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with equal success: Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem; when he had the mortification to find that he must put a stop to his career of victory.* The crusaders, animated with an enthusiastic ardour for the holy wars, broke at first through all regards to safety or interest; and, trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, and want, had gradually abated that fury, which nothing was able directly to withstand; and every one, except the king of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning into Europe. The Germans and the Italians declared their resolution of desisting from the enterprise; the French were still more obstinate in this purpose; the duke of Burgundy, in order to pay court to Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and opposing Richard; and there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the Christians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch, and stipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other seaport towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

The liberty in which Saladin indulged the Christians, to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the furious wars which he waged in defence of the barren territory of

Ascalon takes.

The crusaders weary of the struggle.

A truce concluded between Richard and Saladin.

The truce identified with the "magical number" of three.

* Hume has passed lightly over the exploits of Richard; some of which, as told by the old chroniclers, from their extravagance, were ill suited to the gravity of history. They describe him to have commonly returned to his camp, at the close of day, with

ten, twenty, or thirty, Saracens' bleeding heads, suspended to the neck of his horse. It must have added considerably to the fatigue of killing so many Mussulmans, thus to have displayed their lifeless remains.—Ed.

Richard and Saladin compared.

Barbarities of Richard and Saladin.

Death of Saladin.

Judea, were not with him the result of superstition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of science, moderation, humanity, was at that time entirely on the side of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor displayed a spirit and generosity which even his bigotted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. Richard, equally brave, carried with him more of the barbarian character; and was guilty of acts of ferocity which threw a stain on his celebrated victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five thousand, to be butchered;* and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the princes of the crusade. Before he expired, he ordered his winding sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city; while a crier went before, and pro-

claimed with a loud voice, 'This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the east.' By his will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

His last command.

THE KING'S RETURN AND CAPTIVITY. 1193.

THERE remained, after the truce, no business of importance to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John and those of the king of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and, being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with a purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany.† Pursued by the governor of Istria, he

Richard travels disguised as a pilgrim.

* The number of unfortunates thus massacred, is reduced, by French writers, to two thousand six hundred; and this slaughter appears to have been in retaliation for the cruelty of Saladin, who, on the occasion of one of his victories, had caused count Renaud to be decapitated; and granted to his emirs and doctors the indulgence of murdering each a christian prisoner.—Ed.

† Directing his course along the Adriatic, he was shipwrecked near Aquileia; and, fearing lest he might be discovered in that unprotected state by any of the European princes whose enmity he had reason to dread, he put on the habit of a simple pilgrim, and commenced his journey towards Germany, through which country he hoped to find his way safe to England. But his imprudent exposure of the wealth which he bore, quickly destroyed what little protection he was capable of deriving from his disguise. Desiring to obtain a safe conduct through the domain of the Count Meinhard, a friend of the murdered Conrade, he was aware that it would be necessary for him to use the utmost precaution in concealing the knowledge of his real character from Meinhard, who was strongly attached to the prince of Tyre. He therefore demanded a passport as the Merchant Hugo, and sent the count a splendid ruby ring, by way of purchasing the favour required. Meinhard, on seeing the costly jewel, immediately exclaimed, "Not the merchant Hugo, but king Richard, sends me this ring. I have sworn not to allow any pilgrim to pass through my territory; but, from regard for the good will which the king has shown, and out of respect for his worth, I will grant him a safe conduct, but beg to return him his jewel." The fair words of the count, however, were only intended to deceive the king; and the latter very narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the

emissaries of the treacherous Meinhard. Scarcely was he delivered from this peril, when he fell into another, being pursued by the brother of his former enemy, who sent after him a knight, to whom he gave directions to force the house where Richard had taken up his lodging. But, fortunately for the king, the knight knew him, and being friendly to him, gave him a strong and swift horse, allowed him to escape unharmed. For three days and three nights he rode without venturing to seek shelter or nourishment; but, at length, stopped at an obscure inn, in a small village near Vienna, where for some days he remained closely immured. Still, however, he had not been warned sufficiently by his late escapes to act with prudence to secure his safety. A large and splendid ring, which it little became a simple pilgrim to wear, he still retained on his finger; and took so little care in warning his attendant of the necessity of secrecy, that that worthy follower exposed the gold coins of Syria, which they had brought with them; and when he found he had awakened the suspicions of the people, he vainly endeavoured to allay them, by reporting that his employer was a rich merchant. Not trusting, however, to the success of his attempt to undo the mischief of this imprudent conduct, he warned his master immediately to leave the place; but Richard preferred meeting the danger to resuming his journey; and the suspicion of some people at Vienna being further increased, he was sought for, and arrested by one of the officers of duke Leopold, whose enmity to Richard had been so violently excited at the siege of Ptolemais. The unfortunate king declared he would surrender only to the duke himself; and when the latter appeared, he resigned his sword."—*History of Chivalry*.

was forced out of the direct road, and was obliged to pass by Vienna; where his expenses and liberalities betrayed the monarch; and he was arrested by order of Leopold duke of Austria. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; but, being disgusted by some insult of that haughty monarch,* he seized the present opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and revenge; and he threw the king into prison. The emperor Henry VI., who also considered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted by him with Tancred king of Sicily, dispatched messengers to the duke of Austria, required the royal captive to be delivered to him, and stipulated a large sum of money as a reward for his service. Thus the king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the basest and most sordid of mankind.

The English council was astonished on receiving this fatal intelligence. The queen dowager wrote letters to pope Celestine, exclaiming against the injury which her son had sustained; representing the impiety of detaining in prison the most illustrious prince that had yet carried the banners of Christ into the holy land; claiming the protection of the apostolic see, which was due even to the meanest of those adventurers; and upbraiding the pope that, in a cause which it might well befit his holiness himself to support by taking in person a journey to Germany, the spiritual thunders should so long be suspended over those sacrilegious offenders. The zeal of Celestine corresponded not to the impatience of the queen mother; and the regency of England were, for a long time, left to struggle alone with all their domestic and foreign enemies.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

THE king of France, quickly informed of

Richard's confinement by a message from the emperor, prepared himself to take advantage of the incident; and he employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negotiation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He revived the calumny of Richard's assassinating the marquis of Montferrat; and by that induced his barons to violate their oaths, by which they had engaged that, during the crusade, they never would, on any account, attack the dominions of the king of England. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner, or detain him in perpetual captivity. He even formed an alliance by marriage with the king of Denmark, desired that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England should be transferred to him, and solicited a supply of shipping to maintain it. But the most successful of Philip's negotiations was with prince John; who, forgetting every tie to his brother, his sovereign, and his benefactor, thought of nothing but how to make his own advantage of the public calamities. That traitor, on the first invitation from the court of France, suddenly went abroad, and made a treaty, of which the object was the perpetual ruin of his unhappy brother. He stipulated to deliver into Philip's hands a great part of Normandy; he received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and it is reported by several historians that he even did homage to the French king for the crown of England.

In consequence of this treaty Philip invaded Normandy; and, by the treachery of John's emissaries, made himself master, without opposition, of many fortresses; Neufchatel, Neaufle, Gisors, Pacey, Ivree: he subdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and, advancing to form the siege of Rouen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they dared to make resistance. Happily Robert earl of Leicester appeared in that critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour during the crusade, and who, being more

Philip resents the confinement of Richard.

He attempts to form a coalition against England.

Prince John favours the schemes of Philip.

Philip invades Normandy.

The earl of Leicester opposes him.

* At the taking of St. Jean de Acre, Leopold having planted his banner on one angle of the rampart,

Richard caused it to be thrown into the ditch by his people. Subsequently, wishing the walls of Ascalon,

Philip is repulsed.

fortunate than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command in Rouen, and exerted himself to infuse courage into the dismayed Normans. Philip was repulsed; the time of service from his vassals expired; and he consented to a truce with the English regency, received in return the promise of twenty thousand marks, and had four castles put into his hands as security for the payment.

Prince John claims the crown, but is rejected.

Prince John, who, with a view of increasing the general confusion, went over to England, was still less successful in his enterprises. He was only able to make himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but, when he arrived in London, and claimed the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce; and before its expiration he thought it prudent to return into France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

THE KING'S DELIVERY AND RETURN.—1194.

Richard treated with great severity.

MEANWHILE the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of indignity. The French ambassadors, in their master's name, renounced him as a vassal to the crown of France, and declared all his fiefs to be forfeited to his liege lord. The emperor, that he might render him more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a large ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused by Henry of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of turning the arms of the crusade against a

He is brought before the Diet of Worms.

to be rebuilt, he issued orders to that effect to Leopold, who disdainfully replied "I am neither a carpenter

Christian prince, and subduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the king of France; of assassinating Conrade marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, and whose genius was rather roused by these frivolous or scandalous imputations, after premising that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction except that of Heaven, yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct. He observed that he had no hand in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in possession of the throne: that the king, or rather tyrant, of Cyprus had provoked his indignation by the most unjust proceedings; and, though he chastised this aggressor, he had not retarded a moment the progress of his chief enterprise: that, if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently punished for that sally of passion; and it became better men, embarked in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's infirmities than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance: that it had sufficiently appeared by the event whether the king of France or he were most zealous for the conquest of the holy land; that, if the whole tenor of his life had not shewn him incapable of a base assassination, it was in vain for him to make an apology, or plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour: and that, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin that he rather gloried in that event; and thought it extremely honourable that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the east had

Richard vindicates his fame.

He accuses his enemies.

Richard justifies his treaty with Saladin.

nor a mason," a retort which was requited with a kick by Richard."—*Burette*.

Richard denounces the cruelty with which he had been treated.

The council declare in his favour.

A treaty of ransom concluded.

Contributions are made in England to pay the ransom.

ever produced. Richard, after thus deigning to apologize for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with: that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes; be thrown into a dungeon; be loaded with irons; be obliged to plead his cause, as if he were a subject and malefactor; and, what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade, which he had projected after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ, which had so long been profaned by the dominion of infidels. The spirit and eloquence of Richard made such impression on the German princes that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had hearkened to the king of France and prince John, found that it would be impracticable for him to execute their base purposes, or to detain the king of England any longer. He therefore concluded with him a treaty for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of one hundred thousand marks, about three hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money; of which one hundred thousand marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered for the remainder. The emperor, as if to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, made at the same time a present to Richard of the kingdom of Arles, comprehending Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and other states, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; a present which the king very wisely neglected.

The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were therefore levied on each knight's fee in England: but, as this money came in slowly, and was not sufficient for the intended purpose, the voluntary zeal of the people readily sup-

plied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate, to the amount of thirty thousand marks; the bishops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes: and, the requisite sum being thus collected, queen Eleanor, and Walter archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria at Mentz; delivered hostages for the remainder; and freed Richard. His escape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the assassination of the bishop of Liege, and in an attempt of a like nature on the duke of Louvaine; and, finding himself extremely obnoxious to the German princes, he had determined to seek support from an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of that prince, in perpetual captivity; to keep in his hands the money which he had already received for his ransom: and to extort fresh sums from Philip and prince John, who were very liberal in their offers. He therefore gave orders that Richard should be pursued and arrested: but the king had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and was out of sight of land when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch; who had suffered so many calamities; who had acquired so much glory; and who had spread the reputation of their name into the farthest east. He gave them an opportunity of publicly displaying their exultation, by ordering himself to be crowned anew at Winchester; as if he intended by that ceremony to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. Their satisfaction was not damped, even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant grants which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the holy land. The barons also, in a great council, confiscated, on account of his treason, all prince John's possessions in England; and they assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which remained in the hands of his brother's adherents. Richard, having settled every thing in

The churches and monasteries melt down their plate.

Richard is liberated.

A treacherous scheme to detain him is foiled.

He is joyfully received in England.

He is crowned again, and restores former grants.

Richard
invades
Normandy.

England, passed with an army into Normandy; being impatient to make war on Philip. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance from captivity he wrote to his confederate John in these terms; 'Take care of yourself; the devil is broken loose.'

WAR WITH FRANCE.

War with
France.

WHEN we consider such powerful and martial monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other, we expect an obstinate war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. Yet are the incidents which attend those hostilities so frivolous, that scarce any historian can entertain such a passion for military descriptions as to venture on a detail of them. The whole amount of the exploits on both sides is the taking of a castle, the surprise of a straggling party, a encounter of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle. Richard obliged Philip to raise the siege of Verneuil; he took Loches, a small town in Anjou; he made himself master of Beaumont, and some other places of little consequence; and, after these trivial exploits, the two kings began already to hold conferences for an accommodation. Philip insisted that, if a general peace were concluded, the barons on each side should be prohibited from carrying on private wars against each other: but Richard replied that this was a right claimed by his vassals, and he could not debar them from it. After this there ensued an action between the French and English cavalry at Fretteval, in which the former were routed, and the king of France's cartulary and records, which commonly at that time attended his person, were taken. But this victory leading to no important advantage, a truce for a year was concluded between the two monarchs.

The tri-
umphs on
either side
of little im-
portance.

A victory
gained
by the
English.

Prince John
deserts
Philip.

During this war prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's

feet, craved pardon for his offences, and by the intercession of queen Eleanor was received into favour. 'I forgive him,' said the king, 'and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon.' John was incapable even of returning to his duty without committing a baseness. Before he left Philip's party he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux; he massacred them during the entertainment; fell, with the assistance of the townsmen, on the garrison, whom he put to the sword; and then delivered up the place to his brother.

King Rich-
ard pardons
his brother.

John per-
petrates a
cruel mas-
sacre.

The king of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity. The conduct of John, as well as that of the emperor and duke of Austria, had been so base, and was exposed to such general odium and reproach, that the king deemed himself sufficiently revenged for their injuries; and he seems never to have entertained any project of vengeance against any of them. The duke of Austria, about this time, having crushed his leg by the fall of his horse at a tournament, was thrown into a fever; and, being struck, on the approaches of death, with remorse for his injustice to Richard, he ordered, by will, all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted.* His son, who seemed inclined to disobey these orders, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute them. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, and offered to give him a discharge of all the debt to him, provided he would enter into an offensive alliance against the king of France; a proposal which was greedily embraced. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any remarkable incidents. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a

Richard
most hos-
tile to the
king of
France.

The Duke
of Austria
repents his
severe
treatment
of Rich-
ard.

War re-
newed.

* Some of the ancient writers give a different account of Leopold's death. They describe five different plagues to have fallen upon him: his chief towns were burned; ten thousand of his men were drowned by a sudden flood; all the ears of his corn

were turned to worms; nearly all the nobles of his land were snatched away by the hand of death; and finally, falling from his horse, he was obliged to amputate the limb with his own hand; from which operation he died.—ED.



few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace. Their mutual antipathy engaged them again in war before two months expired. Richard imagined that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages, by forming an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France. But he soon experienced the insincerity of those princes; and was not able to make any impression on that kingdom, while governed by a monarch of so much vigour and activity as Philip. The most remarkable incident of this war was the taking prisoner in battle the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, who was of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king's. Richard, who hated that bishop, threw him into prison and loaded him with irons; and, when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the king sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood: and replied to him, in the terms employed by Jacob's sons to that patriarch, 'This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.' This new war between England and France, though carried on with such animosity that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners, was soon finished by a truce of five years; and immediately after signing this treaty the kings were ready, on some new offence, to break out again into hostilities; when the meditation of the cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, accommodated the difference. This prelate even engaged the princess to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negociation.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.—1199.

VIDOMAR, viscount of Limoges, a vassal

* "Upon this insolent answer every one looked the king should have censured him to some terrible punishment; when, contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of charity, he not only freely forgave

of the king's, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to that prince as a present. Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and, at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied that, since he had taken the pains to besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and would hang every one of them. The same day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançons, approached the castle in order to survey it; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and whom he reserved for a more deliberate and more cruel execution.

The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal. He so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible that his life was drawing towards a period. He sent for Gourdon, and asked him, 'Wretch, what have I ever done to you, to oblige you to seek my life?'—'What have you done to me?' replied coolly the prisoner; 'You killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myself: I am now in your power, you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance.'* Richard, struck with the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty; and a sum of money to be given him; but Marcardee, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died on the sixth of April, in the tenth year of

him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt, commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. —Baker.—Ed.

Richard besieged the castle of Chalus.

He was wounded by Bertrand de Gourdon.

The wound proved fatal.

De Gourdon claims the vengeance of Richard.

Richard dies.

his reign, and the forty-second of his age; and he left no issue behind him.

His military talents his greatest distinction.

The most shining part of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, 'cœur de lion.' He passionately loved glory. His resentments were high; his pride unconquerable; and his subjects, as well as his neighbours, had reason to apprehend, from the continuance of his reign, a perpetual scene of blood and violence. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good as well as the bad qualities incident to that character: he was open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave; he was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, and cruel. He seems to have been much beloved by his English subjects; and he is remarked to have been the first prince of the Norman line that bore any sincere regard to them. He passed, however, only four months of his reign in that kingdom; the crusade employed him near three years; he was detained about fourteen months in captivity; the rest of his reign was spent either in war, or preparations for war, against France: and he was so pleased with the fame which he had acquired in the east, that he determined to have farther exhausted his kingdom, and to have exposed himself to new hazards, by conducting another expedition against the infidels.

He was beloved by his subjects.

Only four months of his reign passed in England.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

High taxes imposed in the time of Richard.

THOUGH the English pleased themselves with the glory which the king's martial genius procured them, his reign was very oppressive, by the high taxes which he levied on them, and often without the consent of the states or great council. In the ninth year of his reign he levied five shillings on each hide of land; and, because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might claim. Twice in his reign he ordered all

his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is said that Hubert, his justiciary, sent him over to France, in the space of two years, no less a sum than eleven hundred thousand marks, besides bearing all the charges of the government in England. But this is quite incredible, unless we suppose Richard made a thorough dilapidation of the demesnes of the crown, which it is not likely he could do with any advantage after his former resumption of all grants. A king, who possessed such a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months captivity for not paying one hundred and fifty thousand marks to the emperor, and be obliged at last to leave hostages for a third of the sum. The prices of commodities in this reign are also a certain proof that no such enormous sum could be levied on the people. A hide of land, or about a hundred and twenty acres, was commonly let at twenty shillings a year money of that time. As there were two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hides in England, it is easy to compute the amount of all the landed rents of the kingdom. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings; of a labouring horse the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, ten pence; with coarse wool, six-pence. These commodities seem not to have advanced in their prices since the conquest, and to have still been ten times cheaper than at present.

Treasure sent out of the country to Richard.

Advanced prices since the conquest.

Richard renewed the severe laws against transgressors in his forests. He established by law one weight and measure throughout his kingdom. A useful institution, which the mercenary disposition and necessities of his successor engaged him to dispense with for money.

Severe laws renewed.

The disorders in London, derived from its bad police, had risen to a great height during this reign; and in the year 1196 there seemed to be formed so regular a conspiracy among the numerous malefactors as threatened the city with destruction. There was one William Fitz Osbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer, who had rendered himself extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; and, by defending them, had acquired the appella-

William Fitz-Osbert, called Longbeard, a mischievous lawyer.

tion of the advocate or saviour of the poor. He exerted his authority by injuring the more substantial citizens, with whom he lived in a state of hostility, and who were exposed to the most outrageous violences from him and his licentious emissaries. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pilaged in daylight; and it is pretended that fifty-two thousand persons had entered into an association, by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief justiciary, summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct; but he came so well attended that no one durst accuse or give evidence against him; and the primate contented himself with exacting from the citizens hostages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a watchful eye on Fitz Osbert; and, seizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to commit him to custody: but the criminal, murdering one of the public officers, escaped with his concubine to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himself by force of arms. He was at last forced from his retreat, condemned, and executed, amidst the regrets of the populace; who were so devoted to his memory that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating reports of the miracles wrought by it. But, though the sectaries of this superstition were punished by the justiciary, it received so little encouragement from the established clergy, whose property was endangered by such seditious practices, that it suddenly sunk and vanished.*

It was during the crusades that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights, cased

up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.

King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry; there even remains some poetical works of his composition; and he bears a rank among the Provençal poets or Trobadors, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

CHAPTER XI.

JOHN.

1199.—1216.

ACCESSION OF THE KING.—HIS MARRIAGE.

—WAR WITH FRANCE.—MURDER OF ARTHUR DUKE OF BRITTANY.—THE KING EXPELLED THE FRENCH PROVINCES.—THE KING'S QUARREL WITH THE COURT OF ROME.—CARDINAL LANGTON APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—INTERDICT OF THE KINGDOM.—EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE KING.—THE KING'S SUBMISSION TO THE POPE.—DISCONTENTS AND INSURRECTION OF THE BARONS.—MAGNA CHARTA.—RENEWAL OF THE CIVIL WARS.—PRINCE LEWIS CALLED OVER.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.

ACCESSION OF THE KING. 1199.

THE noble and free genius of the ancients, which made the government of a single person be always regarded as a species of tyranny and usurpation, and kept them from forming any conception of a legal and

blood, at least made noble, no less than an earl, for some deserving services; but, having wasted his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course. In which, yet it may be said, he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, sparing the poor, and only made a prey of the rich: till the king setting forth a proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain nunnery in Yorkshire, called Birkleys; and desiring there to be let blood was betrayed and bled to death."—Ed.

* In this reign a celebrated marauder, Robin Hood, is believed to have lived; the Adam, perhaps, of that race of generous thieves and benevolent cut-throats, which have for centuries had possession of the stage. So much of the fabulous is connected with his exploits, that his ever having existed has become questionable. The traditionary story of him is thus preserved by Baker: "Robin Hood, accompanied with one Little John and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passages upon the highway. By some it is said, he was of nobler

Richard was fond of poetry.

The free genius of antiquity opposed a regular monarchy.

The rule of succession imperfectly established.

Richard declares Duke Arthur heir to the crown.

Richard by his will named Prince John his successor.

regular monarchy, had rendered them entirely ignorant both of the rights of primogeniture and a representation in succession; inventions so necessary for preserving order in the lines of princes, for obviating the evils of civil discord and of usurpation, and for begetting moderation in that species of government, by giving security to the ruling sovereign. These innovations arose from the feudal law; which, first introducing the right of primogeniture, made such a distinction between the families of the elder and younger brothers, that the son of the former was thought entitled to succeed to his grandfather, preferably to his uncles. But, though this progress of ideas was natural, it was gradual. The practice of representation was indeed introduced, but not thoroughly established. Richard, when he entered on the holy war, declared his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, his successor; and by a formal deed he set aside, in his favour, the title of his brother John, who was younger than Geoffrey, the father of that prince. But John so little acquiesced in that destination, that, when he gained the ascendant by expelling Longchamp, the chancellor and great justiciary, he engaged all the English barons to swear that they would maintain his right of succession; and Richard, on his return, took no steps towards restoring the order which he had at first established. He was even careful, by his last will, to declare his brother John heir to all his dominions; whether that he now thought Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, incapable of asserting his claim against John's faction, or was influenced by Eleanor, the queen-mother, who hated Constantia, mother of the young duke, and who dreaded the credit which that princess would naturally acquire if her son should mount the throne. The authority of a testament was great in that age, even where the succession of a kingdom was concerned; and John had reason to hope that this title would ensure him the suc-

cession. But the idea of representation seems to have made, at this time, greater progress in France than in England. The barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, immediately declared in favour of Arthur's title, and applied for assistance to the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced the cause of the young duke of Brittany, and sent him to Paris to be educated along with his own son Lewis. In this emergence John hastened to establish his authority in the chief members of the monarchy; and, after sending Eleanor into Poitou and Guienne, where her right was incontestible, and was readily acknowledged, he hurried to Rouen; and, having secured the duchy of Normandy, he passed over to England. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, William Mareschal earl of Strigul, who also passes by the name of earl of Pembroke, and Geoffrey Fitz Peter the justiciary, the three most favoured ministers of the late king, were already engaged on his side; and the submission or acquiescence of all the other barons put him, without opposition, in possession of the throne.*

The king soon returned to France to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew Arthur. The alliances which Richard had formed with the earl of Flanders and other potent French princes, still subsisted, and enabled John to defend himself against all the efforts of his enemy. In an action between the French and Flemings the elect bishop of Cambrai was taken prisoner by the former; and, when the cardinal of Capua claimed his liberty, Philip, instead of complying, reproached him with the weak efforts which he had employed in favour of the bishop of Beauvais, who was in a like condition. The legate, to show his impartiality, laid at the same time the

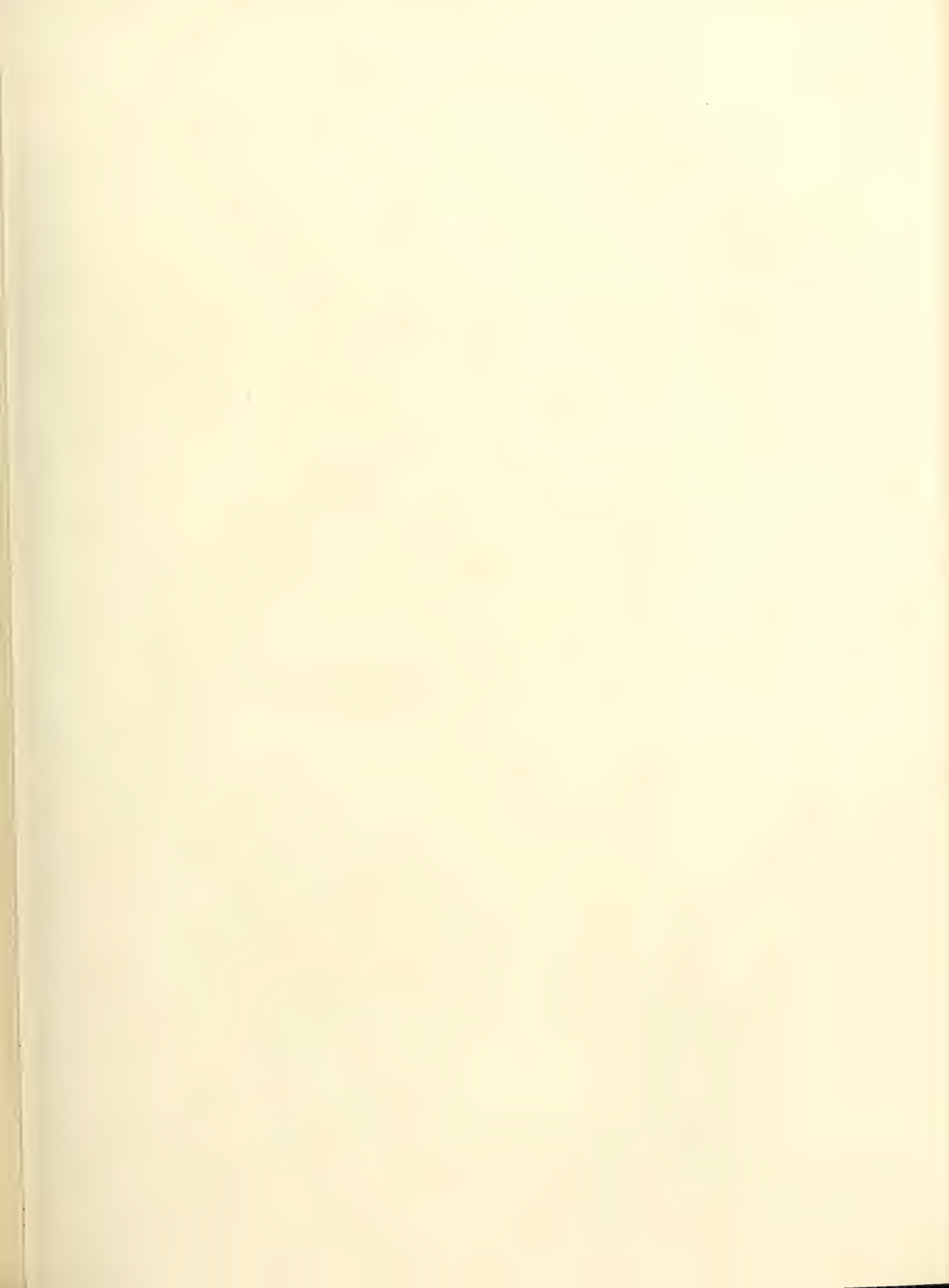
The French king favours Arthur.

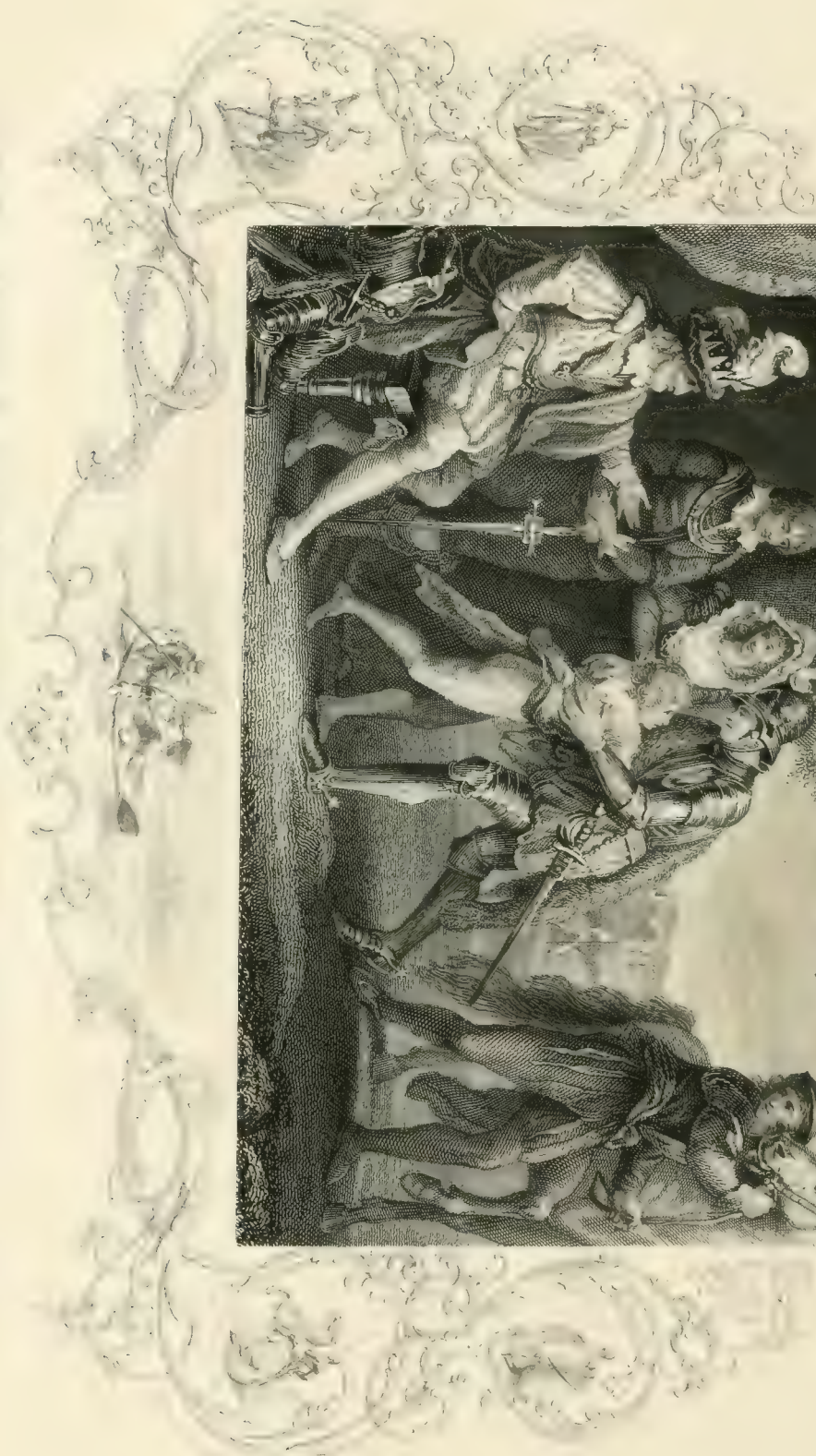
John gains possession of the crown.

The Bishop of Cambrai taken prisoner.

* "Upon Ascension day in the year 1199, he was crowned king at Westminster, with more solemnity than joy; many presaging by their countenances, and more in their minds, that all would not long be well.

It cannot be denied but, in moral circumstances, earl John had the advantage of his nephew Arthur, for he was a man of years fit to govern, Arthur but a child thirteen years old."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.





He is exchanged for the bishop of Beauvais.

Duke Arthur is withdrawn from Philip.

Peace between France and England.

John gives his niece to the French king's son.

John is enamoured of a young lady.

kingdom of France and the duchy of Normandy under an interdict; and the two kings found themselves obliged to make an exchange of these military prelates.

Nothing enabled the king to bring this war to a happy issue so much as the selfish intriguing character of Philip, who acted, in the provinces that had declared for Arthur, without any regard to the interests of that prince. Constantia, seized with a violent jealousy that he intended to usurp the entire dominion of them, found means to carry off her son secretly from Paris; she put him into the hands of his uncle; restored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince; and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy. From this incident Philip saw that he could not hope to make any progress against John; and, being threatened with an interdict on account of his irregular divorce from Ingelburga, the Danish princess whom he had espoused, he became desirous of peace. After some fruitless conferences, the terms were adjusted; and the two monarchs seemed to have an intention, besides ending the present quarrel, of preventing all future causes of discord, and of obviating every controversy which should hereafter arise. They adjusted the limits of all their territories; mutually secured the interests of their vassals; and, to render the union more durable, John gave his niece Blanche of Castile in marriage to prince Lewis, Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri. Nine barons of the king of England, and as many of the king of France, were guarantees of this treaty; and all of them swore that, if their sovereign violated any article of it, they would declare against him, and embrace the cause of the injured monarch.

THE KING'S MARRIAGE. 1200.

JOHN, now secure, as he imagined, on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymar Tailleffer, count of Angouleme, a lady with

whom he had become much enamoured. His queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive. Isabella was married to the count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman; though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not been consummated. The passion of John made him overlook all these obstacles. He persuaded the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and, having on some pretence, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella; regardless both of the menaces of the pope, and of the resentment of the injured count, who soon found means of punishing his powerful and insolent rival.

John had not the art of attaching his barons either by affection or by fear. The count de la Marche, and his brother the count d'Eu, taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy; and obliged the king to have recourse to arms, to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, and to quell the rebels. He found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied that they would not attend him, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges: the first system of a regular association and plan of liberty among those noblemen! But affairs were not yet fully ripe for the revolution projected. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert; and both engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest to pay him a scutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the service.

The force which John carried abroad with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him much superior to his malcontent barons; and so much the more as Philip did not publicly give them any countenance, and seemed as yet determined to persevere steadily in the alliance which he had contracted with England. But the king, elated with his

The divorce of the Count of Angouleme.

He marries Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angouleme.

The barons claim restoration of their privileges.

He intimidates or purchases them.

John gives new offence by retaining bravos as his champions.

superiority, advanced claims which gave an universal alarm to his vassals, and diffused still wider the general discontent. As the jurisprudence of those times required that the causes in the lord's court should chiefly be decided by duel, he carried along with him certain bravos, whom he retained as champions, and whom he destined to fight with his barons, in order to determine any controversy which he might raise against them. The count de la Marche, and other noblemen, regarded this proceeding as an affront, as well as an injury; and declared that they would never draw their sword against men of such inferior quality. The king menaced them with vengeance; but he had not vigour to employ against them the force in his hands, or to prosecute the injustice by crushing entirely the nobles who opposed it.

WAR WITH FRANCE. —1201.

The barons seek redress from the king of France.

THIS government, equally feeble and violent, gave the injured barons courage as well as inclination to carry farther their opposition: they appealed to the king of France, complained of the denial of justice in John's court; demanded redress from him as their superior lord; and entreated him to employ his authority, and prevent their final ruin and oppression. Philip perceived his advantage, interposed in behalf of the French barons, and began to talk in a high and menacing style to the king of England. John, who could not disavow Philip's authority, replied that it belonged to himself first to grant them a trial by their peers in his own court; it was not till he failed in this duty that he was answerable to his peers in the supreme court of the French king; and he promised, by a fair and equitable judicature, to give satisfaction to his barons. When the nobles demanded a safe-conduct, that they might attend his court, he at first refused it; upon the renewal of Philip's menaces he promised to grant their demand; he violated this promise; fresh menaces extorted from him a promise to surrender to Philip the fortresses of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a security for performance; he again violated this engagement; his enemies,

John proposes an equitable arrangement.

He repeatedly violates his engagements.

sensible both of his weakness and want of faith, combined still closer in the resolution of pushing him to extremities; and a new and powerful ally soon appeared to encourage them in their invasion of this odious and despicable government.

The young duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by an union with Philip and the malcontent barons. He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities: he was received with great marks of distinction by Philip; was knighted by him; espoused his daughter Mary; and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies. Tillieres and Boutavant were taken by Philip, after making a feeble defence; Mortimar and Lyons fell into his hands almost without resistance. That prince next invested Gournai; and, opening the sluices of a lake which lay in the neighbourhood, poured such a torrent of water into the place that the garrison deserted it, and the French monarch made himself master of that important fortress. The progress of the French arms was rapid. In answer to every advance which John made towards peace, Philip still insisted that he should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with the kingdom of England; when an event happened which seemed to turn the scales in favour of John, and to give him a decisive superiority over his enemies.

Young Arthur, fond of military renown, had broken into Poictou at the head of a small army; and, passing near Mirebeau, he heard that his grandmother queen Eleanor, who had always opposed his interests, was lodged in that place, and was protected by a weak garrison and ruinous fortifications. He determined to lay siege to the fortress, and make himself master of her person. But John, roused from his indolence, collected an army of English and Brabançons, and advanced from Normandy with hasty marches to the relief of the queen mother. He fell

John has to encounter a new opponent.

Duke Arthur joins the French king against John.

The French arms are successful.

Arthur takes Queen Eleanor prisoner.



Arthur
is made
prisoner by
John.

on Arthur's camp before that prince was aware of the danger; dispersed his army: took him prisoner, together with the count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Lusignan, and the most considerable of the revolted barons; and returned in triumph to Normandy. Philip, who was lying before Arques in that duchy, raised the siege and retired upon his approach. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England; but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise.

MURDER OF ARTHUR.*

The king
has a con-
ference
with his
nephew.

THE king had here a conference with his nephew; represented to him the folly of his pretensions; and required him to renounce the French alliance, which had encouraged him to live in a state of enmity with all his family: but the brave, though imprudent youth, maintained the justice of his cause; asserted his claim, not only to the French provinces, but to the crown of England; and in his turn, required the king to restore the son of his elder brother to the possession of his inheritance. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince might prove a dangerous enemy, determined to prevent all future peril by

Arthur
is angry
against the
cousins of
John.

dispatching his nephew; and Arthur was never more heard of. The circumstances which attended this deed of darkness were, no doubt, carefully concealed by the actors, and are variously related: but the most probable account is as follows. The king first proposed to William de la Bray, one of his servants, to despatch Arthur; but William replied that he was a gentleman, not a hangman; and he positively refused compliance. Another instrument of murder was found, and was dispatched with proper orders to Falaise: but Hubert de Bourg, chamberlain to the king, and constable of the castle, feigning that he himself would execute the king's mandate, sent back the assassin, spread the report that the young prince was dead, and publicly performed all the ceremonies of his interment; but, finding that the Bretons vowed revenge for the murder, and that all the revolted barons persevered more obstinately in their rebellion, he thought it prudent to reveal the secret, and to inform the world that the duke of Brittany was still alive, and in his custody. This discovery proved fatal to the young prince: John first removed him to the castle of Rouen; and, coming in a boat during the night, commanded Arthur to be brought forth to him. The young prince, aware of his

The king
orders his
assassin to
return.

The king
is taken
by report.

The king
has a
night meet-
ing with
Arthur.

* The fate of this young prince is variously related by the elder historians. Sir Richard Baker, speaking of his death says, "Whether it were that, attempting to make his escape, he fell down from the walls of his prison and was drowned in the river Seyne, as some say; or whether it were that, through anguish of mind, he fell sick and died, as others say; or whether indeed he were made away by the king John, as the common fame went: certain it is, that he survived his imprisonment but a very few days." Shakspeare, in his play of King John, has made Hubert his gaoler, whose instructions were to murder the prince, threaten to put out his eyes with red-hot irons. This idea the painter Northcote has taken up, and the accompanying engraving is from his picture. Shakspeare closely followed in his tragedy the incidents of a former drama, entitled "The troublesome raigne of John king of England, with the discoverie of king Richard. Cordelion's base son, vulgarly named the bastard Fawconbridge: also the death of king John at Swinstead abbey; as it was sundry times publicly acted by the queenes majesties players in the honourable cittie of London." That play was, no doubt, founded on the relations of old chroniclers, which, three centuries ago, were credited more than

they have been since. Henri Martin, relying on Guillaume le Breton, gives the following relation of the circumstances of the duke's melancholy exit. "Arthur was sixteen years of age, when John determined to get rid of him. He suddenly appeared at Poictou at the head of a strong force, surprised the youth, and carried him a prisoner to Falaise, (1202). The old knight who commanded those men was deemed by John much too scrupulous; and he was then removed to the tower of Rouen, the governor of which, however, would not understand the king, when required to do the work of an assassin. At length, on the night of Thursday, April 3rd, 1203. John, after shutting himself up alone for three days in the val de Moulineaux, got into a boat with an attendant, and presenting himself at the door of the tower which opened on the Seine, caused Arthur to be brought to him, and put off with his captive. "Spare your nephew, good uncle," exclaimed the unfortunate youth, "spare thy own, thy brother's blood;" but John, seizing him by the hair, plunged his dagger to the hilt in his bosom, and drawing the weapon recking from his body, struck his victim on the head, and stabbed him twice afterwards. When the boat was three miles from the tower, he threw the corpse overboard."—ED.

Prince Arthur is murdered by his uncle.

The Bretons complain to Philip.

He cites John to be tried before him.

Philip aims at expelling the English from France.

danger, and now more subdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy: but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed him with his own hands; and, fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

All men were struck with horror at this inhuman deed; and from that moment the king, detested by his subjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons. The Bretons waged implacable war against him; and, fixing the succession of their government, put themselves in a posture to revenge the murder of their sovereign. John had got into his power his niece Eleanor, sister to Arthur, commonly called 'the Damsel of Brittany;' and, carrying her over to England, detained her ever after in captivity. But the Bretons, in despair of recovering this princess, chose Alice for their sovereign, a younger daughter of Constantia by her second marriage with Guy de Thouars; and they intrusted the government of the duchy to that nobleman. The states of Brittany meanwhile carried their complaints before Philip as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur, who, notwithstanding the homage which he did to Normandy, was always regarded as one of the chief vassals of the crown. Philip received their application with pleasure; summoned John to stand a trial before him; and on his non-appearance passed sentence, with the concurrence of the peers, upon that prince; declared him guilty of felony and parricide; and adjudged him to forfeit to his superior lord all his seignories and fiefs in France.

The king of France, whose ambitious and active spirit had been hitherto confined, either by the sound policy of Henry or the martial genius of Richard, seeing now the opportunity favourable, embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown so many considerable fiefs, which during several ages had been dismembered from it. Many of the other great vassals, whose jealousy might have

interposed, were not at present in a situation to oppose this project; and the rest either looked on with indifference, or gave their assistance to this dangerous aggrandizement of their superior lord. The earls of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the holy war; the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianship of Philip; the duchy of Brittany, enraged at the murder of their prince, vigorously promoted all his measures; and the general defection of John's vassals made every enterprise easy and successful against him. Philip, after taking several fortresses beyond the Loire, which he either garrisoned or dismantled, received the submissions of the count of Alençon, who deserted John, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French: upon which Philip broke up his camp, in order to give the troops some repose. John, suddenly collecting some forces, laid siege to Alençon; and Philip, whose dispersed army could not be brought together in time, saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the oppression of his friend and confederate. But his active and fertile genius found an expedient against this evil. There was held at that very time a tournament at Moret in the Gatinois; whither all the chief nobility of France and the neighbouring countries had resorted. Philip presented himself before them; craved their assistance in his distress; and pointed out the plains of Alençon as the most honourable field in which they could display their generosity and martial spirit. Those valorous knights vowed that they would take vengeance on the base parricide, the stain of arms and of chivalry; and, putting themselves, with all their retinue, under the command of Philip, instantly marched to raise the siege of Alençon. John, hearing of their approach, fled from before the place; and in the hurry abandoned all his tents, machines, and baggage, to the enemy.

This feeble effort was the last exploit of that slothful and cowardly prince for the defence of his dominions. He thenceforth remained in total inactivity at Rouen; passing all this time with his young wife in pastimes and amusements, as if his

Aggrandizement of Philip.

He captures several fortresses.

John besieges Alençon.

The French king appeals to his nobles.

John precipitately retreats before Philip.

John abandons himself to indolence and luxury.



THE END OF THE WORLD

John regards the success of the French with indifference.

He is supposed to be under the influence of witchcraft.

The pope expresses his favour of John.

Philip continues his contest.

His besieges Chateau Gaillard.

affairs were in the most prosperous condition. If he ever mentioned war, it was only to give himself vaunting airs, which, in the eyes of all men, rendered him still more despicable and ridiculous. Let the French go on,' said he, 'I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire. His stupidity and indolence appeared so extraordinary, that the people endeavoured to account for the infatuation by sorcery, and believed that he was thrown into this lethargy by some magic or witchcraft. The English barons, finding that their time was wasted, and that they must suffer the disgrace of seeing, without resistance, the progress of the French arms, withdrew from their colours, and secretly returned to their own country. No one thought of defending a man, who seemed to have deserted himself; and his subjects regarded his fate with the same indifference to which, in this pressing exigency, they saw him totally abandoned.

John, while he neglected all domestic resources, had the meanness to betake himself to a foreign power, whose protection he claimed. He applied to the pope, Innocent III., and entreated him to interpose. Innocent, pleased with any occasion of exerting his superiority, sent Philip orders to stop the progress of his arms, and to make peace with the king of England. But the French barons received the message with indignation; disclaimed the temporal authority assumed by the pontiff; and vowed that they would, to the uttermost, assist their prince against all his enemies. Philip, seconding their ardour, proceeded, instead of obeying the pope's envoys, to lay siege to Chateau Gaillard, the most considerable fortress which remained to guard the frontiers of Normandy. Chateau Gaillard was situated partly on an island in the river Seine, partly on a rock opposite to it; and was secured by every advantage which either art or nature could bestow. The late king, having cast his eye on this favourable situation, had spared no labour or expense in fortifying it; and it was defended by Roger de Laci, constable of Chester, a determined officer, at the head of a numerous garrison. Philip, who despaired of taking the place by force,

purposed to reduce it by famine; and, that he might cut off its communication with the neighbouring country, he threw a bridge across the Seine, while he blockaded it by land. The earl of Pembroke, the man of greatest vigour and capacity in the English court, formed a plan for breaking through the French intrenchments, and throwing relief into the place. He carried with him an army of four thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, and suddenly attacked, with great success, Philip's camp in the night; having left orders that a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed vessels should sail up the Seine, and fall at the same instant on the bridge. But the wind and the current of the river, by retarding the vessels, disconcerted this plan of operation, and it was morning before the fleet appeared; when Pembroke, though successful in the beginning of the action, was already repulsed with considerable loss; and the king of France had leisure to defend himself against these new assailants, who also met with a repulse. After this misfortune John made no farther efforts for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; and Philip had all the leisure requisite for conducting the siege. Roger de Laci defended himself for a twelvemonth with great obstinacy; and, having bravely repelled every attack, and patiently borne all the hardships of famine, he was at last overpowered by a sudden assault in the night, and made prisoner with his garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valour even in an enemy, treated him with civility, and gave him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

When this bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, all the province lay open to the inroads of Philip; and the king of England despaired of being any longer able to defend it. He secretly prepared vessels for a scandalous flight; and, that the Normans might no longer doubt of his resolution to abandon them, he ordered the fortifications of Pont de l'Arche, Moulineaux, and Montfort l'Amauri, to be demolished. Not daring to repose confidence in any of his barons, he intrusted the government of the province to Archas Martin and Lupicaire, two mercenary

Chateau Gaillard is blockaded.

The Earl of Pembroke attempts to relieve it, but fails.

It is taken by assault.

John prepares for flight from Normandy.

The French commence hostilities with success.

The Normans despair.

Rouen surrenders.

Philip continues hostilities.

Brabançons, whom he had retained in his service. Philip, now secure of his prey, pushed his conquests with vigour and success against the dismayed Normans. Falaise was first besieged; and Lupicaire, who commanded in this impregnable fortress, after surrendering the place, enlisted himself with his troops in the service of Philip, and carried on hostilities against his ancient master. Caen, Coutance, Seez, Evreux, Baïeux, soon fell into the hands of the French monarch; and all the lower Normandy was reduced under his dominion. Gui de Thouars, at the head of the Bretons, took Mount St Michael, Avranches, and all the other fortresses in that neighbourhood. The Normans, who abhorred the French yoke, and who would have defended themselves to the last extremity if their prince had appeared to conduct them, found no resource but in submission; and every city opened its gates as soon as Philip appeared before it. Rouen alone, Arques, and Verneuil, determined to maintain their liberties, and formed a confederacy for mutual defence. Philip began with the siege of Rouen. The inhabitants were so inflamed with hatred to France that, on the appearance of his army, they fell on all the natives of that country, whom they found within their walls, and put them to death. But, after the French king had taken some of their outworks, the citizens offered to capitulate; and demanded only thirty days to advertise their prince of their danger, and to require succours against the enemy. Upon the expiration of the term, as no supply had arrived, they opened their gates to Philip; and the whole province soon after imitated the example, and submitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles the Simple to Rollo, the first duke: and the Normans, sensible that this conquest was probably final, demanded the privilege of being governed by French laws; which Philip, making a few alterations on the ancient Norman customs, readily granted them. But the French monarch had too much ambition and genius to stop in his present career of

success. He carried his victorious army into the western provinces; soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou; and the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

John, on his arrival in England, that he might cover the disgrace of his own conduct, exclaimed loudly against his barons, who he pretended had deserted his standard in Normandy; and he arbitrarily extorted from them a seventh of all their moveables as a punishment for the offence. Soon after he forced them to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee for an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the service for which he pretended to exact it. Next year he summoned all the barons of his realm to attend him on this foreign expedition, and collected ships from all the seaports; but, meeting with opposition from some of his ministers, he dismissed both fleet and army, and then renewed his exclamations against the barons for deserting him. He next put to sea with a small army, and his subjects believed that he was resolved to expose himself to the utmost hazard for the defence and recovery of his dominions: but they were surprised, after a few days, to see him return without attempting any thing. In the subsequent season he had the courage to carry his hostile measures a step farther. Gui de Thouars, who governed Brittany, jealous of the rapid progress made by his ally the French king, promised to join the king of England with all his forces; and John ventured abroad with a considerable army, and landed at Rochelle. He marched to Angers; which he took, and reduced to ashes. But the approach of Philip with an army threw him into a panic; and he made proposals for peace, and fixed a place of interview with his enemy. But, instead of keeping this engagement, he stole off with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned, loaded with new disgrace, into England. The mediation of the pope procured him

Great aggrandisement of the French crown.

John punishes his barons.

He disbands his fleet and army.

John lands at Rochelle with an army.

John accumulates new disgrace.

a truce for two years with the French monarch; almost all the transmarine provinces were ravished from him; and his English barons, though harassed with arbitrary taxes and fruitless expeditions, saw themselves and their country baffled and affronted in every enterprise.

In an age when personal valour was regarded as the chief accomplishment, such conduct as that of John must be exposed to peculiar contempt; and he must thenceforth have expected to rule with a very doubtful authority. But the government exercised by the Norman princes had wound up the royal power to such a pitch, that it still behoved him to be debased by new affronts, ere his barons could entertain the view of conspiring against him in order to retrench his prerogatives. The church, which at this time declined not to contest with the most powerful monarchs, took first advantage of John's imbecility; and, with the most aggravating insolence and scorn, fixed her yoke upon him.

THE KING'S QUARREL WITH ROME. 1207.

THE papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who, having attained that dignity at the age of thirty-seven years, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition; and attempted to convert that superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. The hierarchy, protected by the Roman pontiff, had already carried to an enormous height its usurpations upon the civil power; but, in order to extend them, and render them useful to the court of Rome, it was necessary to reduce the ecclesiastics themselves under an absolute monarchy, and to make them entirely dependant on their spiritual leader. For this purpose Innocent first attempted to impose taxes at pleasure upon the clergy: and in the first year of this century, taking advantage of the popular frenzy for crusades, he sent collectors over all Europe; who levied, by his authority, the fortieth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of the holy land, and received the voluntary

contributions of the laity to a like amount. The same year Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, attempted another innovation favourable to ecclesiastical and papal power. In the king's absence he summoned, by his legantine authority, a synod of all the English clergy, contrary to the inhibition of Geoffrey Fitz Peter, the chief justiciary; and no proper censure was ever passed on this encroachment, the first of the kind, upon the royal power. But a favourable incident soon after happened, which enabled an aspiring pontiff as Innocent to extend still farther his usurpations on so contemptible a prince as John.

Hubert the primate died in 1205; and, as the monks or canons of Christ church, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop, some of the juniors of the order met clandestinely the very night of Hubert's death; and, without any *conge d'elire* from the king, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for the successor; installed him in the archiepiscopal throne before midnight; and, having enjoined the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, in order to solicit the confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence; and he no sooner arrived in Flanders than he revealed the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent; the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased; the senior monks of Christ church were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors; the juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, who had broken his engagements with them, were willing to set aside his election; and all concurred in the design of remedying the false measures which had been taken. But, as John knew that this affair would be canvassed before a superior tribunal; where the interposition of royal authority in bestowing ecclesiastical benefices was

The clergy encroach on the crown.

An archbishop clandestinely installed.

The king is enraged at the proceeding.

The monks are disgusted with the new archbishop.

John allows the archbishop's election to be canvassed.

The case is referred to the pope.

Innocent decides against the elected prelates.

He is at first supported by the clergy.

very invidious ; where even the cause of suffragan bishops was not so favourable as that of monks ; he determined to make the new election entirely unexceptionable. He submitted the affair wholly to the canons of Christ's church ; and, departing from the right claimed by his predecessors, ventured no farther than to inform them privately that they would do him an acceptable service if they chose John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, for their primate. The election of that prelate was accordingly made ; and the king endeavoured to persuade the suffragan bishops not to insist on their claim of concurring in the election. But those prelates, persevering in their pretensions, sent an agent to maintain their cause before Innocent ; while the king and the convent of Christ's church dispatched twelve monks of that order to support, before the same tribunal, the election of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus there lay three different claims before the pope, whom all parties allowed to be the supreme arbiter. The claim of the suffragans, being so opposite to the usual maxims of the papal court, was soon set aside ; the election of Reginald was so obviously fraudulent that there was no possibility of defending it ; but Innocent maintained that, though this election was null and invalid, it ought to have been declared such by the sovereign pontiff, before the monks could proceed to a new election, and that the choice of the bishop of Norwich was of course as uncanonical as that of his competitor. Advantage was therefore taken of this subtlety for introducing a precedent, by which the see of Canterbury should ever after be at the disposal of the court of Rome.

While the pope maintained so many fierce contents, to wrest from princes the right of granting investitures, and to exclude laymen from conferring ecclesiastical benefices, he was supported by the united influence of the clergy ; who, aspiring to independence, fought, with all the ardour of ambition and all the zeal of superstition, under his sacred banners. But no sooner was this point, after a great effusion of blood and the convulsions of many states, established in some tolerable degree, than

the victorious leader, as is usual, turned his arms against his own community, and aspired to centre all power in his person. By the invention of reserves, provisions, commendams, and other devices, the pope gradually assumed the right of filling vacant benefices ; and the plenitude of his apostolic power, which was not subject to any limitations, supplied all defects of title in the person on whom he bestowed preferment. The canons which regulated elections were purposely rendered intricate and involved ; frequent disputes arose among candidates ; appeals were every day carried to Rome ; the apostolic see, besides reaping pecuniary advantages from these contests, often exercised the power of setting aside both the litigants, and, on pretence of appeasing faction, nominated a third person.

The controversy about the election to the see of Canterbury afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming this right ; and he failed not to avail himself of the advantage. He sent for the twelve monks deputed to maintain the cause of the bishop of Norwich ; and commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected, by his interest and attachments, with the see of Rome. In vain did the monks represent that they had received from their convent no authority for this purpose ; that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be deemed highly irregular ; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they had no power or pretence to abandon. None of them had the courage to persevere, except one, Elias de Brantefield ; all the rest, overcome by the menaces and authority of the pope, complied with his orders, and made the election required of them.

Innocent, sensible that this flagrant usurpation would be highly resented by the court of England, wrote John a mollifying letter ; sent him four golden rings set with precious stones ; and endeavoured to enhance the value of the present by informing him of the many mysteries implied in it. He begged him to consider seriously

All power centres in the pope.

Great advantages result to the see of Rome.

Cardinal Langton appointed to the see of Canterbury by the pope.

The English monks bow to the pope's authority.

The pope sends John a present of four rings.

the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, he said, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, fixed for ever on the firm basis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendour of the topaz, Good Works. By these conceits Innocent endeavoured to repay John for one of the most important prerogatives of his crown, which he had ravished from him; conceits probably admired by Innocent himself: for it is easily possible for a man, especially in a barbarous age, to unite strong talents for business with an absurd taste for literature and the arts.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ church, whom he found inclined to support the election made by their fellows at Rome. He sent Fulke de Cantelupe and Henry de Cornhulle, two knights of his retinue, men of violent tempers and rude manners, to expel them the convent, and take possession of their revenues. These knights entered the monastery with drawn swords; commanded the prior and the monks to depart the kingdom; and menaced them that, in case of disobedience, they would instantly burn them with the convent. Innocent, prognosticating, from the violence and imprudence of these measures, that John would finally sink in the contest, persevered the more vigorously in his pretensions, and exhorted the king not to oppose God and the church any longer, nor to persecute that cause for which the holy martyr St. Thomas had sacrificed his life, and which had exalted him equal to

the highest saints in heaven. A hint to John, to remember the prejudices and established principles of his subjects, who bore a profound veneration to that martyr, and regarded his merits as the subject of their chief glory and exultation.

INTERDICT OF THE KINGDOM.

INNOCENT, finding that John was not sufficiently tamed to submission, sent three prelates, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to intimate that, if he persevered in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict. All the other prelates threw themselves on their knees, and entreated him, with tears, to prevent the scandal of this sentence, by making a speedy submission to his spiritual father; by receiving from his hands the new elected primate; and by restoring the monks of Christ church to all their rights. He burst out in the most indecent invectives against the prelates; swore by God's teeth (his usual oath) that, if the pope presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and would confiscate all their estates; and threatened that, if thenceforth he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses. Amidst all this idle violence John stood on such bad terms with his nobility that he never dared to assemble the states of the kingdom; who, in so just a cause, would probably have adhered to any other monarch, and have defended with vigour the liberties of the nation against these palpable usurpations of the court of Rome. Innocent, therefore, perceiving the king's weakness, fulminated at last the sentence of interdict, which he had for some time held suspended over him.

The sentence of interdict was at that time the great instrument employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to operate with irresistible force

John receives an important hint.

The pope threatens an interdict.

John swears to send all the bishops and clergy out of England.

The pope issues his interdict.

Immediate
conse-
quences of
an interdict.

The dead
denied bu-
rial in con-
secrated
ground.
Marriages
celebrated
in church-
yards.

The king
punishes
the clergy.

He im-
prisons
their con-
cubines.

on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues, of the saints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; and, that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments; and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terrors, immediately, from his own authority, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; banished the prelates; confined the monks in their convent, and gave them only such a small allowance from their own estates as would suffice to provide them with food and raiment. He treated with the utmost rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that shewed any disposition to obey the commands of Rome. And, in order to distress the clergy in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines, and

required high fines as the price of their liberty.

After the canons which established the celibacy of the clergy were, by the zealous endeavours of archbishop Anselm, more rigorously executed in England, the ecclesiastics gave, almost universally and avowedly, into the use of concubinage; and the court of Rome, which had no interest in prohibiting this practice, made very slight opposition to it. The custom was become so prevalent that, in some cantons of Switzerland, before the reformation, the laws not only permitted, but, to avoid scandal, enjoined, the use of concubines to the younger clergy; and it was usual every where for priests to apply to the ordinary, and obtain from him a formal liberty for this indulgence. The bishop commonly took care to prevent the practice from degenerating into licentiousness. He confined the priest to the use of one woman, required him to be constant to her, obliged him to provide for her subsistence and that of her children: and, though the offspring was, in the eye of the law, deemed illegitimate, this commerce was really a kind of inferior marriage, such as is still practised in Germany among the nobles; and may be regarded by the candid as an appeal from the tyranny of civil and ecclesiastical institutions to the more virtuous laws of nature.

The quarrel between the king and the see of Rome continued for some years; and, though many of the clergy, from the fear of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded as men who sacrificed their conscience to temporal regards and interests. The king, in order to give a lustre to his government, attempted military expeditions against Scotland, against Ireland, against the Welsh; and he commonly prevailed, more from the weakness of his enemies than from his own abilities. The danger to which his government stood continually exposed, from the discontents of the ecclesiastics increased his natural propension to tyranny; and he seems to have even wantonly disgusted all orders of men,

Fines are
imposed.

Regulated
concu-
binage per-
mitted and
enjoined to
the clergy.

The differ-
ences be-
tween the
king and
the pope
continue.

John suc-
ceeds in ex-
peditions
against
Scotland
and Ireland

The king
acts
most tyrannically.

He claims
hostages
from the
nobility.

He starves
a noble
lady and
her son.

Severe mea-
sures
adopted by
the popes.

Formidable
effects of
excommuni-
cations.

especially his nobles, from whom alone he could reasonably expect support and assistance. He dishonoured their families by his licentious amours; he published edicts prohibiting them from hunting feathered game, he ordered all the hedges and fences near his forests to be levelled, that his deer might have more ready access into the fields for pasture; and he continually loaded the nation with arbitrary impositions. Conscious of the general hatred, he required his nobility to give him hostages for security of their allegiance; and they were obliged to put into his hands their sons, nephews, or near relations. When his messengers came with like orders to the castle of William de Braouse, a baron of great note, the lady of that nobleman replied that she would never intrust her son into the hands of one who had murdered his own nephew while in his custody. Her husband reproved her for the severity of this speech; but, sensible of his danger, he immediately fled with his wife and son into Ireland, where he endeavoured to conceal himself. The king discovered the unhappy family in their retreat; seized the wife and son, whom he starved to death in prison; and the baron himself narrowly escaped by flying into France.

EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE KING.—1209.

THE court of Rome had artfully contrived a gradation of sentences; by which she kept offenders in awe; still afforded them an opportunity of preventing the next anathema by submission; and, in case of obstinacy, was able to refresh the horror of the people against them by new denunciations. As the sentence of interdict had not produced the desired effect on John; and as his people had hitherto been restrained from rising in open rebellion, he was soon to look for sentence of excommunication: and he had reason to apprehend that the most dangerous consequences might ensue. He was witness

of the other scenes which at that very time were acting in Europe, and which displayed the unbounded power of the papacy. Innocent, far from being dismayed at his contests with the king of England, had excommunicated the emperor Otho, John's nephew; and soon brought that powerful and haughty prince to submit to his authority. He published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of enthusiasts in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like other enthusiasts, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy. The people from all parts of Europe, moved by their superstition and their passion for adventures, flocked to his standard. Simon de Montfort, the general of the crusade, acquired to himself a sovereignty in these provinces. The count of Toulouse, who protected, or perhaps only tolerated, the Albigenses, was stripped of his dominions; and these sectaries themselves, though the most inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with extreme violence and barbarity. Here were, therefore, both an army and a general, dangerous from their zeal and valour, who might be directed to act against John; and Innocent, after keeping the thunder long suspended, gave at last authority to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against him. These prelates obeyed; though their brethren were deterred from publishing, as the pope required of them, the sentence in the several churches of their dioceses.

No sooner was the excommunication known than the effects of it appeared. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was intrusted with a considerable office in the court of exchequer, being informed of it while sitting on the bench, observed to his colleagues the danger of serving under an excommunicated king; and he immediately left his chair and departed the court. John gave orders to seize him, to throw him into prison,* to cover his head with a great leaden cope; and by this and other

John's
nephew, the
emperor
Otho, is ex-
communi-
cated.

The Albi-
genses ex-
terminated.

Sentence of
excommuni-
cation given
against
John.

Its fatal
conse-
quences
immedi-
ately follow.

* In all circumstances John seems to have been a most indurated ruffian, in regard to those who stood

in his way: submission, sorrow, and death, could not move him. Baker says, on hearing of the death of

The arch-
deacon of
Norwich is
put to
death.

John is
alarmed at
the defection
of his
nobility.

The king
confers
with Lang-
ton, but no
accommoda-
tion is ef-
fected.

severe usage he put an end to his life : nor was there any thing wanting to Geoffrey, except the dignity and rank of Becket, to exalt him to an equal station in heaven with that celebrated martyr. Hugh de Wells the chancellor, being elected, by the king's appointment, bishop of Lincoln, upon a vacancy in that see, desired leave to go abroad, in order to receive consecration from the archbishop of Rouen ; but he no sooner reached France than he hastened to Pontigny, where Langton then resided, and paid submission to him as his primate. The bishops, finding themselves exposed either to the jealousy of the king or hatred of the people, gradually stole out of the kingdom ; and at last there remained only three prelates to perform the functions of the episcopal office. Many of the nobility imitated the example of the bishops ; and most of the others who remained were, with reason, suspected of having secretly entered into a confederacy against him. John was alarmed at his dangerous situation ; which no virtues or abilities were now sufficient to retrieve. He desired a conference with Langton at Dover ; offered to acknowledge him as primate, to submit to the pope, to restore the exiled clergy, even to pay them a limited sum as a compensation for the rents of their confiscated estates. But Langton was not satisfied with these concessions : he demanded that full restitution and reparation should be made to all the clergy ; a condition so exorbitant that the king, who probably had not the power of fulfilling it, finally broke off the conference.

The next gradation of papal sentences was to absolve John's subjects from their oaths

Geoffrey Fitz Peter, "he swore by the teeth of God, that now at length he was king of England, and with great rejoicing said to some lords about him : 'Now, when this man comes into hell, let him salute archbishop Hubert, whom certainly he shall find there.'"

* "But now the pope, for the last and greatest sentence that ever yet was given against any sovereign king of this kingdom, pronounces his absolute deposition from the government thereof ; and writes to the king of France that, as he looked to have remission of his sins, he should take the charge upon him, and expel king John out of the kingdom of England, and possess the same for him and his heirs for ever. To the same effect sends he likewise his letters to the princes and great men of other nations, that they should aid the king of France in the de-

of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated who had any commerce with him in public or in private ; at his table, in his council, or even in private conversation. This sentence was, with all imaginable solemnity, pronounced. But, as John still persevered in his contumacy, there remained nothing but the sentence of deposition ; which, though intimately connected with the former, had been distinguished from it by the artifice of the court of Rome : and Innocent determined to dart his last thunderbolt against the refractory monarch.* But, as a sentence of this kind required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff fixed on Philip king of France, as the person into whose powerful hand he could most properly intrust that weapon. And he offered the monarch, besides the remission of all his sins and endless spiritual benefits, the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour.

It was the common concern of all princes to oppose these exorbitant pretensions of the Roman pontiff, by which they themselves were rendered vassals, and vassals totally dependant on the papal crown : yet even Philip, the most able monarch of the age, was seduced by the prospect of so tempting a prize, to accept this liberal offer of the pontiff ; and thereby to ratify that authority which, if he ever opposed its boundless usurpations, might next day tumble him from the throne. He levied a great army ; summoned all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen ; collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, great and small, in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy ; and pre-

jection of this contumacious king of England, in revenge of the injuries done to the universal church ; granting like remission of their sins as if they undertook the holy war."—*Daniel*. While the pope employed such tremendous means against the refractory John, he meant no great kindness to his chief instrument Philip ; for, at the same time, according to the author just quoted, "he gave secret charge to Pandolphus apart," that, "if he could work the king of England to such conditions as he should propound, absolution and retirement should be granted unto him." Thus the king of England, being humbled by the king of France, and the pope having gained his object, Philip was to be denied his expected and promised reward.—*Ed*.

The pope
absolves
John's sub-
jects from
their allegi-
ance.

He offers
England to
the king of
France.

Philip pre-
pares a great
armament
for the in-
vasion of
England.



pared a force which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprise. John issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. A great number appeared; and he selected an army of sixty thousand men; a power invincible, had they been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their native country. But the people were swayed by superstition, and regarded their king with horror, as anathematized by papal censures; the barons, besides lying under the same prejudices, were all disgusted by his tyranny, and were, many of them, suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy; and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himself, ill fitted to contend with those mighty difficulties, made men prognosticate the most fatal effects from the French invasion.

THE KING'S SUBMISSION TO THE POPE. 1213.

PANDOLF, whom the pope had chosen for his legate, and appointed to head this important expedition, had, before he left Rome, applied for a secret conference with his master; and had asked him whether, if the king of England, in this desperate situation, were willing to submit, the church should, with the consent of Philip, grant him any terms of accommodation? Innocent, expecting, from his agreement with a prince so abject both in character and fortune, more advantages than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch, (who, after such mighty acquisitions, might become too haughty to be bound by spiritual chains) explained to Pandolf the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to the king of England. The legate, therefore, as soon as he arrived in the north of France, sent over two knights templars to desire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted. He there represented to him, in such strong colours, his lost condition, the disaffection of his subjects, the secret combination of his vassals against

him, the mighty armament of France, that John yielded at discretion, and subscribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose. He promised, among other articles, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgment of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity who had been banished on account of the contest; that he would make them full restitution of their goods, and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part of payment; and that every one, outlawed or imprisoned for his adherence to the pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons swore, with the king, to the observance of this ignominious treaty.

But the ignominy of the king was not yet carried to its full height. Pandolf required him, as the first trial of obedience, to resign his kingdom to the church; and he persuaded him that he could nowise so effectually disappoint the French invasion as by thus putting himself under the immediate protection of the apostolic see. John, lying under the agonies of present terror, made no scruple of submitting to this condition. He passed a charter, in which he said that, not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for remission of his own sins, and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair: he agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks; seven hundred for England, three hundred for Ireland: and he stipulated that, if he or his successors should ever presume to revoke or infringe this charter, they should instantly, except upon admonition they repented of their offence, forfeit all right to their dominions.

In consequence of this agreement John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the submissive rights which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege lord and superior. He came disarmed into the legate's presence, who was

Pandolf imposes terms.

He promises full compensation to the clergy.

A charter passed, giving England and Ireland to the pope and his successors.

The kings of England to lose their dominions if they infringed on the charter.

A large army is raised by John.

His barons not to be depended upon.

Conditions claimed by Innocent as the price of reconciliation.

John meets Pandolf the legate, and submits.

John does
homage to
Pandolf on
his knees.

The legate
indulges in
affronting
exultation.

John acts
with great
injustice
and cruelty.

seated on a throne; he flung himself on his knees before him; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them within those of Pandolf; he swore fealty to the pope; and he paid part of the tribute which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by this supreme triumph of sacerdotal power, could not forbear discovering extravagant symptoms of joy and exultation.* He trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom; an insolence of which, however offensive to all the English, no one present, except the archbishop of Dublin, dared to take any notice. But, though Pandolf had brought the king to submit to these base conditions, he still refused to free him from the excommunication and interdict till an estimation should be taken of the losses of the ecclesiastics, and full compensation be made them.

John, reduced to this abject situation, still shewed the same disposition to tyrannise over his subjects which had been the chief cause of all his misfortunes. One Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold that the king this very year should lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into prison in Corfe castle. John now determined to bring him to punishment as an impostor; and, though the man pleaded that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had lost the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was supposed to aggravate his guilt; he was dragged at

horses tails to the town of Warham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son.

When Pandolf, after receiving the homage of John, returned to France, he congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise; and informed him that John, moved by the terror of the French arms, had now come to a just sense of his guilt; had returned to obedience under the apostolic see; and even consented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and, having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any Christian prince, without the most flagrant impiety, to attack him. Philip was enraged: he exclaimed that, having, at the pope's instigation, undertaken an expedition which had cost him above sixty thousand pounds sterling, he was frustrated of his purpose when its success was become infallible: he complained that all the expense had fallen upon him, all the advantages had accrued to Innocent: he threatened to be no longer the dupe of these hypocritical pretences: assembling his vassals, he laid before them the ill treatment which he had received, exposed the fraudulent conduct of the pope, and required their assistance to execute his enterprise against England; in which he told them that, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to persevere.† The French barons, were in that age, little less ignorant and superstitious than the English; yet they all vowed to follow their prince, and were resolute not to be disappointed

Pandolf
announces
John's sub-
mission to
Philip.

And forbids
the invasion
of England.

Philip de-
termines to
persevere.

* Pandulph appears artfully to have tricked John into a situation which he thought left him no escape from greater ignominy than he had previously contemplated. Having exacted an oath that "he would obey the pope in all things," the legate required him to surrender his crown, and declared it was only on this condition that he could receive absolution. In consequence of this, on the morrow after the interview described in the text, he repaired to Dover church, attended by the legate and a numerous train of lords and officers, to perform his engagements. There, in the presence of all assembled on so extraordinary an occasion, taking off his crown, he laid it, with the other ensigns of royalty, at the feet of the legate, as the pope's representative. The latter enjoyed his triumph by treating the miserable traitor to his own dignity with the greatest contempt. Baker says, "Pandulphus stuck not to take up his crown, and to keep it three or four dayes in his

hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his successors should hold the kingdom of the see of Rome." Daniel writes: "Two days, some write six, it was, before the legate restored him his crown: at the receiving whereof, he swore (and his earls undertaking for him) that he and his successors should hold the kingdom of England, and lordship of Ireland, from the see of Rome, at the annual tribute of a thousand marks of silver. And this, with his homage and fealty, he confirmed by his charter, at the house of the Templars near Dover."—Ed.

† The wretched trickery of the pope, regard being had to consequences, would have been anything but sound policy. It is, however, to be remembered, that the bishop of Rome had only a life interest to study, and, like many who have lived since, cared little for the welfare of his successors.—Ed.

The French king still hostile to England.

of that glory and those riches which they had long expected from this enterprise. The earl of Flanders alone, who had previously formed a secret treaty with John, declaring against the injustice and impiety of the undertaking, retired with his forces; and Philip, that he might not leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, first turned his arms against the dominions of that prince. Meanwhile the English fleet was assembled under the earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother; and, though inferior in number, received orders to attack the French in their harbours. Salisbury performed this service with so much success that he took three hundred ships, destroyed a hundred more; and Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thereby rendered it impossible for him to proceed any farther in his enterprise.

The earl of Salisbury defeats Philip's navy.

John, exulting in his present security, was so elated with his success that he thought of no less than invading France in his turn, and recovering all those provinces which Philip had formerly ravished from him. He proposed this to the barons, who were already assembled for the defence of the kingdom. But the English nobles both hated and despised their prince; they prognosticated no success to any enterprise conducted by such a leader; and pretending that their time of service was elapsed, and all their provisions exhausted, they refused to second his undertaking. The king, however, embarked with a few followers, and sailed to Jersey, in the foolish expectation that the barons would be ashamed to stay behind. But, finding himself disappointed, he returned to England; and, raising some troops, threatened to take vengeance on all his nobles for their disobedience. The archbishop of Canterbury strictly inhibited the king from thinking of such an attempt; and threatened him with a renewal of the sentence of excommunication, if he pretended to levy war upon any of his subjects before the kingdom were freed from the sentence of interdict.

The barons refused to support him.

The archbishop of Canterbury threatens the king.

The church had recalled the several anathemas pronounced against John by the

same gradual progress with which she had at first issued them. By receiving his homage, and admitting him to the rank of a vassal, his deposition had been virtually annulled, and his subjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance. The exiled prelates had then returned in great triumph with Langton at their head; and the king, hearing of their approach, went forth to meet them; and, throwing himself on the ground, he entreated them, with tears, to have compassion on him and the kingdom of England. The primate, seeing these marks of penitence, led him to the chapter-house of Winchester, and there administered an oath to him, by which he again swore fealty and obedience to pope Innocent and his successors; promised to love, and defend, holy church and the clergy; engaged that he would establish the good laws of his predecessors, particularly those of St. Edward, and would abolish the wicked ones; and expressed his resolution of maintaining justice and right in all his dominions. The primate next gave him absolution, and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of all the people. The sentence of interdict, however, was still upheld against the kingdom. A new legate, Nicholas bishop of Frescati, came into England in the room of Pandolf; and he declared it to be the pope's intentions never to loosen that sentence till full restitution were made to the clergy, and ample reparation for all damages. He only permitted mass to be said with a low voice in the churches, till those losses and damages could be estimated to the satisfaction of the parties. Certain barons were appointed to take an account of the claims; and John was astonished at the greatness of the sums to which the clergy made their losses to amount. No less than twenty thousand marks were demanded by the monks of Canterbury alone; twenty-three thousand for the see of Lincoln; and the king, finding these pretensions to be exorbitant and endless, offered the clergy the sum of a hundred thousand marks for a final acquittal. The clergy rejected the offer with disdain; but the pope, willing to favour his new vassal, whom he found zealous in his declarations

The anathemas of the church gradually withdrawn.

Langton and the exiled prelates return in triumph.

The interdict not to be wholly removed till restitution had been made to the clergy.

Exorbitant claims of the church.

The pope orders forty thousand marks to be accepted as a compensation.

of fealty, and regular in paying the stipulated tribute to Rome, directed his legate to accept of forty thousand. The issue of the whole was, that the bishops and considerable abbots got reparation beyond what they had any title to demand; the inferior clergy were obliged to sit down contented with their losses; and the king, after the interdict was taken off, renewed, in a most solemn manner, and by a new charter sealed with gold, his professions of homage and obedience to the see of Rome.

John makes war on Philip, but disgracefully retreats.

When this vexatious affair was at last brought to a conclusion, the king, as if he had nothing farther to attend to but triumphs, went over to Poictou, which still acknowledged his authority; and he carried war into Philip's dominions. He besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of prince Lewis, Philip's son, obliged him to raise the siege with such precipitation that he left his tents, machines, and baggage, behind; and returned to England with disgrace. About the same time he heard of the decisive victory gained by the king of France at Bovines over the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Germans; a victory which established for ever the glory of Philip. John could, therefore, think henceforth of nothing farther than of ruling peaceably his own kingdom; and his close connection with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, ensured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that object. But the most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him; and he was destined to pass through a series of more humiliating circumstances than had ever yet fallen to the lot of any other monarch.

He abandons all thoughts of foreign conquest.

INSURRECTION OF THE BARONS. 1214.

The liberty of the Anglo Saxons infringed by the Conquest.

THE introduction of the feudal law into England by William the Conqueror had much infringed the liberties enjoyed by the Anglo Saxons, and had reduced the whole people to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and the greater part of

them to a state of real slavery. The necessity of intrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more absolute prerogative than that to which men of their rank were commonly subjected. The power of the crown, once raised to a high pitch, was not easily reduced; and the nation, during a hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unknown, in the same degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry I. that he might allure the people to give an exclusion to his elder brother Robert, had granted them a charter, favourable to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry II. had confirmed it. But the concessions of all these princes had still remained without effect; and the same unlimited, at least irregular, authority continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The only happiness was, that arms were never yet ravished from the hands of the barons and people; the nation, by a great confederacy, might still vindicate its liberties; and nothing was more likely than the character, conduct, and fortunes, of the reigning prince to produce such a general combination against him. Equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, he affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonoured their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, and gave discontent to all ranks of men. The effect of these lawless practices had already appeared in the general demand made by the barons of a restoration of their privileges; and, after he had reconciled himself to the pope by abandoning the independence of the kingdom, he appeared to all his subjects in so mean a light that they universally thought they might with safety and honour insist upon their pretensions.

The Norman barons bow to prerogative.

The barons and people capable of vindicating their rights.

They are ready to assert them.

But nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate had formed

Langton aims at reforming the government.

the plan of reforming the government; and had prepared the way for that great innovation, by inserting those singular clauses above mentioned in the oath which he administered to the king before he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. Soon after, in a private meeting of some principal barons at London, he shewed them a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which, he said, he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it. The barons swore that they would sooner lose their lives than depart from so reasonable a demand. The confederacy began now to spread wider, and to comprehend almost all the barons in England; and a new and more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton at St. Edmondsbury, under colour of devotion. He again produced to the assembly the old charter of Henry; renewed his exhortations of unanimity and vigour; and represented in the strongest colours the tyranny to which they had so long been subjected, and from which it now behoved them to free themselves and their posterity. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, and encouraged by the appearance of their power and numbers, solemnly took an oath, before the high altar, to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to make endless war on the king, till he should submit to grant them. They agreed that, after the festival of Christmas, they would prefer in a body their common petition: and in the mean time they separated; after mutually engaging that they would enlist men, purchase arms, and supply their castles with the necessary provisions.

The barons appeared in London on the day appointed, and demanded of the king that, in consequence of his own oath before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. The king, alarmed at their zeal and unanimity, required a delay; promised that, at the festival of Easter, he would give them a positive answer; and offered them the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke the mareschal, as sureties

for his fulfilling this engagement. The barons accepted of the terms, and peaceably returned to their castles.

During this interval John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power. He granted to the clergy a charter, relinquishing for ever that important prerogative for which his father and all his ancestors had zealously contended; yielding to them the free election on all vacancies, reserving only the power to issue a *conge d'elire*, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; and declaring that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed valid. He made a vow to lead an army into Palestine against the infidels, and he took on him the cross, in hopes that he should receive from the church that protection which she tendered to every one that had entered into this sacred engagement. And he sent to Rome his agent William de Mauclerc, to appeal to the pope against the violence of his barons, and procure him a favourable sentence from that powerful tribunal. The barons were not negligent on their part in endeavouring to engage the pope in their interests. They dispatched Eustace de Vescie to Rome; laid their case before Innocent as their feudal lord; and petitioned him to interpose with the king, and oblige him to restore and confirm all their undoubted privileges.

Innocent beheld with regret the disturbances which had arisen in England, and was much inclined to favour John. He had no hopes of retaining and extending his newly acquired superiority over that kingdom but by supporting so base and degenerate a prince, who was willing to sacrifice every consideration to present safety; and he foresaw that, if the administration should fall into the hands of those gallant and high spirited barons, they would vindicate the honour, liberty, and independence of the nation, with the same ardour which they now exerted in defence of their own. He wrote to the prelates, to the nobility, and to the king himself. He exhorted the first to employ their good offices in putting an end to civil discord; to the second he expressed

John is granted time.

He seeks the support of the church.

He and the barons appeal to the pope.

Innocent favours John.

The decision of the pope is favourable to John.

The barons decline to submit.

The clergy are dissatisfied with the pope.

They are offended with his legate.

his disapprobation of their conduct in employing force to extort concessions from their sovereign; the last he advised to treat his nobles with indulgence, and to grant them such of their demands as should appear reasonable.

The barons easily saw, from these letters, that they must reckon on having the pope, as well as the king, for their adversary; but they had advanced too far to recede, and their passions were so deeply engaged that it exceeded even the power of superstition itself to control them. They also foresaw that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would be of small avail; and they perceived that the most considerable of the prelates, as well as the inferior clergy, professed the highest approbation of their cause. Besides that these men were seized with the national passion for laws and liberty (blessings of which they themselves expected to partake), there concurred very powerful causes to loosen their attachment to the apostolic see. It appeared, from the late usurpations of the Roman pontiff, that he pretended to reap alone all the advantages accruing from that victory, which, under his banners, they had everywhere obtained over the civil magistrate. The pope assumed a despotic power over all the churches; their particular customs, privileges and immunities, were treated with disdain; even the canons of general councils were set aside; the whole administration of the church was centered in the court of Rome; all preferments ran in the same channel; and the provincial clergy felt, that there was a necessity for limiting these pretensions. The legate Nicholas, in filling those numerous vacancies which had fallen in England during an interdict of six years, had proceeded in the most arbitrary manner; and had paid no regard in conferring dignities to personal merit, to rank, to the inclination of the electors, or to the customs of the country. The English church was universally disgusted; and Langton himself, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the Romish see, was no sooner established in his high office than he became jealous

of the privileges annexed to it, and formed attachments with the country subjected to his jurisdiction. These causes, though they opened slowly the eyes of men, failed not to produce their effect; they set bounds to the usurpations of the papacy; the tide first stopped, and then turned against the sovereign pontiff; and it is otherwise inconceivable how that age, so prone to superstition and so devoted to a spurious erudition, could have escaped falling into an absolute and total slavery under the court of Rome.

About the time that the pope's letters arrived in England, the malcontent barons, on the approach of the festival of Easter, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, met at Stamford; and they assembled a force, consisting of above two thousand knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons. They advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then resided; and they there received a message from the king, by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to these messengers a schedule containing their demands; which was no sooner shown to the king than he burst into a furious passion, and asked why the barons did not also demand of him his kingdom? swearing that he would never grant them such liberties as must reduce himself to slavery.

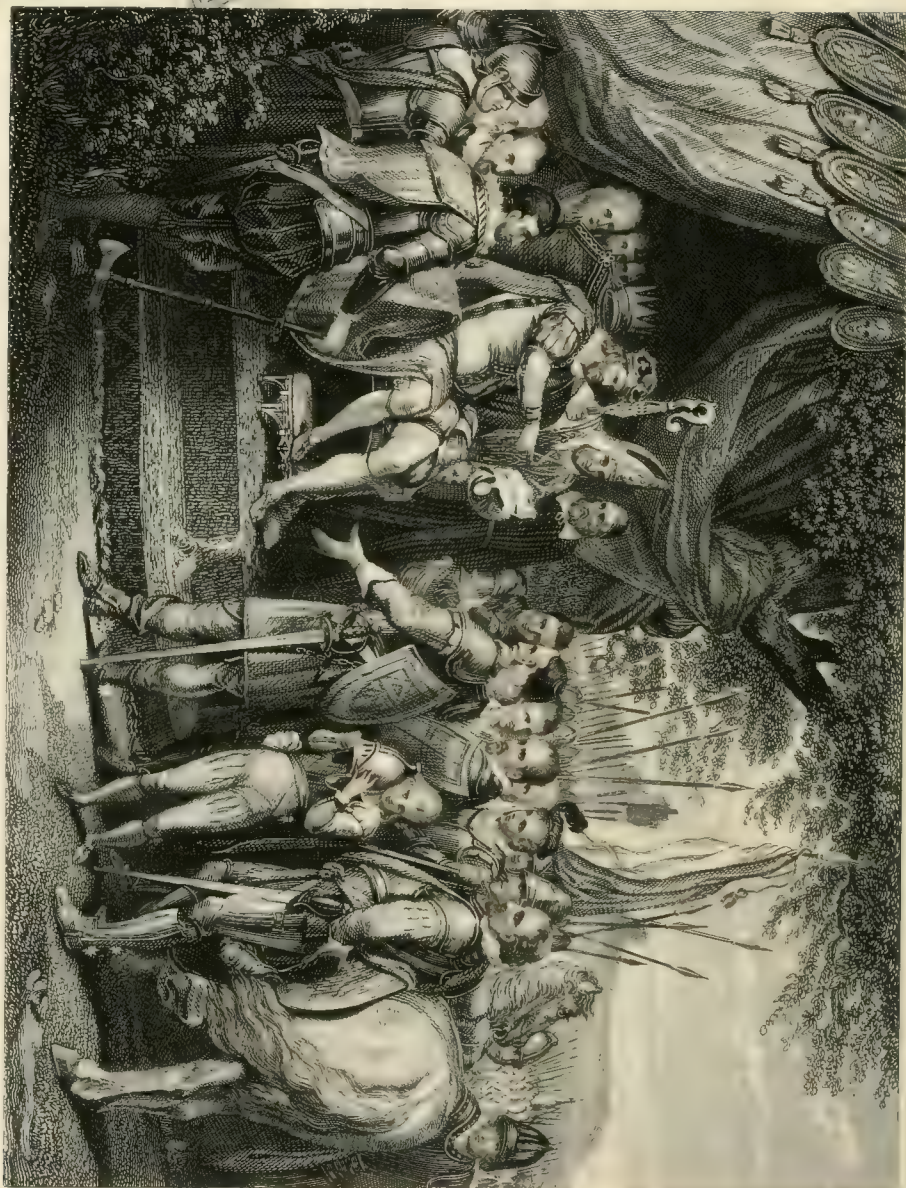
No sooner were the confederated nobles informed of John's reply than they chose Robert Fitz Walter their general, whom they called 'the mareschal of the army of God and of holy church;' and proceeded to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton during fifteen days, though without success; the gates of Bedford castle were willingly opened to them by William Beauchamp its owner; they advanced to Ware in their way to London, where they held a correspondence with the principal citizens; they were received without opposition into that capital; and, finding now the great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them,

Langton is jealous of the pretensions of Rome.

The barons receive the king's answer, and reiterate their demands.

John indignantly refuses to grant them.

The barons make war on the king.



They
issue pro-
clamations
in London.

and menacing them, in case of refusal or delay, with committing devastation on their houses and estates. In order to shew what might be expected from their prosperous arms, they made incursions from London, and laid waste the king's parks and palaces; and the barons, who had hitherto carried the semblance of supporting the royal party, were glad of this pretence for openly joining a cause which they always had secretly favoured. The king was left at Odiham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights; and, after trying several expedients to elude the blow, after offering to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself and four by the confederates, he found himself at last obliged to submit at discretion.

John,
reduced to
great diffi-
culties,
submits.

A confer-
ence at
Runne-
mede.

A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnemed,* between Windsor and Staines; a place which has ever since been extremely celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies; and, after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, on the nineteenth of June† signed and sealed the charter which was required of him. This famous deed, commonly called 'the Great Charter,' either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom; to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people.

Magna
Charter
signed.

The freedom of elections was secured to the clergy; the former charter of the king was confirmed, by which the necessity of a royal *conge d'elire* and confirmation was superseded; all check upon appeals to Rome was removed by the allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at pleasure; and the fines to be imposed on the clergy for any offence were ordained to be proportional to their lay estates, not to their ecclesiastical benefices.

It gives
freedom of
election to
the clergy.

The privileges granted to the barons were either abatements in the rigour of the feudal law, or determinations in points

which had been left by that law, or had become by practice arbitrary and ambiguous. The reliefs of heirs succeeding to a military fee were ascertained; an earl's and baron's at a hundred marks, a knight's at a hundred shillings. It was ordained that, if the heir be a minor, he shall, immediately upon his majority, enter upon his estate without paying any relief; the king shall not sell his wardship; he shall levy only reasonable profits upon the estate, without committing waste or hurting the property; he shall uphold the castles, houses, mills, parks, and ponds; and, if he commit the guardianship of the estate to the sheriff or any other, he shall previously oblige them to find surety to the same purpose. During the minority of a baron, while his lands are in wardship, and are not in his own possession, no debt which he owes to the Jews shall bear any interest. Heirs shall be married without disparagement; and before the marriage be contracted the nearest relations of the person shall be informed of it. A widow, without paying any relief, shall enter upon her dower, the third part of her husband's rents; she shall not be compelled to marry so long as she chooses to continue single; she shall only give security never to marry without her lord's consent. The king shall not claim the wardship of any minor, who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he also holds lands of the crown by soccage or any other tenure. Scutages shall be estimated at the same rate as in the time of Henry I. and no scutage or aid, except in the three general feudal cases, the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldest son and the marrying of his eldest daughter, shall be imposed but by the great council of the kingdom; the prelates, earls, and great barons, shall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the lesser barons by a general summons of the sheriff. The king shall not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possesses as many goods and chattels as are sufficient

Many pri-
vileges to
the barons.

It protects
them while
minors.

It exempts
them
from sen-
tage save in
three cases.

* Runnemed, according to Mr. West, means the mead of council; and on this spot, from ancient times, it is believed treaties were concluded,

and other important state affairs arranged.—Ed.
† The 15th of June, as named by some writers.—Ed.

to discharge the debt. No man shall be obliged to perform more service for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or constable of a castle shall oblige any knight to give money for castle guard, if the knight be willing to perform the service in person or by another able bodied man; and, if the knight be in the field himself by the king's command, he shall be exempted from all other service of this nature. No vassal shall be allowed to sell so much of his land as to incapacitate himself from performing his service to his lord.

The vassals are bound not to incapacitate themselves from service.

These were the principal articles calculated for the interest of the barons; and, had the charter contained nothing farther, national happiness and liberty had been little promoted by it, as it would only have tended to increase the power of an order of men who were already too powerful, and whose yoke might have become more heavy on the people than even that of an absolute monarch. But the barons, who alone drew and imposed on the prince this memorable charter, were necessitated to insert in it other clauses of a more beneficent nature. They could not expect the concurrence of the people without comprehending, together with their own, the interests of inferior ranks of men; and all provisions which the barons, for their own sake, were obliged to make, in order to ensure the free and equitable administration of justice, tended directly to the benefit of the whole community. The following were the principal clauses of this nature.

The barons were obliged to court their inferiors.

It was ordained that all the privileges and immunities above mentioned, granted to the barons against the king, should be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals. The king bound himself not to grant any writ, empowering a baron to levy aid from his vassals, except in the three feudal cases. One weight and one measure shall be established throughout the kingdom. Merchants shall be allowed to transact all business without being exposed to any arbitrary tolls and impositions; they, and all free men, shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom and return to it at pleasure. London, and all cities and burghs, shall

Many securities were granted to the people.

preserve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free customs; aids shall not be required of them but by the consent of the great council. No towns or individuals shall be obliged to make or support bridges but by ancient custom. The goods of every freeman shall be disposed of according to his will; if he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed to them. No officer of the crown shall take any horses, carts, or wood, without the consent of the owner. The king's courts of justice shall be stationary, and shall no longer follow his person; they shall be open to every one; and justice shall no longer be sold, refused, or delayed, by them. Circuits shall be regularly held every year. The inferior tribunals of justice, the county court, sheriff's turn, and court leet, shall meet at their appointed time and place. The sheriffs shall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and shall not put any person upon his trial from rumour or suspicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suffered otherwise, in this or the two former reigns, shall be restored to their rights and possessions. Every freeman shall be fined in proportion to his fault, and no fine levied on him to his utter ruin: even a villain or rustic shall not, by any fine, be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry. This was the only article calculated for the interests of this body of men, probably at that time the most numerous in the kingdom.

Ancient liberties and immunities are preserved.

Justice was not to be sold or delayed.

Former sufferers from power to be righted.

It must be confessed that the former articles of the Great Charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are equitable; and that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, and provide for the equal distribution of justice and free enjoyment, of property; the great objects for which political society was at first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no time ought to deter them from keeping

The great objects of political society were secured.

Insufficient provisions of the charter.

King Edward's laws in substance restored.

Moderation of the barons.

Effects of Edward's policy.

ever uppermost in their thoughts and attention. Though the provisions made by this charter might, conformably to the genius of the age, be esteemed too concise, and too bare of circumstances, to maintain the execution of its articles in opposition to the chicanery of lawyers, supported by the violence of power, time gradually ascertained the sense of all the ambiguous expressions; and those who first extorted this concession, still held their swords in their hands, and could turn them against those who dared on any pretence to depart from the original spirit and meaning of the grant. We may now, from the tenor of this charter, conjecture what those laws were of king Edward which the nation, during so many generations, still desired, with such an obstinate perseverance, to have recalled.* They were chiefly the latter articles of Magna Charta; and the barons, who at the beginning of these commotions demanded the revival of the Saxon laws, undoubtedly thought that they had sufficiently satisfied the people by procuring them this concession, which comprehended the principal objects to which they had so long aspired. But what we are most to admire is the prudence and moderation of those haughty nobles themselves, who were enraged by injuries, inflamed by opposition, and elated by a total victory over their sovereign. They were content, even in this plenitude of power, to depart from some articles of Henry I.'s charter, which they made the foundation of their demands; particularly from the abolition of wardships, a matter of the greatest importance; and they seem to have been sufficiently careful not to diminish too far the power and revenue of the crown. If they appear, therefore, to have carried other demands to too great a height, it can be ascribed only to the faithless and tyrannical character of the king himself, of which they had long had experience, and which they foresaw would, if they provided no farther security, lead him soon to infringe their new liberties.

* The laws called those of king Edward the Confessor, it was never pretended were made by him, or during his reign. He, however, made a collection from *Merchen law*, *Dane law*, and *Wessex law*, which he

This alone gave birth to those other articles, seemingly exorbitant, which were added as a rampart for the safeguard of the Great Charter.

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the fifteenth of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to ensure the same end, he allowed them to choose five-and-twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties; and no bounds were set to the authority of these men. If any complaint were made of a violation of the charter, whether attempted by the king, justiciaries, sheriffs, or foresters, any four of these barons might admonish the king to redress the grievance; if satisfaction were not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five; who, in conjunction with the great council, were empowered to compel him to observe the charter; and, in case of resistance, might levy war against him, and employ every kind of violence, except against his royal person, and that of his queen and children. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter. The names of those conservators were, the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, William Mareschal the younger, Robert Fitz Walter, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescey, Gilbert Delaval, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the constable of Chester, William de Aubenie, Richard de Perci, William Malet, John Fitz Robert, William de Lanvalay, Hugh de Bigod, and

Provisions added to secure the charter.

Twenty-five conservators appointed.

They might levy war on the king.

names of the conservators.

deemed appropriate to the times; and causing these to be observed throughout his dominions, they were called, in common parlance, king Edward's laws.

The sovereign power lodged in their hands.

Roger de Montfichet. These men were, by this convention, really invested with the sovereignty; they were rendered co-ordinate with the king, or rather superior to him, in the exercise of the executive power; and as there was no circumstance of government which either directly or indirectly might not bear a relation to the security or observance of the Great Charter, there could scarcely occur any incident in which they might not interpose their authority.

John affects willing submission.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations; he sent writs to all the sheriffs, ordering them to constrain every one to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; he dismissed all his foreign forces; he pretended that his government was thenceforth to be more indulgent to the liberty and independence of his people: but he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity for annulling all his concessions. The indignities which he had formerly suffered from the pope and the king of France, as they came from equals or superiors, seemed to make but small impression on him; but the sense of this total subjection under his own rebellious vassals sunk deep into his mind, and he was determined, at all hazards, to throw off so ignominious a slavery. He grew sullen; he shunned the society of his courtiers and nobles; he retired into the Isle of Wight,* as if desirous of hiding his shame; but in this retreat he meditated the most fatal vengeance against all his enemies. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his service by the prospects of sharing the spoils of England, and reaping the forfeitures of so many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by rising in arms against him; and he despatched a messenger to Rome, to lay before the pope the Great Charter, which

He forms schemes of vengeance.

He enlists foreign soldiers, and complains to the pope.

he had been compelled to sign, and to complain before that tribunal of the violence which had been imposed upon him.

Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons; who, though they pretended to appeal to his authority, had dared, without waiting for his consent, to impose such terms on a prince, who, by resigning to the Roman pontiff his crown and independence, had placed himself immediately under the papal protection. He issued, therefore, a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him to build and destroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow, he annulled the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see.† He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it; he even prohibited the king himself from paying any regard to it; he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose; he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitous pretensions.

The pope is offended with the barons.

Innocent issues a bull abrogating Magna Charta.

He excommunicates all who defend it.

RENEWAL OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The king, as his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, now ventured to take off the mask; and recalled all the liberties which he had granted to his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to observe. But the spiritual weapon was found to carry less force with it than he had reason from his own experience to apprehend. The primate refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons. And, though he was cited to Rome, that he might attend a general council there assembled, and was suspended on account

The pope resisted by the primate and the barons.

* From the known disposition of John, it was impossible for the people to feel gratitude for any concession that he could make. In the Isle of Wight he was pursued by public scorn; and, as he conversed much with fishermen and mariners, it was asked, "Whether he meant to become a merchant or turn pirate?"—Ed.

† The pope's bulls were so called from the leaden

bulls attached to them. In more remote times, the *bull* is thought to have been a badge or badges of triumph, reserved to be worn, like a modern order, on the breast of a fortunate victor. Subsequently, a bull was understood to be a deed written on parchment or vellum, with a leaden appendage, bearing an impression of the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, from the pope's seal.—Ed.

of his disobedience to the pope, and his secret correspondence with the king's enemies; though a new and particular sentence of excommunication was pronounced by name against the principal barons; John still found that his nobility and people, and even his clergy, adhered to the defence of their liberties, and to their combination against him; the sword of his mercenaries was all he had to trust to for restoring his authority.

The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, seem to have been lulled into a fatal security, and to have taken no rational measures, in case of the introduction of a foreign force, for re-assembling their armies. The king was, from the first, master of the field; and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William de Albiny, at the head of a hundred and forty knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. John intended to have hanged the governor and all the garrison; but, on the representation of William de Mauleon, who suggested to him the danger of reprisals, he was content to sacrifice, in this barbarous manner, the inferior prisoners only. The captivity of William de Albiny, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause; and no regular opposition was thenceforth made to the progress of the royal arms. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks, of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages and castles; the consternation and misery of the inhabitants; tortures exercised by the soldiery to make them reveal their concealed treasures; and reprisals, no less barbarous, committed by the barons and their partisans on the royal demesnes, and on the estates of such as still adhered to the crown. The king, marching through England, from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waste on each side of him; and considered every state, not his immediate property, as entirely hostile, and the object of military execution. The nobility

of the north, in particular, who had shewn greatest violence in the recovery of their liberties, and who, acting in a separate body, had expressed their discontent even at the concessions made by the Great Charter, as they could expect no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and purchased the friendship of Alexander, the young king of Scots, by doing homage to him.

PRINCE LEWIS CALLED OVER.

THE barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the total loss of their liberties, their properties and their lives; making applications to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection. Though the sense of the common rights of mankind might have justified them in the deposition of their king, they declined insisting before Philip on a pretension which is commonly so disagreeable to sovereigns. They affirmed that John was incapable of succeeding to the crown by reason of the attainder passed upon him during his brother's reign, though that attainder had been reversed, and Richard had even, by his last will, declared him his successor. They pretended that he was already legally deposed, by sentence of the peers of France, on account of the murder of his nephew; though that sentence could not possibly regard any thing but his transmarine dominions, which alone he held in vassalage to that crown. On more plausible grounds they affirmed that he had already deposed himself by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent crown for a fee under a foreign power. And, as Blanche of Castile, the wife of Lewis, was descended by her mother from Henry II., they maintained, though other princes stood before her in the order of succession, that they had not shaken off the royal family in choosing her husband for their sovereign.

Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize which was offered to him. The legate menaced him with in-

The north-
ern nobility
fled from the
king of
Scots.

The barons
apply to the
French
king.

They de-
clare John
not their
rightful
monarch.

They offer
the crown
to Lewis,
son to the
French
king.

The king
depends on
foreign
mercenaries.

John makes
war on the
barons.

He ravages
the coun-
try.

The men-
aces of Rome
disregarded.

Philip sends
Lewis to
England
with an
army.

Many of
John's
party join
Lewis.

He subdues
the country.

terdicts and excommunications if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was under the immediate protection of the holy see; but, as Philip was assured of the obedience of his vassals, he now undervalued as much all papal censures as he formerly pretended to pay respect to them. His chief scruple was with regard to the fidelity which he might expect from the English barons in their new engagements, and the danger of intrusting his son and heir into the hands of men who might make peace with their native sovereign by sacrificing a pledge of so much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty-five hostages of the most noble birth; and, having obtained this security, he sent over first a small army, then more numerous forces, which arrived with Lewis himself at their head.

The first effect of the young prince's appearance in England was the desertion of John's foreign troops; who, being mostly levied in Flanders and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. The Gascons and Poitevins alone, who were still John's subjects, adhered to his cause; but they were too weak to maintain that superiority in the field which they had hitherto supported against the confederated barons. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party; the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, Warrenne, Oxford, Albemarle, and William Mareschal the younger. His castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; Dover was the only place which, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh the governor, made resistance; and the barons had the melancholy prospect of finally succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But this union was of short duration between the French and English nobles; and the imprudence of

Lewis, who on every occasion shewed too visible a preference to the former, increased that jealousy which it was so natural for the latter to entertain. The viscount of Melun, it is said, one of his courtiers, fell sick at London, and, finding the approaches of death, he sent for some of his friends among the English barons, and, warning them of their danger, revealed Lewis's secret intentions of exterminating them and their families as traitors to their prince, and of bestowing their estates and dignities on his native subjects, in whose fidelity he could more reasonably place confidence. This story, whether true or false, was universally believed; and, concurring with other circumstances, did great prejudice to the cause of Lewis. The earl of Salisbury and other noblemen, deserted again to John's party; and, as men easily change sides in a civil war, the French prince had reason to dread a sudden reverse of fortune.

The nobles
mistrust
Lewis.

They again
change
sides.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1216.

THE king was assembling a considerable army, with a view of fighting one great battle for his crown; but, passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea shore, which was overflowed at high water; and, not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured; and, though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there; and his distemper soon put an end to his life, in the forty-ninth year of his age and eighteenth of his reign, and freed the nation from the dangers to which it was equally exposed by his success or by his misfortunes.*

The character of this prince is but a

John en-
counters
many cala-
mities and
dies.

* On the authority of Caxton, Foxe tells an extravagant story of a monk, who, being of opinion that the death of John would be a benefit to the nation, was content, in order to terminate the king's life, to lay down his own. Then, having advised with the abbot, he caught a toad, from which he extracted

venom, with which he poisoned the king's wine; which he commended to him as "a wassail that should make all England glad." To satisfy John, he drank of it himself, and then, returning soon after, died. "The kyng," proceeds the narrative, "within a short space after, feeling great grief in his body,

complication of vices, equally mean and odious ; ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. Cowardice, inactivity, folly, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty ; all these qualities appear too evidently, in the several incidents of his life, to give us room to suspect that the disagreeable picture has been overcharged by the prejudices of the ancient historians. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable ; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not even exceeded by the baseness which appeared in his transactions with the king of France, the pope, and the barons. His European dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than had ever been ruled by any English monarch : but he first lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family ; he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome ; he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction ; and he died at last when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in a prison, or seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

The prejudices against this prince were so violent, that he was believed to have sent an embassy to the Miramoulin, or emperor of Morocco, and to have offered to change his religion and become Mahometan, in order to purchase the protection of that monarch. But, though this story is told us on plausible authority

by Matthew Paris, it is in itself utterly improbable ; except that there is nothing so incredible but may be believed to proceed from the folly and wickedness of John.

The monks throw great reproaches on this prince for his impiety and even infidelity ; and, as an instance of it they tell us that, having one day caught a very fat stag, he exclaimed, 'How plump and well fed is this animal ! and yet I dare swear he never heard mass.' This sally of wit, upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormous crimes, made him pass with them for an atheist.

John left two legitimate sons behind him ; Henry, born on the first of October 1207, and now nine years of age ; and Richard, born on the sixth of January 1209 ; and three daughters : Jane, afterwards married to Alexander king of Scots ; Eleanor, married first to William Mareschal the younger earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon de Mountfort earl of Leicester ; and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All these were born to him by Isabella of Angoulesme, his second wife. His illegitimate children were numerous, but none of them were anywise distinguished.

It was this king who, in the ninth year of his reign, first gave to the city of London the right of electing annually a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life. He gave the city also power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common-council-men annually. London bridge was finished in this reign ; the former bridge was of wood. Maud the empress was the first that built a stone bridge in England.*

asked for Symon the monk ; and answer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy on me, sayed he ; I suspected as much, after he had sayed that all England should thereof be glad. With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ryde. So he went from thence to Staford castell, and from thence to Newerke-upon-Trent ; and there, within lesse than three dayes, he dyed." The immediate cause of the monk's fatal resolve, is represented to have been a declaration made by John, that he would cause bread to be so dear, that a penny loaf should cost a shilling. His death, however, is most variously reported. John Foxe says : "Many opinions are among the chroniclers of the death of kyng John. Some of

them do write that he dyed of sorrow and heaviness of hart, as Polydorus : some of surfyng in the night, as Rodolphus Niger : some of burnyng ague : some of a cold sweat : some of eatyng appels : some of eatyng peares : some plumes : &c."—ED.

* The bridge built by Maud was Bow bridge, described by Stow to be "a rare peice of worke ; for before that time the like had never been seen in England." He adds, this bridge, "being the first builded with arches of stone, was, therefore, called Stratford-le-Bow," from the resemblance of the arch to the form of a bow. Stratford, in consequence, received the addition of atte Boghe, or atte Bow."—ED.

A jest on the monks made them deem John an Atheist.

He had five children.

The right of electing a lord mayor annually given to London by John.

John's character was a compilation of vices.

He was base to all.

He lived in shame and died in misery.

He was charged with offering to become a Mahometan.

APPENDIX II.

THE FEUDAL AND ANGLO-NORMAN GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL LAW—ITS PROGRESS.—FEUDAL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.—THE FEUDAL PARLIAMENT.—THE COMMONS.—JUDICIAL POWER.—REVENUE OF THE CROWN.—COMMERCE.—THE CHURCH.—CIVIL LAWS.—MANNERS.

The feudal law the foundation of our political system.

THE feudal law is the chief foundation both of the political government and of the jurisprudence established by the Normans in England. Our subject, therefore, requires that we should form a just idea of this law, in order to explain the state as well of that kingdom as of all other kingdoms of Europe, which were governed by similar institutions. And, though I am sensible that I must repeat many observations which have been communicated by others, yet, as every book, agreeably to the observation of a great historian, should be as complete as possible within itself, it will be necessary to deliver a short plan of that prodigious fabric which for several centuries preserved such a mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, stability and revolution, as was never experienced in any other age or, in any other part of the world.

ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL LAW.

AFTER the northern nations had subdued the provinces of the Roman empire, they were obliged to establish a system of government which might secure their conquests, as well against the revolt of their numerous subjects, who remained in the provinces, as from the inroads of other tribes. The great change of circumstances made them here depart from those institutions which prevailed among them while they remained in the forests of Germany; yet was it still natural for them to retain as much of their ancient customs as was compatible with their new situation.

Its German origin.

The German governments, being more a confederacy of independent warriors than a civil subjection, derived their principal force from many inferior and voluntary associations, under a particular chieftain, and which it became the highest point of honour to maintain with inviolable fidelity. The glory of the chief consisted in the number, the bravery, and the zealous attachment, of his retainers. The duty of the retainers required that they should accompany their chief in all wars and dangers; that they should fight and perish by his side; and that they should esteem his renown or his favour a sufficient recompense for all their services. The prince was chosen from among the rest on account of his superior valour or nobility, and who derived his power from the voluntary association or attachment of the other chieftains.

It was founded on voluntary associations under a chief.

The chief chosen for his valour or nobility.

When a tribe, governed by these ideas, and actuated by these principles, subdued a large territory, they found that, though it was necessary to keep themselves in a military posture, they could neither remain united in a body, nor take up their quarters in several garrisons. Their ignorance in the art of finances, and perhaps the devastation inseparable from such violent conquests, rendered it impracticable to levy taxes sufficient for the pay of numerous armies; and their repugnance to subordination, with their attachment to rural pleasures, made the life of the camp or garrison, if perpetuated during peaceful times, extremely disgusting to them. They seized, therefore, such a portion of the conquered lands as appeared necessary; they assigned a share for supporting the dignity of their prince and government; they distributed other parts, under the title of fiefs, to the chiefs; these made a new partition among their retainers. The express condition of all these grants was that they might be resumed at pleasure, and that the possessor, so long as he enjoyed them, should remain in readiness to take the field for the defence of the nation. And, though the conquerors immediately separated, in order to enjoy their new acquisitions, their martial disposition made them readily fulfil the terms of their

The Germans portioned conquered lands.

Fiefs created on certain conditions.

engagement; they assembled on the first alarm; their habitual attachment to the chieftain made them willingly submit to his command: and thus a regular military force, though concealed, was always ready to defend the interest and honour of the community.

We are not to imagine that all the conquered lands were seized by the northern conquerors, or that the whole of the land thus seized was subjected to those military services. This supposition is confuted by the history of all the nations on the continent. Even the idea given us of the German manners by the Roman historian may convince us that that bold people would never have been content with establishments which were only to continue during the good pleasure of their sovereign. Though the northern chieftains accepted of lands which, being considered as a kind of military pay, might be resumed at the will of the king or general, they also took possession of estates which, being hereditary and independent, enabled them to maintain their native liberty, and support, without court favour, the honour of their rank and family.

PROGRESS OF THE FEUDAL LAW.

BUT there is a great difference, in the consequences, between the distribution of a pecuniary subsistence, and the assignment of lands burdened with the condition of military service. The delivery of the former, at the weekly, monthly, or annual, terms of payment, still recalls the idea of a voluntary gratuity from the prince, and reminds the soldier of the precarious tenure by which he holds his commission. But the attachment, naturally formed with a fixed portion of land, gradually begets the idea of something like property, and makes the possessor forget his dependant situation, and the condition which was at first annexed to the grant. It seemed equitable that one who had cultivated and sowed a field should reap the harvest: hence fiefs, at first entirely precarious, were soon made annual. A man who had employed his money in building, planting, or other improvements, expected to reap

the fruits of his labour or expense: hence they were next granted during a term of years. It would be thought hard to expel a man from his possessions who had always done his duty, and performed the conditions on which he originally received them: hence the chieftains, in a subsequent period, thought themselves entitled to demand the enjoyment of their feudal lands during life. It was found that a man would more willingly expose himself in battle, if assured that his family should not be left by his death in want and poverty: hence fiefs were made hereditary in families, and descended, during one age, to the son, then to the grandson, next to the brothers, and afterwards to more distant relations. The idea of property stole in gradually upon that of military pay; and each century made some sensible addition to the stability of fiefs and tenures.

In all these successive acquisitions the chief was supported by his vassals; who, having originally a strong connexion with him, augmented by the constant intercourse of good offices, and by the friendship arising from vicinity and dependance, were inclined to follow their leader against all his enemies; and voluntary, in his private quarrels, paid him the same obedience to which, by their tenure, they were bound in foreign wars. While he daily advanced new pretensions to secure the possession of his superior fief, they expected to find the same advantage in acquiring stability to their subordinate ones; and they zealously opposed the intrusion of a new lord, who would be inclined, as he was fully entitled, to bestow the possession of their lands on his own favourites and retainers. Thus the authority of the sovereign gradually decayed; and each noble, fortified in his own territory by the attachment of his vassals, became too powerful to be expelled by an order from the throne; and he secured by law what he had at first acquired by usurpation.

During this precarious state of the supreme power, a difference would immediately be experienced between those portions of territory which were subjected to the feudal tenures, and those which were possessed by an allodial or free title.

Fiefs granted for a term years.

Property realised instead of military pay.

The growing power of the chiefs gave increased security to the vassals.

The nobles derived new strength from their proved attachment.

The pos-
sors of a
feudal
territory
united.

Humble
proprietors
seek the
protection
of a king or
a noble.

This the ge-
neral sys-
tem of Eu-
rope.

Military
comman-
ders were
deemed
competent
judges.

Though the latter possessions had at first been esteemed much preferable, they were soon found, by the progressive changes introduced into public and private law, to be of an inferior condition to the former. The possessors of a feudal territory, united by a regular subordination under one chief, had the same advantages over the proprietors of the other that a disciplined army enjoys over a dispersed multitude, and were enabled to commit with impunity all injuries on their defenceless neighbours. Every one, therefore, hastened to seek that protection which he found so necessary: and each allodial proprietor, resigning his possessions into the hands of the king, or of some nobleman, received them back with the condition of feudal services; which, though a burden somewhat grievous, brought him ample compensation, by connecting him with the neighbouring proprietors, and placing him under the guardianship of a potent chieftain. The decay of the political government thus necessarily occasioned the extension of the feudal. The kingdoms of Europe, were universally divided into baronies, and these into inferior fiefs: and the attachment of vassals to their chief, was supported by the same causes from which it at first arose; the necessity of mutual protection, and the continued intercourse, between the head and the members, of benefits and services.

But there was another circumstance which corroborated these feudal dependencies, and tended to connect the vassals with their superior lord by an indissoluble bond of union. The northern conquerors, as well as the more early Greeks and Romans, every where united the civil jurisdiction with the military power. Law, in its commencement, was not an intricate science, and was more governed by maxims of equity, which seem obvious to common sense, than by numerous subtle principles applied to a variety of cases by profound reasonings from analogy. An officer, though he had passed his life in the field, was able to determine all legal controversies within the district committed to his charge; and his decisions were the most likely to meet with a prompt and ready obedience from men who respected his person, and

were accustomed to act under his command. The profit arising from punishments, which were then chiefly pecuniary, was another reason for his desiring to retain the judicial power; and, when his fief became hereditary, this authority was also transmitted to his posterity. The counts and other magistrates, whose power was merely official, were tempted, in imitation of the feudal lords, to render their dignity perpetual and hereditary; and in the decline of the regal power they found no difficulty in making good their pretensions. After this manner the vast fabric of feudal subordination formed every where an essential part of the political constitution; and the Norman and other barons, who followed the fortunes of William, were so accustomed to it that they could scarcely form an idea of any other species of civil government.

The Saxons who conquered England, as they exterminated the ancient inhabitants, and thought themselves secured by the sea against new invaders, found it less requisite to maintain themselves in a military posture. The quantity of land which they annexed to offices seems to have been of small value; and for that reason continued the longer in its original situation, and was always possessed during pleasure by those who were intrusted with the command. These conditions were too precarious to satisfy the Norman barons, who enjoyed more independent possessions and jurisdictions in their own country; and William was obliged, in the new distribution of land, to copy the tenures, which were now become universal on the continent. England of a sudden became a feudal kingdom; and received all the advantages, and was exposed to all the inconveniences, incident to that species of civil polity.

FEUDAL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

ACCORDING to the principles of the feudal law, the king was the supreme lord of the landed property: all possessors, who enjoyed the fruits or revenue of any part of it, held those privileges, either mediately

Profit de-
rived from
punish-
ments.

Feudal sub-
ordination
essential to
the political
constitu-
tion.

The Saxon
conquerors
think them-
selves se-
cure.

England
under
William
became a
feudal
kingdom.

Barons held
under the
king; their
vassals
under the
barons.

or immediately, of him ; and their property was conceived to be, in some degree, conditional. The land was still apprehended to be a species of benefice, which was the original conception of a feudal property ; and the vassal owed, in return for it, stated services to his baron, as the baron himself did for his land to the crown. The vassal was obliged to defend his baron in war ; and the baron at the head of his vassals, was bound to fight in the defence of the king and kingdom. But besides these military services, which were casual, there were others imposed of a civil nature, which were more constant and durable.

The northern nations had no idea that a man trained up to honour, and inured to arms, was ever to be governed, without his own consent, by the absolute will of another ; or that the administration of justice was ever to be exercised by the private opinion of any one magistrate. The king, therefore, when he found it necessary to demand any service of his barons or chief tenants beyond what was due by their tenures, was obliged to assemble them, to obtain their consent ; and, when it was necessary to determine any controversy which might arise among the barons themselves, the question must be discussed in their presence, and be decided according to their opinion or advice. In these two circumstances of consent and advice consisted chiefly the civil services of the ancient barons. In one view, the barons regarded this attendance as their principal privilege ; in another, as a grievous burden. That no momentous affairs could be transacted without their advice was in general esteemed the great security of their possessions and dignities : but, as they reaped no immediate profit from their attendance at court, and were exposed to great inconvenience, every one was glad to exempt himself from each particular exertion of this power ; and was pleased both that the call for that duty should seldom return upon him, and that others should undergo the burden in his stead. The king was usually anxious, for several reasons, that the assembly of the barons should be full. This attendance was the chief badge of their subordination

to his crown, and drew them from that independance which they were apt to effect in their own castles ; and, where the meeting was thin or ill attended, its determinations had less authority, and commanded not so ready an obedience from the whole community.

The case was the same with the barons in their courts as with the king in the supreme council of the nation. It was requisite to assemble the vassals, to determine by their vote any question which regarded the barony ; and they sat along with the chief in all trials, whether civil or criminal, which occurred within the limits of their jurisdiction. Thus a kingdom was considered only as a great barony, and a barony as a small kingdom. The barons were peers to each other in the national council, and, in some degree, companions to the king ; the vassals were peers to each other in the court of barony, and companions to their baron.

But, though this resemblance so far took place, the vassals, by the natural course of things, universally, in the feudal constitutions, fell into a greater subordination under the baron than the baron himself under his sovereign. The great chief, residing in his country seat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost, in a great measure, his connexion with the prince ; and added every day new force to his authority over the vassals of the barony. They received from him education in all military exercises ; his hospitality invited them to enjoy society in his hall ; their leisure, which was great, made them perpetual retainers on his person, and partakers of his country sports and amusements ; they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train ; his favour and countenance was their greatest honour ; his displeasure exposed them to contempt ; and they felt every moment the necessity of his protection. During the time of general war the sovereign, who marched at the head of his armies, and was the great protector of the state, always acquired some accession to his authority, which he lost during the intervals of peace and tranquillity. But the loose police,

Their full attendance important.

King and barons, vassals and vassals, in some degree peers.

Authority of the barons.

Their vassals are their perpetual retainers.

The authority of the king declined in times of peace.

A great portion of the common people serfs.

Professions held in contempt.

The sovereign eclipsed by the aristocracy.

Elective monarchies overthrown by it.

incident to the feudal constitutions, maintained a perpetual, though secret, hostility between the several members of the state; and the vassals found no means of securing themselves but by closely adhering to their chief, and falling into a submissive dependance upon him.

If the feudal government was so little favourable to the true liberty even of the military vassal, it was still more destructive of the independence of the other members of the state. A great part of them were serfs, and lived in a state of absolute slavery or villanage. The other inhabitants of the country paid their rent in services, in a great measure arbitrary; and they could expect no redress of injuries in a court of barony. The towns were situated either within the demesnes of the king or the lands of the great barons, and were almost entirely subjected to the absolute will of their master. The languishing state of commerce kept the inhabitants poor and contemptible; and the political institutions were calculated to render that poverty perpetual. The barons and gentry, living in rustic plenty, gave no encouragement to the arts, and had no demand for any of the more elaborate manufactures. Every profession was held in contempt but that of arms; and if any merchant or manufacturer rose to a degree of opulence, he found himself but the more exposed to injuries, from the envy and avidity of the military nobles.

These concurring causes gave the feudal governments so strong a bias towards aristocracy, that the royal authority was extremely eclipsed in all the European states; and, instead of dreading the growth of monarchical power, we might rather expect that the community would every where crumble into so many independent baronies, and lose the political union by which they were cemented. In elective monarchies the event was commonly answerable to this expectation; and the barons, gaining ground on every vacancy of the throne, raised themselves almost to a state of sovereignty, and sacrificed to their power both the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. But hereditary monarchies had a principle of authority

which was not so easily subverted; and there were several causes which still maintained a degree of influence in the hands of the sovereign.

The greatest baron could never lose view entirely of those principles of the feudal constitution which bound him, as a vassal, to submission and fealty towards his prince; because he was every moment obliged to have recourse to those principles, in exacting submission from his own vassals. The lesser barons, finding that the annihilation of royal authority left them exposed to more potent neighbours, naturally adhered to the crown, and promoted the execution of equal laws. The people had still a stronger interest to desire the grandeur of the sovereign; and the king, being the legal magistrate, who suffered by every internal convulsion or oppression, and who regarded the great nobles as his immediate rivals, assumed the salutary office of general guardian or protector of the commons. Besides the prerogatives with which the law invested him, his large demesnes and numerous retainers rendered him the greatest baron in his kingdom; and, where he was possessed of personal vigour and abilities (for his situation required these advantages,) he was commonly able to preserve his authority, and maintain his station, as head of the community and the chief fountain of law and justice.

The first kings of the Norman race were favoured by another circumstance. They were generals of a conquering army, which was obliged to continue in a military posture, in order to secure themselves from the revolt of the numerous natives, whom they had bereaved of all their properties and privileges. But though this circumstance supported the authority of William and his immediate successors, it was lost as soon as the Norman barons began to incorporate with the nation, to acquire a security in their possessions, and to fix their influence over their vassals, tenants, and slaves. And the immense fortunes which the Conqueror had bestowed on his chief captains served to support their independence, and make them formidable to the sovereign.

The interests of the barons bound them to the king.

From his property the king was the greatest baron in his kingdom.

Great advantages possessed over the barons by the Norman kings.

The barons were formidable to their successors.

Chester made a palatinate for the Conqueror's nephew.

Enormous grants made by the Conqueror.

The holders become too great for subjects.

The feudal parliament.

He gave, for instance, to Hugh de Abrincis, his sister's son, the whole county of Chester, which he erected into a palatinate, and rendered by his grant almost independent of the crown. Robert, earl of Mortaigne, had nine hundred and seventy-three manors and lordships; Allan earl of Brittany and Richmond four hundred and forty-two; Odo bishop of Baieux four hundred and thirty-nine; Geoffrey bishop of Coutance two hundred and eighty; Walter Giffard earl of Buckingham one hundred and seven; William earl Warrenne two hundred and ninety-eight, besides twenty-eight towns or hamlets in Yorkshire; Todenei eighty-one; Roger Bigod one hundred and twenty-three; Robert earl of Eu one hundred and nineteen; Roger Mortimer one hundred and thirty-two, besides several hamlets; Robert de Stafford one hundred and thirty; Walter de Eurus earl of Salisbury forty-six; Geoffrey de Mandeville one hundred and eighteen; Richard de Clare one hundred and seventy-one; Hugh de Beauchamp forty-seven; Baldwin de Ridvers one hundred and sixty-four; Henry de Ferrars two hundred and twenty-two; William de Percy one hundred and nineteen; Norman d'Arcy* thirty-three. Sir Henry Spelman computes that, in the large county of Norfolk, there was not in the Conqueror's time, above sixty-six proprietors of land. Men possessed of such princely revenues and jurisdictions, could not long be retained in the rank of subjects. The great earl Warrenne, in a subsequent reign, when he was questioned concerning his right to the lands which he possessed, drew his sword, which he produced as his title; adding that William the Bastard did not conquer the kingdom himself; but that the barons, and his ancestor among the rest, were joint adventurers in the enterprise.

THE FEUDAL PARLIAMENT.

THE supreme legislative power of England was lodged in the king and great council, or what was afterwards called the parliament. It is not doubted but the arch-

bishops, bishops, and most considerable abbots, were constituent members of this council. They sat by a double title: by prescription, as having always possessed that privilege from the first establishment of Christianity; and by their right of baronage, as holding of the king 'in capite' by military service. These two titles of the prelates were never accurately distinguished. When the usurpations of the church had risen to such a height as to make the bishops affect a separate dominion, and regard their seat in parliament as a degradation of their episcopal dignity, the king insisted that they were barons, and, on that account, obliged to attend on him in his great councils. Yet there still remained some practices which supposed their title to be derived merely from ancient possession; when a bishop was elected he sat in parliament before the king had made him restitution of his temporalities; and, during the vacancy of a see, the guardian of the spiritualities was summoned to attend along with the bishops.

The barons were another constituent part of the great council of the nation. These held immediately of the crown by a military tenure; they were the immediate vassals of the crown, and owed as a service their attendance in the court of their supreme lord. A resolution taken without their consent was likely to be but ill executed; and no determination of any cause or controversy among them had any validity where the vote and advice of the body did not concur. The dignity of earl or count was official and territorial, as well as hereditary; and as all the earls were also barons, they were considered as military vassals of the crown, were admitted in that capacity into the general council, and formed the most honourable and powerful branch of it.

But there was another class of the immediate military tenants of the crown, no less, or probably more, numerous than the barons, the tenants 'in capite' by knight's service; and these, however inferior in property, held by a tenure which was

Bishops sat on it by a double title.

The king compelled them to act as barons.

The barons were also barons and military vassals of the crown.

Earls were also barons and military vassals of the crown.

* It is remarkable that this family of d'Arcy seems to be the only male descendants of any of the con-

queror's barons now remaining among the peers. Lord Holderness is the heir of that family.

Attendance in the general councils deemed a burden.

The whole number of military servants under seven hundred.

The commons anciently no part of the great council.

The people to the barons what the barons were to the king.

equally honourable with that of the others. A barony was commonly composed of several knight's fees; and, though the number seems not to have been exactly defined, seldom consisted of less than fifty hides of land.* But, where a man held of the king only one or two knight's fees, he was still an immediate vassal of the crown, and as such had a title to have a seat in the general councils. But, as this attendance was usually esteemed a burden, and one too great for a man of slender fortune to bear constantly, it is probable that, though he had a title, if he pleased, to be admitted, he was not obliged, by any penalty, like the barons, to pay regular attendance. All the immediate military tenants of the crown amounted not fully to seven hundred when Domesday book was framed; and, as the members were well pleased to excuse themselves from attendance, the assembly was never likely to become too numerous for the dispatch of public business.

THE COMMONS.

So far the nature of a general council, or ancient parliament, is determined without any doubt. The only question seems to be with regard to the commons, or the representatives of counties and boroughs; whether they were also, in more early times, constituent parts of parliament? It is agreed that the commons were no part of the great council till some ages after the conquest, and that the military tenants alone of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly.

The vassals of a baron were by their tenure immediately dependent on him, owed attendance at his court, and paid all their duty to the king through that dependence which their lord was obliged by his tenure to acknowledge to his sovereign. Their land comprehended in the barony, was represented in parliament by the baron himself, who was supposed to

possess the direct property of it; and it would have been deemed incongruous to give it any other representation. They stood in the same capacity to him that he and the other barons did to the king; the vassals possessed a subordinate rank within their district, the baron enjoyed a superior dignity in the great assembly; they were in some degree his companions at home; he the king's companion at court. And nothing can be more evidently repugnant to all feudal ideas, than to imagine that the king would apply either for the advice or consent of men, who were of a rank so much inferior, and whose duty was immediately paid to the mesne lord that was interposed between them and the throne.

If it be unreasonable to think that the vassals of a barony, though their tenure was military and honourable, were ever summoned to give their opinion in national councils, much less can it be supposed that the tradesmen of boroughs, whose condition was so much inferior, would be admitted to that privilege. It appears from Domesday that the greatest boroughs were, at the time of the conquest, scarcely more than country villages; and that the inhabitants lived in entire dependance on the king or great lords, and were of a station little better than servile. They were not then so much as incorporated; they formed no community; were not regarded as a body politic; and, being really nothing but a number of low dependent tradesmen, living without any particular civil tie in neighbourhood together, they were incapable of being represented in the states of the kingdom. Even in France, a country which made more early advances in arts and civility than England, the first corporation is sixty years posterior to the conquest under the duke of Normandy; and the erecting of these communities was an invention of Lewis the Gross, in order to free the people from slavery under the lords, and to give them protection by means of certain privi-

The king not expected to seek advice from the commons.

Great boroughs were merely villages at the time of the Conquest.

They were incapable of being represented in great council.

* Four hides made one knight's fee; the relief of a barony was twelve times greater than that of a knight's fee; whence we may conjecture its usual value. There were 234,600 hides in England, and

60,215 knight's fees; whence it is evident that there were little more than four hides in each knight's fee.

leges and a separate jurisdiction. An ancient French writer calls them a new and wicked device to procure liberty to slaves, and encourage them in shaking off the dominion of their masters. The famous charter, as it is called, of the Conqueror to the city of London, though granted at a time when he assumed the appearance of gentleness and lenity, is nothing but a letter of protection, and a declaration that the citizens should not be treated as slaves. By the English feudal law the superior lord was prohibited from marrying his female ward to a burgess or a villain; so near were these two ranks esteemed to each other, and so much inferior to the nobility and gentry. Besides possessing the advantages of birth, riches, civil powers, and privileges, the nobles and gentlemen alone were armed; a circumstance which gave them a mighty superiority in an age when nothing but the military profession was honourable, and when the loose execution of laws gave so much encouragement to open violence, and rendered it so decisive in all disputes and controversies.

The great similarity among the feudal governments of Europe is well known to every man that has any acquaintance with ancient history; and antiquaries have allowed that the commons came very late to be admitted to a share in the legislative power. In Normandy in particular, whose constitution was most likely to be William's model in raising his new fabric of English government, the states were entirely composed of the clergy and nobility; and the first incorporated boroughs or communities of that duchy were Rouen and Falaise, which enjoyed their privileges by a grant of Philip Augustus in the year 1207. All the ancient English historians, when they mention the great council of the nation,

* Sometimes the historians mention the people, "populus," as a part of the parliament; but they always mean the laity, in opposition to the clergy: sometimes the word "communitas" is found; but it always means "communitas baronagii." These points are clearly proved by Dr. Brady. There is also mention sometimes made of a crowd or multitude that thronged into the great council on particular interesting occasions; but as deputies from boroughs are never once spoken of, the proof that they had not

call it an assembly of the baronage, nobility, or great men; and none of their expressions, though several hundred passages might be produced, can, without the utmost violence, be tortured to a meaning which will admit the commons to be constituent members of that body.* If, in the long period of two hundred years, which elapsed between the conquest and the latter end of Henry III., and which abounded in factions, revolutions, and convulsions of all kinds, the house of commons never performed one single legislative act so considerable as to be mentioned by any of the numerous historians of that age, they must have been totally insignificant; and in that case what reason can be assigned for their ever being assembled? Can it be supposed that men of so little weight possessed a negative voice against the king and the barons? Every page of the subsequent histories discovers their existence; though these histories are not written with greater accuracy than the preceding ones. The Magna Charta of king John provides that no scutage or aid should be imposed, either on the land or towns, but by consent of the great council: and, for more security, it enumerates the persons entitled to a seat in that assembly, the prelates and immediate tenants of the crown, without any mention of the commons: an authority so full, certain, and explicit, that nothing but the zeal of party could ever have procured credit to any contrary hypothesis.

It was probably the example of the French barons which first emboldened the English to require greater independence from their sovereign: it is also probable that the boroughs and corporations of England were established in imitation of those of France. It may, therefore, be that both the chief privileges of the peers in England and the liberty of the commons

then any existence becomes the more certain and undeniable. These never could make a crowd, as they must have had a regular place assigned them, if they had made a regular part of the legislative body. There were only 130 boroughs who received writs of summons from Edward I. It is expressly said in Gesta Reg. Steph. p. 932. that it was usual for the populace, "vulgus," to crowd into the great councils; where they were plainly mere spectators, and could only gratify their curiosity.

The commons were not till the reign of Henry III. constituent members of the great council.

Magna Charta did not provide that they should be.

Privileges of the French claimed by the English peers.

were originally the growth of that foreign country.

In ancient times men were little solicitous to obtain a place in the legislative assemblies; and rather regarded their attendance as a burden which was not compensated by any return of profit or honour proportionate to the trouble and expense. The only reason for instituting these public councils was, on the part of the subject, that they desired some security from the attempts of arbitrary power; and, on the part of the sovereign, that he despaired of governing men of such independent spirits without their own consent. But the commons had not yet reached such a degree of consideration as to desire security against their prince, or to imagine that, even if they were assembled in a representative body, they had power to enforce it. The only protection which they aspired to was against the immediate violence of their fellow citizens; and this advantage each of them looked for from the courts of justice, or from the authority of some great lord to whom he was attached. On the other hand, the sovereign was sufficiently assured of obedience in the whole community if he procured the concurrence of the nobles; nor had he reason to apprehend that any order of the state could resist his and their united authority. The military sub-vassals could entertain no idea of opposing both their prince and their superiors; the burgesses and tradesmen could much less aspire to such a thought; and thus we have reason to conclude, from the known situation of society during those ages, that the commons were never admitted as members of the legislative body.

The executive power of the Anglo Norman government was lodged in the king. Besides the stated meetings of the national

council at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, he was accustomed, on any sudden exigence, to summon them together. He could at his pleasure command the attendance of his barons and their vassals, in which consisted the military force of the kingdom; and could employ them, during forty days, either in resisting a foreign enemy or reducing his rebellious subjects; and, what was of great importance, the whole judicial power was ultimately in his hands, and was exercised by ministers of his appointment.

JUDICIAL POWER.

THE general plan of the Anglo Norman government was, that the court of barony was appointed to decide such controversies as arose between the several vassals or subjects of the same barony; the hundred court and county court, which were still continued as during the Saxon times, to judge between the subjects of different baronies;* and the Curia Regis, or king's court, to give sentence among the barons themselves. But this plan contributed to increase the royal prerogative; and, as long as the state was not disturbed by arms, reduced every order of the community to some degree of dependance and subordination.

The king himself often sat in his court, which always attended his person; he there heard causes and pronounced judgment; and, though he was assisted by the other members, it is not to be imagined that a decision could easily be obtained contrary to his opinion. In his absence the chief justiciary presided, who was a kind of viceroy, on whom depended all the civil affairs of the kingdom. The other chief officers of the crown, the con-

* None of the feudal governments in Europe had such institutions as the county-courts, which the great authority of the Conqueror still retained from the Saxon customs. All the freeholders of the county, even the greatest barons, were obliged to attend the sheriffs in these courts, and to assist them in the administration of justice. By these means they received frequent and sensible admonitions of their dependence on the king or supreme magistrate: they formed a kind of community with their

A seat in the legislative assembly was not anciently desired.

The citizens claimed but protection.

They had no desire to legislate.

The executive power lodged in the Anglo Norman kings.

The court of barony under the Anglo-Norman government decided all controversies.

The king often sat in his court of barony.

The chief justiciary presided in his absence.

fellow barons and freeholders: they were often drawn from their individual and independant state, peculiar to the feudal system; and were made members of a political body; and, perhaps, this institution of county-courts in England has had greater effect on the government than has yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries. The barons were never able to free themselves from this attendance on the sheriffs and itinerant justices till the reign of Henry III.

stable, mareschal, seneschal, chamberlain, treasurer, and chancellor,* were members, together with such feudal barons as thought proper to attend, and the barons of the Exchequer, who at first were also feudal barons appointed by the king. This court, which was sometimes called the king's court, sometimes the court of Exchequer, judged in all causes, and comprehended the whole business now shared out among four courts, the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer.†

Such an accumulation of powers was itself a great source of authority, and rendered the jurisdiction of the court formidable to all the subjects; but the turn which judicial trials took soon after the conquest served still more to increase its authority, and to augment the royal prerogatives. William had introduced the Norman law into England; had ordered all the pleadings to be in that tongue; and had interwoven, with the English jurisprudence, all the maxims and principles which the Normans, more advanced in cultivation, and naturally litigious, were accustomed to observe in the distribution of justice. Law now became a science, which at first fell entirely into the hand of the Normans; and which, even after it was communicated to the English, required so much study that the laity, in those ignorant ages, were incapable of attaining it; and it was a mystery almost solely confined to the clergy, and chiefly to the monks. The great officers of the crown, and the feudal

barons, who were military men, found themselves unfit to penetrate into those obscurities; and, though they were entitled to a seat in the supreme judicature, the business of the court was wholly managed by the chief justiciary and the law barons, appointed by the king, and entirely at his disposal. This natural course of things was forwarded by the multiplicity of business which flowed into that court, and which daily augmented by the appeals from all the subordinate judicatures of the kingdom.

In the Saxon times no appeal was received in the king's court, except upon the denial or delay of justice by the inferior courts; and the same practice was still observed in most of the feudal kingdoms of Europe. But the great power of the Conqueror established at first in England an authority, which the monarchs in France were not able to attain till the reign of St. Lewis, two centuries after. He empowered his court to receive appeals both from the courts of barony and the county courts, and by that means brought the administration of justice ultimately into the hands of the sovereign. And, lest the expense or trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, and make them acquiesce in the decision of the inferior judicatures, itinerant judges were afterwards established, who made their circuits throughout the kingdom, and tried all causes brought before them.‡ By this expedient the courts of barony were kept in awe; and if they still preserved some influence, it was only

* The Normans introduced the practice of sealing charters; and the chancellor's office was to keep the great seal.

† The ordinary council of the king seems always to have consisted of persons selected by him for that purpose; and these persons in later times, if not always, took an oath of office, and were assisted by the king's justiciaries, or judges, considered as members of this council; and the chief justiciar, the treasurer, and chancellor, and some other great officers of the crown, who might be styled the king's confidential ministers, were always members of this select council. It was not only the king's ordinary council of state, but formed the supreme court of justice, denominated "Curia Regis;" which commonly assembled three times in every year, wherever the king held his court, at the three great feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas; and sometimes also at Michaelmas. Its constant and important

duty, at those times, was the administration of justice. This court adjourned regularly from time to time; and the suitors, and the proceedings in it, were also regularly adjourned, in the same manner as is practised at this day in the courts of Westminster Hall, which have been generally considered as emanations from this original great court of the king. In the reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the peerage, we find a full confirmation of what is here stated.—*Ed.*

‡ What made the Anglo-Norman barons more readily submit to appeals from their court to the king's court of exchequer, was their being accustomed to like appeals in Normandy to the ducal court of exchequer. See Gilbert's history of the Exchequer; though the author thinks it doubtful whether the Norman court was not rather copied from the English.

The court of barons, as it was called at the time of the Conqueror, was the law barons.

No appeal in the Saxon times, except upon the denial or delay of justice.

It is not established.

The court of barons, as it was called at the time of the Conqueror, was the law barons.

William ordered the pleadings to be in Norman French.

Knowledge of the law confined to the clergy and monks.

from the apprehensions which the vassals might entertain of disobliging their superior, by appealing from his jurisdiction. But the county courts were much discredited; and, as the freeholders were found ignorant of the intricate principles and forms of the new law, the lawyers gradually brought all business before the king's judges, and abandoned the ancient simple and popular judicature. After this manner the formalities of justice (which, though they appear cumbersome, are found requisite to the support of liberty in all monarchical governments) proved at first, by a combination of causes, very advantageous to royal authority in England.

REVENUE OF THE CROWN.

THE power of the Norman kings was also much supported by a great revenue; and by a revenue that was fixed, perpetual, and independent of the subject. The people, without betaking themselves to arms, had no check upon the king, and no regular security for the due administration of justice. In those days of violence many instances of oppression passed unheeded, and soon after were openly pleaded as precedents which it was unlawful to dispute. Princes and ministers were too ignorant to be themselves sensible of the advantages attending an equitable administration; and there was no established council or assembly which could protect the people, and, by withdrawing supplies, regularly and peaceably admonish the king, and ensure the execution of the laws.

The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands, which comprehended, beside a great number of manors, most of the chief cities of the kingdom. It was established by law that the king could alienate no part of his demesne, and that he himself or his successor could at any time resume such donations; but this law was never regularly observed, which happily rendered in time the crown somewhat more dependent. The rent of the crown lands was a source of power; the influence of the king over his tenants and the inhabitants of his

towns increased this power; but the other numerous branches of his revenue, besides supplying his treasury, gave, by their very nature, a great latitude to arbitrary authority, and were a support of the prerogative, as will appear from an enumeration of them.

The king was never content with the stated rents, but levied heavy tallages at pleasure on the inhabitants both of town and country, who lived within his demesne. All bargains of sale, in order to prevent theft, being prohibited, except in boroughs and public markets, he pretended to exact tolls on all goods which were there sold. He seized two hogsheads, one before and one behind the mast, from every vessel that imported wine. All goods paid to his customs a proportional part of their value. Passage over bridges and on rivers was loaded with tolls at pleasure: and, though the boroughs by degrees bought the liberty of farming these impositions, yet the revenue profited by these bargains; new sums were often exacted for the renewal and confirmation of their charters, and the people were thus held in perpetual dependance.

Such was the situation of the inhabitants within the royal demesnes. But the possessors of land, or the military tenants, though they were better protected both by law and by the great privilege of carrying arms, were much exposed to the inroads of power, and possessed not what we should esteem a very durable security. The Conqueror ordained that the barons should be obliged to pay nothing beyond their stated services, except a reasonable aid to ransom his person if he were taken in war, to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter. What should be deemed a reasonable aid was not determined, and the demands of the crown were so far discretionary.

The king could require in war the personal attendance of his vassals; that is, of almost all the landed proprietors; and, if they declined the service, they were obliged to pay him a composition in money, which was called a scutage. The sum was sometimes levied without allowing the vassal the liberty of personal service; and

All business eventually brought before the king's judges.

No check upon the king but an appeal to arms.

The crown lands were a great source of power to the king.

He imposed a toll on all goods sold.

Tolls claimed for crossing bridges or rivers.

The conqueror claimed reasonable aid from the barons on great occasions.

Scutage exacted from landowners.

it was a usual artifice of the king's to pretend an expedition, that he might be entitled to levy the scutage from his military tenants. Danegelt was another species of land-tax, levied by the early Norman kings arbitrarily, and contrary to the laws of the Conqueror. Moneyage was also a general land-tax of the same nature, levied by the two first Norman kings, and abolished by the charter of Henry I. It was a shilling paid every three years by each hearth, to induce the king not to use his prerogative in debasing the coin. Indeed it appears from that charter, that, though the Conqueror had granted his military tenants an immunity from all taxes and tallages, he and his son William had never thought themselves bound to observe that rule, but had levied impositions at pleasure on all the landed estates of the kingdom. The utmost that Henry grants is, that the land cultivated by the military tenant himself shall not be so burdened; but he reserves the power of taxing the farmers. And, as it is known that Henry's charter was never observed, we may be assured that this prince and his successors levied arbitrary impositions on all the lands of all their subjects. These taxes were sometimes very heavy; since Malmesbury tells us that in the reign of William Rufus the farmers, on account of them, abandoned tillage, and a famine ensued.

The escheats were a great branch both of power and of revenue, especially during the first reigns after the conquest. In default of posterity from the first baron, his land reverted to the crown. The prince had indeed by law a power of alienating these escheats; but by this means he had an opportunity of establishing the fortunes of his friends and servants, and thereby enlarging his authority. Sometimes he retained them in his own hands; and they were gradually confounded with the royal demesnes. This confusion is probably the reason why the king acquired the right of alienating his demesnes.

But, beside escheats from default of heirs, those which ensued from crimes or breach of duty towards the superior lord were

frequent in ancient times. If the vassal, being thrice summoned to attend his superior's court and do fealty, neglected or refused obedience, he forfeited title to his land. If he denied his tenure, or refused his service, he was exposed to the same penalty. If he sold his estate without license from his lord, or if he sold it upon any other tenure or title than that by which he himself held it, he lost all right to it. The adhering to his lord's enemies, deserting him in war, betraying his secrets, debauching his wife or his near relations, or even using indecent freedoms, might be punished by forfeiture. The higher crimes, rapes, robbery, murder, arson, &c. were called felony; and, being interpreted want of fidelity to his lord, made him lose his fief. Even where the felon was vassal to a baron, though his immediate lord enjoyed the forfeiture, the king might retain possession of his estate during a twelvemonth, and had the right of spoiling and destroying it, unless the baron paid him a reasonable composition. We have not here enumerated all the species of felonies, or of crimes by which forfeiture was incurred; we have said enough to prove that the possession of feudal property was anciently somewhat precarious, and that the primary idea was never lost, of its being a kind of fee or benefice.

When a baron died, the king immediately took possession of the estate; and the heir, before he recovered his right, was obliged to make application to the crown, and desire that he might be admitted to do homage, and pay a composition to the king. This composition was not at first fixed by law; the king was often exorbitant in his demands, and kept possession of the land till they were complied with.

If the heir were a minor the king retained the whole profit of the estate till his majority; and might grant what sum he thought proper for the education and maintenance of the young baron. This practice was also founded on the notion that a fief was a benefice, and that, while the heir could not perform his military services, the revenue devolved to the superior, who employed another in his

Forfeiture of land and parished to the king of tenures.

The king's crimes, which were punished.

Exorbitant fines on succession to a barony.

The king reserved a minor's property.

stead. It is obvious that a great proportion of the landed property must, by means of this device, be continually in the hands of the prince, and that all the noble families were thereby held in perpetual dependance. When the king granted the wardship of a rich heir, he had the opportunity of enriching a favourite or minister; if he sold it, he thereby levied a considerable sum of money. Simon de Mountfort paid Henry III. ten thousand marks (an immense sum in those days) for the wardship of Gilbert de Umfreville. Geoffrey de Mandeville paid to the same prince the sum of twenty thousand marks, that he might marry Isabella countess of Gloucester, and possess all her lands and knight's fees. This sum would be equivalent to three hundred thousand, perhaps four hundred thousand, pounds in our time.

If the heir were a female, the king was entitled to offer her any husband of her rank he thought proper; and, if she refused him, she forfeited her land. Even a male heir could not marry without the royal consent: and it was usual for men to pay large sums for the liberty of making their own choice in marriage. No man could dispose of his land, either by sale or will, without the consent of his superior. The possessor was never considered as full proprietor; he was still a kind of beneficiary, and could not oblige his superior to accept of any vassal that was not agreeable to him.

Fines, amerciaments, and oblatas, as they were called, were another considerable branch of the royal power and revenue. The ancient records of the exchequer, which are still preserved, give surprising accounts of the numerous fines and amerciaments levied in those days, and of the strange inventions fallen upon to exact money. It appears that the ancient kings of England put themselves entirely on the foot of the barbarous eastern princes, whom no man must approach without a present, who sell all their good offices, and who intrude themselves into every business that they may have a pretence for extorting money. The king's court itself, though the supreme

judicature of the kingdom, was open to none that brought not presents to the king. The bribes given for the expedition, delay, suspension, and, doubtless, for the perversion, of justice were entered in the public registers of the royal revenue, and remain as monuments of the perpetual iniquity and tyranny of the times. The barons of the Exchequer, for instance, the first nobility of the kingdom, were not ashamed to insert, as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk paid a sum that they might be fairly dealt with; the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charters, which they have for their liberties, might not be violated; Richard, son of Gilbert, for the king's helping him to recover his debt from the Jews; Serlo, son of Terlavaston, that he might be permitted to make his defence in case he were accused of a certain homicide; Walter de Burton, for free law if accused of wounding another; Robert de Essart, for having an inquest to find whether Roger the butcher, and Wace and Humphrey, accused him of robbery and theft out of envy and ill-will, or not; William Burhurst, for having an inquest to find whether he were accused of the death of one Godwin out of ill-will, or for just cause. I have selected these few instances from a great number of the like kind, which Madox had selected from a still greater number preserved in the ancient rolls of the exchequer.

Sometimes the party litigant offered the king a certain portion, (a half, a third, a fourth) payable out of the debts which he, as the executor of justice, should assist him in recovering. Theophania de Westland agreed to pay the half of two hundred and twelve marks, that she might recover that sum against James de Fughleston; Solomon the Jew engaged to pay one mark out of every seven that he should recover against Hugh de la Hose; Nicholas Morrel promised to pay sixty pounds, that the earl of Flanders might be distrained to pay him three hundred and forty-three pounds, which the earl had taken from him; and these sixty pounds were to be paid out of the first money that Nicholas should recover from the earl.

Expedition or delay in courts of justice purchased by bribery.

The barons of the exchequer paid to treat a borough fairly.

Inquests to refute spurious charges paid for

A portion of debts recovered paid to the king for his assistance.

Vast sums paid for wardships and other privileges.

Payments made for leave to marry.

Strange fines levied by the crown.

As the king assumed the entire power over trade, he was to be paid for a permission to exercise commerce or industry of any kind. Hugh Oisel paid four hundred marks for liberty to trade in England; Nigel de Havene gave fifty marks for the partnership in merchandise which he had with Gervase de Hanton; the men of Worcester paid one hundred shillings, that they might have the liberty of selling and buying dyed cloth as formerly; several other towns paid for a like liberty. The commerce indeed of the kingdom was so much under the control of the king, that he erected guilds, corporations, and monopolies, wherever he pleased; and levied sums for these exclusive privileges.

There were no profits so small as to be below the king's attention. Henry, son of Arthur, gave ten dogs to have a recognition against the countess of Copland for one knight's fee. Roger, son of Nicholas, gave twenty lampreys and twenty shads for an inquest to find whether Gilbert, son of Alured, gave to Roger two hundred muttons to obtain his confirmation for certain lands, or whether Roger took them from him by violence; Geoffrey Fitz Pierre, the chief justiciary, gave two good Norway hawks, that Walter de Madine might have leave to export a hundred weight of cheese out of the king's dominions.

It is really amusing to remark the strange business in which the king sometimes interfered, and never without a present. The wife of Hugh de Neville gave the king two hundred hens, that she might lie with her husband one night; and she brought with her two sureties, who answered each for a hundred hens. It is probable that her husband was a prisoner, which debarred her from having access to him. The abbot of Rucford paid ten marks for leave to erect houses and place men upon his land near Welhang, to secure his wood there from being stolen;

Hugh archdeacon of Wells gave one tun of wine for leave to carry six hundred sums of corn whither he would; Peter de Peraris gave twenty marks for leave to salt fishes as Peter Chevalier used to do.

It was usual to pay high fines, to gain the king's good-will or mitigate his anger. In the reign of Henry II. Gilbert the son of Fergus, fines in nine hundred and nineteen pounds nine shillings to obtain that prince's favour; William de Chataignes a thousand marks, that he would remit his displeasure. In the reign of Henry III. the city of London fines in no less a sum than twenty thousand pounds on the same account.

The king's protection and good offices of every kind were bought and sold. Robert Grislet paid twenty marks of silver, that the king would help him against the earl of Mortaigne in a certain plea; Robert de Cundet gave thirty marks of silver, that the king would bring him to accord with the bishop of Lincoln; Ralph de Breckham gave a hawk, that the king would protect him; and this is a very frequent reason for payments; John, son of Ordgar, gave a Norway hawk to have the king's request to the king of Norway to let him have his brother Godard's chattels; Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's request to Isolda Bisset, that she should take him for a husband; Roger Fitz Walter gave three good palfreys to have the king's letter to Roger Bertram's mother, that she should marry him; Eling, the dean, paid one hundred marks, that his whore and his children might be let out upon bail: the bishop of Winchester gave one tun of good wine for his not putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the countess of Albemarle; Robert de Veaux gave five of the best palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife. There are, in the records of exchequer, many other singular instances* of a like

Fines paid to obtain the king's favour.

His good offices of every kind purchased.

The king retained by a squire to make a lady marry him.

The king bought to hold his tongue.

* We shall gratify the reader's curiosity by subjoining a few more instances from Madox. Hugh Oisel was to give the king two robes of a good green colour, to have the king's letters patent to the merchants of Flanders, with a request to render him 1000 marks, which he lost in Flanders: the abbot

of Hyde paid thirty marks, to have the king's letters of request to the archbishop of Canterbury, to remove certain monks that were against the abbot: Roger de Trihanton paid twenty marks and a palfrey, to have the king's request to Richard de Umfreville to give him his sister to wife, and to the

Like abuses
prevailed in
other states.

nature. The same ridiculous practices and dangerous abuses prevailed in Normandy, and probably in all the other states of Europe; England was not, in this respect, more barbarous than its neighbours.

The king is
offered presents for
the grant
of an inheritance.

These iniquitous practices of the Norman kings were so well known, that on the death of Hugh Bigod, in the reign of Henry II. the best and most just of these princes, the eldest son and the widow of this nobleman came to court, and strove, by offering large presents to the king, each of them to acquire possession of that rich inheritance. The king was so equitable as to order the cause to be tried by the great council! But in the mean time he seized all the money and treasure of the deceased. Peter of Blois, a judicious and even an elegant writer for that age, gives a pathetic description of the venality of justice, and the oppressions of the poor under the reign of Henry; and he scruples not to complain to the king himself of these abuses. We may judge what the case would be under the government of worse princes. The articles of inquiry concerning the conduct of sheriffs, which Henry promulgated in 1170, shew the great power, as well as the licentiousness, of these offices.

Great oppressions
complained
of.

Amerciaments, or fines, for crimes and trespasses were another considerable branch of the royal revenue. Most crimes were atoned for by money; the fines imposed frequently occasioned the total ruin of the person, even for the highest trespasses. The forest laws, particularly, were a great

Total ruin
caused by
fines for
slight trespasses.

sister that she would accept him for a husband; William de Cheveringworth paid five marks, to have the king's letters to the abbot of Persore, to let him enjoy peaceably his tithes as formerly: Matthew de Hereford, clerk, paid ten marks for a letter of request to the bishop of Llandaff, to let him enjoy peaceably his church of Schenfrith: Andrew Neulun gave three Flemish caps for the king's request to the prior of Chickesand, for performance of an agreement made between them: Henry de Fontibus gave a Lombardy horse of value to have the king's request to Henry Fitz-Harvey, that he would give his daughter to wife: Roger, son of Nicholas, promised all the lampreys he could get, to have the king's request to Earl William Mareschal, that he would grant him the manor of Langeford at Firm: the burgesses of Gloucester promised 300 lampreys, that they might not be distrained to find the prison-

source of oppression. The king possessed sixty-eight forests, thirteen chases, and seven hundred and eighty-one parks, in different parts of England; and considering the extreme passion of the English and Normans for hunting, these were so many snares for the people, by which they were brought within the reach of arbitrary and rigorous laws, which the king had thought proper to enact by his own authority.

The forest
laws snares
for the people.

But the most barefaced acts of tyranny and oppression were practised against the Jews, who, out of the protection of law, were extremely odious from the bigotry of the people, and were abandoned to the rapacity of the king and his ministers.* Besides many other indignities to which they were continually exposed, it appears that they were once all thrown into prison, and the sum of sixty-six thousand marks exacted for their liberty: at another time Isaac the Jew paid alone five thousand one hundred marks; Brun, three thousand marks; Jurnet, two thousand; Bennet, five hundred: at another, Licorica, widow of David the Jew of Oxford, was required to pay six thousand marks; and she was delivered over to six of the richest and discreetest Jews in England, who were to answer for the sum. Henry III. borrowed five thousand marks from the earl of Cornwall; and for his repayment consigned over to him all the Jews in England. The revenue arising from exactions upon this nation was so considerable that there was a particular court of exchequer set apart for managing it.

The Jews
are
pursued
with great
rapacity.

Jews made
over as security
for money borrowed.

ers of Poictou with necessaries, unless they pleased: Jordan, son of Reginald, paid twenty marks to have the king's request to William Paniel, that he would grant him the land of Mill Nierenuit, and the custody of his heirs; and if Jordan obtained the same, he was to pay twenty marks, otherwise not.

* Everything was against the poor Hebrew. Denied the privilege of making himself a home in any christian country, precluded from exercising his industry in common with other men; with little security for his life, and none for his property, he, of course, became timid, indolent, suspicious, and artful. Obligated to conceal the wealth that he dared not to enjoy, his mean attire and neglected person, moved the virulent and scornful Pharisee, the *soidisant* "follower of the Lamb," to revile the Hebrew, "to spit on his gabardine," and to outrage him on account of his deplorable appearance; and,

COMMERCE.

WE may judge concerning the low state of commerce among the English, when the Jews, notwithstanding these oppressions, could still find their account in trading among them, and lending them money. And as the improvements of agriculture were also much checked by the immense possessions of the nobility, by the disorders of the times, and by the precarious state of feudal property, it appears that industry of no kind could then have place in the kingdom.*

It is asserted by Sir Harry Spelman, that during the reigns of the first Norman princes, every edict of the king, issued with the consent of his privy council, had the full force of law. It only appears that the constitution had not fixed any precise boundaries to the royal power; that the right of issuing proclamations on any emergence, and of exacting obedience to them, (a right which was always supposed inherent in the crown) is very difficult to be distinguished from a legislative authority; that the extreme imperfection of the ancient laws, and the sudden exigencies which often occurred, obliged the prince to exert frequently the latent powers of his prerogative; that he naturally proceeded, from the acquiescence of the people, to assume, in many particulars of moment, an authority from which he had excluded himself by express statutes, charters, or concessions, and which was, in the main, repugnant to the general genius of the constitution; and that the lives, the personal liberty, and the properties, of all his subjects were less secured by law against the exertion of his arbitrary authority than by the independent power and private connexions of each individual. It appears, from the Great

Charter itself, that not only John, a tyrannical prince, and Richard, a violent one, but their father Henry, under whose reign the prevalence of gross abuses is the least to be suspected, were accustomed, from their sole authority, to imprison, banish, and attain, the freemen of their kingdom.

A great baron, in ancient times, considered himself as a kind of sovereign within his territory; and was attended by courtiers and dependants, more zealously attached to him than the ministers of state and the great officers were commonly to their sovereign. He often maintained in his court the parade of royalty, by establishing a justiciary, constable, marshal, chamberlain, seneschal, and chancellor, and assigning to each a separate province and command. He usually took such delight in that image of sovereignty, that it was found necessary to restrain his activity, and prohibit him by law from holding courts too frequently. It is not to be doubted but the example set him by the prince, of a mercenary and sordid extortion, would be faithfully copied: and that all his good and bad officers, his justice and injustice, were equally put to sale. He had the power, with the king's consent, to exact tallages even from the free citizens who lived within his barony; and, as his necessities made him rapacious, his authority was usually found to be more tyrannical than that of the sovereign.† He was ever engaged in hereditary or personal animosities, and often gave protection to all desperate adventurers and criminals who could be useful in serving his violent purposes. He was able alone, in times of tranquillity, to obstruct the execution of justice within his territories; and, by combining with a few malcontent barons of high rank and power, he could

when beneath his wretched tatters, articles of value were found, which he could not hope to retain, except by his personal guardianship, the discovery, it was thought, proved him a cheat, and all his nation were branded as fraudulent, proclaimed the possessors of unbounded riches, and subjected to the most intolerable exactions.—*Life and Times of good Lord Cobham.*

* We learn from the extracts given us of Domesday by Brady, in his Treatise on Boroughs, that

almost all the boroughs of England had suffered in the shock of the conquest, and had extremely decayed between the death of the Confessor, and the time when Domesday was framed.

† The author of *Le Miroir de Justice* complains, that ordinances are only made by the king and his clerks, and by aliens and others who dare not contradict the king, but study to please him: whence he concludes, laws are oftener dictated by will than founded on right.

The power of the sovereign but irregularly checked.

throw the state into convulsions. And, on the whole, though the royal authority was confined within bounds, and often within very narrow ones, yet the check was irregular, and frequently the source of great disorders; nor was it derived from the liberty of the people, but from the military power of many petty tyrants, who were equally dangerous to the prince and oppressive to the subject.

THE CHURCH.

The church was a rampart against royal authority.

THE power of the church was another rampart against royal authority; but this defence was also the cause of many mischiefs, and inconveniences. The dignified clergy perhaps were not so prone to immediate violence as the barons; but as they pretended, to a total independence, and could always cover themselves with the appearances of religion, they proved, in one respect, an obstruction to the regular execution of the laws. The policy of the Conqueror was in this particular liable to some exception. He augmented the superstitious veneration for Rome, and he broke those bands of connexion which, in the Saxon times, had preserved an union between the lay and the clerical orders. He prohibited the bishops from sitting in the county courts; he allowed ecclesiastical causes to be tried in spiritual courts only; and he so much exalted the power of the clergy, that, of sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knight's fees, into which he divided England, he placed no less than twenty-eight thousand and fifteen under the church.*

The Conqueror largely increased the power of the clergy.

CIVIL LAWS.

Primogeniture established with the feudal system.

THE right of primogeniture was introduced with the feudal law: an institution which is hurtful, by producing and maintaining an unequal division of private property; but it is advantageous in another respect, by accustoming the people to a preference

* We are not to imagine, as some have done, that the church possessed lands in this proportion, but only that they and their vassals enjoyed such a proportionable part of the landed property.

in favour of the eldest son; and thereby preventing a partition or disputed succession in the monarchy. The Normans introduced the use of surnames, which tend to preserve the knowledge of families and pedigrees. They abolished none of the old absurd methods of trial by the cross or ordeal: and they added a new absurdity, the trial by a single combat, which became a regular jurisprudence, and was conducted with all the order, method, devotion, and solemnity,† imaginable. The ideas of chivalry also seem to have been imported by the Normans; no traces of those fantastic notions are to be found among the plain and rustic Saxons.

Surnames introduced by the Normans.

Trial by ordeal and single combat.

MANNERS.

THE feudal institutions, by raising the military tenants to a kind of sovereign dignity, by rendering personal strength and valour requisite, and by making every knight and baron his own protector and avenger, begat that martial pride and sense of honour, which, cultivated and embellished by the poets and romance writers of the age, ended in chivalry. The virtuous knight fought not only in his own quarrel, but in that of the innocent, of the helpless, and above all, of the fair, whom he supposed to be for ever under the guardianship of his valiant arm. The uncourteous knight, who from his castle exercised robberies on travellers, and committed violence on virgins, was the object of his perpetual indignation; and he put him to death, without scruple, or trial, or appeal, wherever he met with him. The great independence of men made personal honour and fidelity the chief tie among them. The solemnities of single combat, as established by law, banished the notion of every thing unfair, and maintained an appearance of courtesy between the combatants till the moment of their engagement. The credulity of the age grafted on this stock the notion of giants, enchanters,

Rise of chivalry.

Honour and fidelity essential to knight-hood.

† In all legal single combats, it was the part of the champion's oath, that he carried not about him any herb, spell, or enchantment, by which he might procure victory.

Reported
wonders.

dragons, spells, and a thousand wonders, which still multiplied during the times of the crusades; when men, returning from so great a distance, used the liberty of imposing every fiction on their believing audience. These ideas of chivalry infected the writings, conversation, and behaviour, of men during some ages; and, even after they were in a great measure banished by the revival of learning, they left modern gallantry and the point of honour, which still maintain their influence, and are the genuine offspring of those ancient affectations.

The great
charter
introduces
order and
justice.

The concession of the Great Charter, or rather its full establishment, (for there was a considerable interval of time between the one and the other) gave rise, by degrees, to a new species of government, and introduced some order and justice into the administration. The ensuing scenes of our history are, therefore, somewhat different from the preceding. Yet the Great Charter contained no establishment of new courts, magistrates, or senates, nor abolition of the old: it introduced no new distribution of the powers of the commonwealth, and no innovation in the political or public law of the kingdom: it only guarded, and that merely by verbal clauses, against such tyrannical practices as are incompatible with civilized government; and, if they become very frequent, are incompatible with all government. The barbarous license of the kings, and perhaps of the nobles, was henceforth somewhat more restrained; men acquired some more security for their properties and their liberties; and government approached a little nearer to that end for which it was originally instituted, the distribution of justice and the equal protection of the citizens. Acts of violence and iniquity in the crown, which before were only deemed injurious to individuals, and were hazardous chiefly in proportion to the number, power and dignity, of the persons affected by them, were now regarded as public injuries, and as infringements of a charter calculated for general security. And thus the establishment of the Great Charter, without seeming to innovate in the distribution of political power, became a kind of epoch in the constitution.

The license
of kings
was re-
strained by
it.

It formed
an epoch in
the consti-
tution.

CHAPTER XII.

HENRY III.

1216.—1272.

SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—GENERAL PACIFICATION.—DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR AND COMMOTIONS.—HUBERT DE BURGH DISPLACED.—THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER MINISTER.—THE KING'S PARTIALITY TO FOREIGNERS.—GRIEVANCES.—EARL OF CORNWALL ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS.—DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS.—SIMON DE MOUNTFORT EARL OF LEICESTER.—PROVISIONS OF OXFORD.—USURPATION OF THE BARONS.—PRINCE EDWARD.—CIVIL WARS OF THE BARONS.—REFERENCE TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—RENEWAL OF THE CIVIL WARS.—BATTLE OF LEWES.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—BATTLE OF EVESHAM AND DEATH OF LEICESTER.—SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

Most sciences, in proportion as they increase and improve, invent methods by which they facilitate their reasonings; and employing general theorems, are enabled to comprehend, in a few propositions, a great number of inferences and conclusions. History also, being a collection of facts which are multiplying without end, is obliged to adopt such arts of abridgment to retain the more material events, and to drop all the minute circumstances, which are only interesting during the time, or to the persons engaged in the transactions. This truth is no where more evident than with regard to the reign upon which we are going to enter. The chief reason why protestant writers have been so anxious to spread out the incidents of this reign is, in order to expose the rapacity, ambition, and artifices, of the court of Rome; and to prove that the great dignitaries of the catholic church, while they pretended to have nothing in view but the salvation

Historians
obliged to
adopt arts
of abridge-
ment.

This reign
spun out to
expose the
court of
Rome.

The great dignitaries of the church intent only on gain.

of souls, had bent all their attention to the acquisition of riches, and were restrained by no sense of justice in the pursuit of that great object. But this conclusion would readily be allowed them, though it were not illustrated by such a detail of uninteresting incidents. For, besides that ecclesiastical power, as it can always cover its operations under a cloak of sanctity, and attacks men on the side where they dare not employ their reason, lies less under control than civil government; besides this general cause, I say, the pope and his courtiers were foreigners to most of the churches which they governed; they could not possibly have any other object than to pillage the provinces for present gain; and, as they lived at a distance, they would be little awed by shame or remorse in employing every lucrative expedient which was suggested to them. England being one of the most remote provinces attached to the Romish hierarchy, as well as the most prone to superstition, felt severely, during this reign, while its patience was not yet fully exhausted, the influence of these causes. We shall not attempt to comprehend every transaction transmitted to us; and till the end of the reign, when the events become more memorable, we shall not always observe an exact chronological order in our narration.

SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. 1216.

The earl of Pembroke is at the head of the government.

THE earl of Pembroke, who at the time of John's death was mareschal of England, was by his office at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government; and it happened, fortunately

* Calling together those nobles who were most to be depended upon, he represented to them that, though the late king had given the barons too much ground for complaint, it would be disgraceful to the nation to take the crown from his son's head, the true heir to it, and give it to a foreign prince. Nothing but union under its lawful sovereign could avert the dangers which then threatened the land. Some faint opposition was made by the earl of Chester; but the assembly almost unani-

for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not have been intrusted into more able and more faithful hands. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John during the lowest fortune of that monarch, determined to support the authority of the infant prince; nor was he dismayed at the number and violence of his enemies.* Sensible that Henry, agreeably to the prejudices of the times, would not be deemed a sovereign till crowned and anointed by a churchman, he immediately carried the young prince to Gloucester, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in the presence of Gualo the legate and of a few noblemen, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath.† As the concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom. And, in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.

Pembroke, that he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, made him grant a new charter of liberties; which, though mostly copied from the former concessions extorted from John, contains some alterations which may be deemed remarkable. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, granted by the late king, was not confirmed, nor the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal consent; whence we may conclude that Pembroke and the barons, jealous of the ecclesiastical power, both were desirous of renewing the king's

Pembroke resolves to support the young king.

The young king is crowned at Gloucester.

A council of barons summoned.

A new charter confirming former concessions granted.

mously exclaimed, "We will have prince Henry for our king."—ED.

† The ceremony was not attended with the customary pageantry. King John's crown having been lost, a plain circle or chaplet of gold was used instead, as there might have been some danger in deferring the solemnity till a new one could be made. Four years afterwards, on the 7th of May, 1220, according to Walter of Coventry, he was crowned by cardinal Langton, with the crown of king Edward the Confessor.—ED.

claim to issue a *conge d'elire* to the monks and chapters, and thought it requisite to put some check to the frequent appeals to Rome. But what may chiefly surprise us is, that the obligation to which John had subjected himself, of obtaining the consent of the great council before he levied any aids or scutages upon the nation, was omitted; and this article was even declared hard and severe, and was expressly left to future deliberation. But, though this limitation may appear to us the most momentous in the whole charter of John, it was not regarded in that light by the ancient barons, who were more jealous in guarding against particular acts of violence in the crown than against such general impositions; which, unless they were evidently reasonable and necessary, could scarcely, without general consent, be levied upon men who had arms in their hands. We accordingly find that Henry, in the course of his reign, while he gave frequent occasions for complaint with regard to his violations of the Great Charter, never attempted, by his mere will, to levy any aids or scutages; though he was often reduced to great necessities, and was refused supply by his people. So much easier was it for him to transgress the law when individuals alone were affected, than even to exert his acknowledged prerogatives where the interests of the whole body was concerned.

This charter was again confirmed by the king in the ensuing year, with the addition of some articles to prevent the oppressions by sheriffs; and also with an additional charter of forests; a circumstance of great moment, when hunting was so much the occupation of the nobility, and when the king comprehended so considerable a part of the kingdom within his forests, which he governed by arbitrary laws. All the forests which had been disforested, and new perambulations were appointed for that purpose. Offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; but punishable by fine, imprisonment, and more gentle penalties. And all the proprietors of land recovered the power of cutting and using their own wood at their pleasure.

Thus these famous charters were brought nearly to the shape in which they have ever since stood; and they were, during many generations, the peculiar favourites of the English nation, and esteemed the most sacred rampart to national liberty. As they secured the rights of all orders of men, they were anxiously defended by all; and became the basis, in a manner, of the English monarchy, and a kind of original contract, which both limited the authority of the king and ensured the conditional allegiance of his subjects. Though often violated, they were still claimed by the nobility and people; and, as no precedents were supposed valid that infringed them, they rather acquired than lost authority from the frequent attempts made against them in several ages by regal and arbitrary power.

While Pembroke, by renewing and confirming the Great Charter, gave so much satisfaction and security to the nation in general, he also applied himself successfully to individuals. He wrote letters, in the king's name, to all the malcontent barons; in which he represented to them that, whatever jealousy and animosity they might have entertained against the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now succeeded to the throne without succeeding either to the resentments or principles of his predecessor: and it was still in their power, by a speedy return to their duty, to restore the independence of the kingdom, and to secure that liberty for which they so zealously contended: that, as all past offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought to forget their complaints against their late sovereign, who had left to his son the salutary warning to avoid the paths which had led to such fatal extremities; and that, having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their interest to shew that this acquisition was not incompatible with their allegiance; and that the rights of the king and people, far from being hostile, might mutually support and sustain each other.

These considerations, enforced by the character of honour and constancy which Pembroke had ever maintained, had a

The charters prized by the nobles and the people.

It gives general satisfaction.

Pembroke invites the barons to return to their allegiance.

Their interests declared to be bound up with those of the king and people.

mighty influence on the barons ; and most of them began secretly to negotiate with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. The diffidence which Lewis discovered of their fidelity forwarded this general propension towards the king ; and, when the French prince refused the government of the castle of Hertford to Robert Fitz Walter, who had been so active against the late king, and who claimed that fortress as his property, they plainly saw that the English were excluded from every trust, and that foreigners had engrossed all the confidence and affection of their new sovereign. The excommunication, too, denounced against all the adherents of Lewis, failed not, in the turn which men's dispositions had taken, to produce a mighty effect ; and they were easily persuaded to consider a cause as impious, for which they had already entertained an insurmountable aversion. Though Lewis made a journey to France, and brought over succours from that kingdom, he found, on his return, that his party was still more weakened by the desertion of his English confederates, and that the death of John had given an incurable wound to his cause. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareschal, eldest son of the protector, had embraced Henry's party ; and every English nobleman was plainly watching for an opportunity of returning to his allegiance. Pembroke was so much strengthened by these accessions that he ventured to invest Mount-sorel ; though, upon the approach of the count of Perche with the French army, he raised the siege. The count, elated with this success, marched to Lincoln ; and being admitted into the town, he began to attack the castle, which he soon reduced to extremity. The protector summoned all his forces from every quarter, in order to relieve a place of such importance ; and he appeared so much superior to the French, that they shut themselves up within the city, and resolved to act upon the defensive. But the garrison of the castle having received a strong reinforcement, made a vigorous sally upon the besiegers ; while the English army assaulted

them in the same instant from without, mounted the walls by scalade, and, bearing down all resistance, entered the city sword in hand. Lincoln was delivered over to be pillaged ; the French army was totally routed ; the count of Perche, with only two persons more, was killed ; but many of the chief commanders, and about four hundred knights, were made prisoners by the English. So little blood was shed in this important action, which decided the fate of one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe ; and such wretched soldiers were those ancient barons, who yet were unacquainted with everything but arms !

Prince Lewis was informed of this fatal event while employed in the siege of Dover, which was still valiantly defended against him by Hubert de Burgh. He immediately retreated to London, and he there received intelligence of a new disaster, which put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, bringing over a strong reinforcement, had appeared on the coast of Kent, where they were attacked by the English under the command of Philip d'Albiny, and were routed with considerable loss. D'Albiny employed a stratagem against them which is said to have contributed to the victory. Having gained the wind of the French, he came down upon them with violence ; and, throwing in their faces a great quantity of quick lime, which he purposely carried on board, he so blinded them that they were disabled from defending themselves.

GENERAL PACIFICATION.

AFTER this second misfortune of the French the English barons hastened every where to make peace with the protector, to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion. Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any honourable conditions, to make his escape from a country where he found every thing was now become hostile to him. He concluded a peace with Pembroke, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his

The barons are discontented with Lewis.

Lewis is weakened by their desertion.

Pembroke invests Mount-Sorel, but is obliged by the French to withdraw.

Pembroke takes Lincoln, and routs the French army.

Prince Lewis retreats to London.

A French fleet defeated.

Lewis makes peace and evacuates the kingdom.

civil war ended.

adherents, and a restitution of their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties granted to the rest of the nation. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

assimilation of the nation.

The precautions which the king of France used in the conduct of this whole affair are remarkable. He pretended that his son had accepted of the offer from the English barons contrary to his inclination. The armies sent to England were levied in Lewis's name. When that prince came over to France for aid, his father publicly refused to grant him any assistance, and would not so much as admit him to his presence. Even after Henry's party acquired the ascendant, and Lewis was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, it was Blanche of Castile, his wife, not the king his father, who raised armies and equipped fleets for his succour. All these artifices were employed; not to satisfy the pope, nor yet to deceive the people; they only served for a colouring to Philip's cause; and in public affairs men are often better pleased that the truth, though known to every body, should be wrapped up under a decent cover, than if it were exposed to the eyes of all the world.

pre-arranged Lewis's conduct, and his views.

After the expulsion of the French, the prudence and equity of the protector's subsequent conduct contributed to cure entirely those wounds which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. The clergy alone, who had adhered to Lewis, were sufferers in this revolution. As they had rebelled against their spiritual sovereign, by disregarding the interdict, it was not in Pembroke's power to make any stipulations in their favour; and Gualo the legate prepared to take vengeance on them for their disobedience. Many of them were deposed; many suspended; some banished; and all who escaped punishment made atonement for their offence by paying

barons invited to the king.

a clergy only by the king.

large sums to the legate, who amassed an immense treasure by this expedient.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR, AND COMMOTIONS.

THE earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; and he was succeeded by Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh the justiciary. The councils of the latter were chiefly followed; and, had he possessed equal authority with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the licentious and powerful barons could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages and disorders. They retained by force the royal castles which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector; they usurped the king's demesnes; they oppressed their vassals; they invited all disorderly people to enter in their retinue, and to live upon their lands; and they gave them protection in all their robberies and extortions.

Death of Pembroke.

New disorders created by the barons.

They protect robbers.

No one was more infamous for these violent and illegal practices than the earl of Albemarle: who, though he had early returned to his duty, and had been serviceable in expelling the French, augmented to the utmost the general disorder, and committed outrages in all the counties of the north. In order to reduce him to obedience, Hubert seized an opportunity of getting possession of Rockingham castle, which Albemarle had garrisoned with his licentious retinue: but this nobleman, instead of submitting, entered into a secret confederacy with Fawkes de Breaute, Peter de Mauleon, and other barons; and both fortified the castle of Biham for his defence, and made himself master, by surprise, of that of Fotheringay. Pandulf, who was restored to his legateship, was active in suppressing this rebellion; and, with the concurrence of eleven bishops, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Albe-

The earl of Albemarle rebels.

marle and his adherents. An army was levied; a scutage of ten shillings, a knight's fee, was imposed on all the military tenants; Albemarle's associates gradually deserted him: and he himself was obliged to sue for mercy. He received a pardon, and was restored to his whole estate.

This impolitic lenity was probably the result of a secret combination among the barons, who never could endure to see the total ruin of one of their own order. But it encouraged Fawkes de Breaute, a man whom king John had raised from a low origin, to persevere in the course of violence to which he had owed his fortune, and to set at nought all law and justice. When thirty-five verdicts were at one time found against him, on account of his violent expulsion of so many freeholders from their possessions, he came to the court of justice with an armed force, seized the judge who had pronounced the verdicts, and imprisoned him in Bedford castle. He then levied open war against the king: but, being subdued and taken prisoner, his life was granted him; but his estate was confiscated, and he was banished the kingdom.

Justice was executed with greater severity against disorders less premeditated, which broke out in London. A frivolous emulation in a match of wrestling, between the Londoners on the one hand and the inhabitants of Westminster and those of the neighbouring villages on the other, occasioned this commotion. The former rose in a body and pulled down some houses belonging to the abbot of Westminster. The populace, in the tumult, made use of the cry of war commonly employed by the French troops; 'Mountjoy, Mountjoy, God help us and our lord Lewis.' The justiciary made inquiry into the disorder; and, finding one Constantine Fitz Arnulf to have been the ringleader, (an insolent man, who

justified his crime in Hubert's presence,) he proceeded against him by martial law, and ordered him immediately to be hanged, without trial or form of process. He also cut off the feet of some of Constantine's accomplices.*

This act of power was complained of as an infringement of the Great Charter; yet the justiciary, in a parliament summoned at Oxford, (for the great councils about this time began to receive that appellation) made no scruple to grant, in the king's name, a renewal and confirmation of that charter. When the assembly made application to the crown for this favour, as a law in those times seemed to lose its validity if not frequently renewed, William de Briewere, one of the council of regency, was so bold as to say openly that those liberties were extorted by force, and ought not to be observed: but he was reprimanded by the archbishop of Canterbury, and was not countenanced by the king or his chief ministers. A new confirmation was demanded, and granted two years after; and an aid, amounting to a-fifteenth of all moveables, was given by the parliament in return for this indulgence. The king issued writs anew to the sheriffs, enjoining the observance of the charter; but he inserted a remarkable clause in the writs, that those who paid not the fifteenth should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties.

The low state into which the crown was fallen made it requisite for a good minister to be attentive to the preservation of the royal prerogatives. Hubert applied to the pope, who had always great authority in the kingdom, and was now considered as its superior lord; and desired him to issue a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, the justiciary resigned into Henry's hands the two important fortresses

* Punishments seem to have been exceedingly arbitrary at this period. Men high in office passed such sentences as they deemed fitting, without regard to that which was recognised as law. On this occasion there was probably some dissimulation used. Hubert de Burgh, having summoned the landowners to his presence in the town, heard Fitz Arnulf in exculpation of himself and others. All

Fitz Arnulf the ringleader, hanged without trial.

A parliament is summoned.

William de Briewere opposes privileges which had been extorted.

The Great Charter is confirmed.

A bull solicited from the pope to declare the king of age.

He is reduced to sue for mercy, and pardoned.

Fawkes de Breaute seizes a judge who had pronounced verdicts against him.

A riot in London.

of the Tower and Dover castle, which had been intrusted to his custody; and he required the other barons to imitate his example. They refused compliance. The earls of Chester and Albemarle, John constable of Chester, John de Lacy, Bryan de l'Isle, and William de Cantel, with some others, even formed a conspiracy, to surprise London, and met in arms at Waltham with that intention; but, finding the king prepared for defence, they desisted from their enterprise. When summoned to court, to answer for their conduct, they scrupled not to appear, and to confess the design; but they told the king that they had no bad intentions against his person, but only against Hubert de Burgh, whom they were determined to remove from his office. They appeared too formidable to be chastised; and they were so little discouraged by the failure of their first enterprise, that they again met in arms at Leicester, in order to seize the king, who then resided at Northampton. But Henry, informed of their purpose, took care to be so well armed and attended that the barons found it dangerous to make the attempt; and they sat down and kept Christmas in his neighbourhood. The archbishop and the prelates, finding everything tend towards a civil war, interposed with their authority, and threatened the barons with the sentence of excommunication if they persisted in detaining the king's castles. This menace at last prevailed; most of the fortresses were surrendered; though the barons complained that Hubert's castles were soon after restored to him, while the king still kept theirs. There are said to have been eleven hundred and fifteen castles at that time in England.

It must be acknowledged that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces by the factions of the nobles. And, what was of greater importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men, who by their profession were averse to

arms and violence; who tempered by their mediation the general disposition towards military enterprises; and who still maintained those secret links, without which it is impossible for human society to subsist.

Notwithstanding these intestine commotions in England, and the precarious authority of the crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war in France; and he employed to that purpose the fifteenth, which had been granted him by parliament. Lewis VIII. who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim, who demanded the restitution of Normandy and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poictou, took Rochelle after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. Henry sent over his uncle the earl of Salisbury, together with his brother prince Richard, to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown. Salisbury stopped the progress of Lewis's arms, and retained the Poictevin and Gascon vassals in their allegiance; but no military action of any moment was performed on either side. The earl of Cornwall, after two years stay in Guienne, returned to England.

This prince was nowise turbulent or factious in his disposition; his ruling passion was to amass money, in which he succeeded so well as to become the richest subject in Christendom; yet his attention to gain threw him sometimes into acts of violence. There was a manor which had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but had been granted to Waleran de Ties before Richard had been invested with that dignity, and while the earldom remained in the crown. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force; Waleran complained; the king ordered his brother to do justice to the man, and restore him to his rights; the earl said that he would not submit to these orders till the cause should be decided against him by the judgment of his peers; Henry replied that it was first necessary to reinstate Waleran in possession before the

War with France.

The king's army, but not the French with success.

Avarice of Henry Richard, the king's brother.

He refused to submit to the orders of the king.

cause could be tried ; and he reiterated his orders to the earl. We may judge of the state of the government, when this affair had nearly produced a civil war. The earl of Cornwall, finding Henry peremptory in his commands, associated himself with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his sister, and who was displeased on account of the king's requiring him to deliver up some royal castles which were in his custody. These two malcontents took into the confederacy the earls of Chester, Warrenne, Gloucester, Hereford, Warwick, and Ferrers, who were all disgusted on a like account. They assembled an army, which the king had not the power or courage to resist ; and he was obliged to give his brother satisfaction, by grants of much greater importance than the manor which had been the first ground of the quarrel.

The character of the king, as he grew to man's estate, became every day better known ; and he was found in every respect unqualified for maintaining a proper sway. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no other circumstance ; but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved for the time with the most unreserved affection. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war ; without policy or art, he was ill fitted to maintain peace. His resentments, though hasty and violent, were not dreaded while he was found to drop them with such facility ; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice nor maintained with constancy. A proper pageant of state in a regular monarchy, where his ministers could have conducted all affairs in his name and by his authority ; but too feeble in those disorderly times to sway a sceptre, whose weight depended entirely on the firmness and dexterity of the hand which held it.

* Hubert, says M. Paris, fearing that the king would put him to some shameful death, thought fit to abscond, and shut himself up in a sanctuary, among the canons of Merton, in Surrey ; waiting for a time to give in his answer, when the king was in a better humour. Henry, enraged at this, sent to the

HUBERT DE BURGH DISPLACED.

1231.

THE ablest and most virtuous minister that Henry ever possessed was Hubert de Burgh ; a man who had been steady to the crown in the most difficult and dangerous times, and who yet showed no disposition in the height of his power, to enslave or oppress the people. The only exceptionable part of conduct is that mentioned by Matthew Paris ; if true, namely, the recalling publicly and the annulling of the charter of forests ; a concession so reasonable in itself, and so passionately claimed both by the nobility and people. But it must be confessed that this measure is so unlikely, that there is reason to doubt of its reality, especially as it is mentioned by no other historian. Hubert had an entire ascendant over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other subject. Besides acquiring the property of many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the king of Scots ; was created earl of Kent ; and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life. Yet Henry, in a sudden caprice, threw off this faithful minister, and exposed him to the violent persecutions of his enemies. Among other frivolous crimes, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantment, and of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. The nobility, who hated Hubert on account of his zeal in resuming the rights and possessions of the crown, inflamed the king's animosity against him, and pushed him to seek the total ruin of the minister. Hubert took sanctuary in a church ;* the king ordered him to be dragged from thence ; he recalled those orders ; he

Hubert de Burgh an able and upright minister.

He was censured for annulling the charter of the forests.

He married the sister of the king of Scots.

Hubert was accused of enchantment.

He flies to sanctuary, is dragged thence.

mayor of London to force Hubert from his sanctuary, and bring him before him, dead or alive. The Londoners, glad of this opportunity to be revenged of Hubert, for hanging a favourite citizen, rung the alarm bell, and instantly near 20,000 of the meaner sort were called together ; to whom the mayor read

Prince Richard forms a strong confederacy.

The king satisfies prince Richard by important grants.

The king is found humane, but feeble.

He is deficient in firmness.

afterwards renewed them; he was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary; he constrained him soon after to surrender himself prisoner, and he confined him in the castle of the Devizes. Hubert made his escape, was expelled the kingdom, was again received into favour, recovered a great share of the king's confidence, but never shewed any inclination to reinstate himself in power and authority.*

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER MINISTER.

THE man who succeeded him in the government of the king and kingdom was Peter Bishop of Winchester, a Poictevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles than by his courage and abilities. This prelate had been left by king John justiciary and regent during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of that great combination which finally extorted from the crown the charter of liberties. Henry, though incapable, of pursuing the same violent maxims which had governed his father, had imbibed the same arbitrary principles; and, in prosecution of Peter's

the king's letter, and desired them to be all ready in the morning to perform the king's demands. But some of the graver sort of citizens, dreading the ill consequences of raising such a riot, went to the bishop of Winchester's house in Southampton, and desired his advice; who told them plainly that, whatever came of it, they must execute the king's precept. Struck with this strange episcopal advice, says Matthew, they retired; and accordingly, next morning the same number of citizens or more, appeared in arms; and with colours flying, marched towards the sanctuary. Hubert, when he heard of this, gives himself up for lost; and, throwing himself on his knees before the high altar of the church, recommended both his soul and body to God. But Ranulph earl of Chester, had hinted to the king that, if such tumultuous proceedings were continued, a sedition might be raised that would not be easily opposed; adding, that it would be a great reproach to the king abroad, when it was heard that he had thus treated those who had been his favourites. The king was staggered at this; and immediately dispatched two messengers with letters to the mayor, to revoke his former precept. The citizens

advice, he invited over a great number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, who, he believed, could more safely be trusted than the English, and who seemed useful to counterbalance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence, drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men in the kingdom.

The barons formed a combination against this odious ministry, and withdrew from parliament, on pretence of the danger to which they were exposed from the machinations of the Poictevins. When again summoned, they gave for answer that the king should dismiss his foreigners, otherwise they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on another head more worthy to wear it. Such was the style they used to their sovereign! They at last came to parliament; but so well attended, that they seemed in a condition to prescribe laws to the king and ministry. Peter des Roches, however, had found means of sowing dissension among them, and of bringing over to his party the earl of Cornwall, as well as the earls of Lincoln and Chester. The confederates were dis-

were amazed at these counter-orders; but, however, notwithstanding they missed of their prey, they all went quietly back to to their own houses. These things happened while a convention of the nobles was sitting at Lambeth, in order to have Hubert brought before them. Hubert, however, escaped the fury of his enemies for that time; and having, soon after, delivered up all his immense riches to the king, it so softened Henry's heart, that if he did not wholly forgive him, yet he granted him all his lands again; and Hubert only remained a state prisoner in the castle of Devizes, for some time."—*Parliamentary History*.—Ed.

* Hubert, however, according to Matthew Paris, was by no means wanting in ambition. On a former occasion, he was accused of seducing the daughter of the king of Scots, whom king John had given into his custody with the design of marrying her to "the Lord the king." By her, as his mistress, he had children; but, it was added, he eventually married her, in the hope, if she should outlive her brother, that through her, he might succeed to the crown of Scotland.—Ed.

Great numbers of Poictevins were brought over.

There are said to be the remains of the castle.

The barons agreed to the king's terms.

Des Roches sowed dissension among them.

Richard
earl mareschal
murdered.

The barons
of England
declared in-
ferior to
those of
France.

The king
admonished
to set a
good ex-
ample.

The clergy
require the
government
to be dis-
solved.

concerted; Richard, earl mareschal, who had succeeded to that dignity on the death of his brother William, was chased into Wales; he thence withdrew into Ireland, where he was treacherously murdered by the contrivance of the bishop of Winchester. The estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated, without legal sentence or trial by their peers, and bestowed with a profuse liberality on the Poitevins. Peter even carried his insolence so far as to declare publicly, that the barons of England must not pretend to put themselves on the same footing with those of France, or assume the same liberties and privileges: the monarch in the former country had a more absolute power than in the latter. It had been more justifiable for him to have said that men, so unwilling to submit to the authority of laws, could with the worse grace claim any shelter or protection from them.*

When the king at any time was checked in his illegal practices, and when the authority of the Great Charter was objected to him, he was wont to reply, 'Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?' It was very reasonably said to him, 'You ought, sir, to set them the example.' So violent a ministry as that of the bishop of Winchester could not be of long duration; but its fall proceeded at last from the influence of the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmond the primate came to court, attended by many of the other prelates, and represented to the king the pernicious measures embraced by Peter des Roches, the discontents of his people, the ruin of his affairs; and, after requiring the dismissal of the minister and his associates, threatened him with excommunication in

case of his refusal, Henry was obliged to submit; foreigners were banished; the natives were restored to their place in council; the primate, who was a man of prudence, and who took care to execute the laws and observe the charter of liberties, bore the chief sway in the government.

Foreigners
are banish-
ed.

THE KING'S PARTIALITY TO FOREIGNERS.

BUT the English in vain flattered themselves that they should be long free from the dominion of foreigners. The king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence,† was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country, enriched by an imprudent generosity. The bishop of Valence, a prelate of the house of Savoy, and maternal uncle to the queen, was his chief minister, and employed every art to amass wealth for himself and his relations. Peter of Savoy, a brother of the same family, was invested in the honour of Richmond, and received the rich wardship of earl Warrenne; Boniface of Savoy was promoted to the see of Canterbury; many young ladies were invited over from Provence, and married to the chief noblemen in England, who were the king's wards. And as the source of Henry's bounty began to fail, his Savoyard ministry applied to Rome, and obtained a bull, permitting him to resume all past grants; absolving him from the oath which he had taken to maintain them; even enjoining him to make such a resumption; and representing those grants as invalid, on account of the prejudice which ensued from them to the Roman pontiff, in whom the superiority of the kingdom was vested. The opposition

Henry mar-
ries Elea-
nor, daugh-
ter of the
count of
Provence.

The bishop
of Valence
becomes
his minister.

Young
ladies in-
vited from
Provence,
and married
to English
nobles.

Resumption
of grants
contem-
plated, but
successfully
resisted.

* The barons, on one occasion, did not scruple to speak as plainly as they had done to his father. An instance of it occurred in 1242, when on his asking for a supply which they were annually to furnish, he ventured to reproach them, having received this answer: "Your majesty gives us great occasion to wonder into what gulph you have thrown that vast quantity of money which, by various and cruel extortions, you have raised; as well from churches kept vacant as from the land of the nobility, creating horror in the minds of the hearers. Besides, you have called

over certain legates, or those that did the office of legates, into this kingdom, that, like gleaners after the vintage, have plucked from us all the money we had left." They went on to say; "The league that was made betwixt the king of France and you, and which you swore from your soul to keep inviolably to the end, transacted also by your most noble brother earl Richard, and earl Roger Bigod, on your part, you have most dishonestly and scandalously broke."—*Parliamentary History*.—ED.

† January 14, 1236.

made to the intended resumption prevented it from taking place; but the nation saw the indignities to which the king was willing to submit, in order to gratify foreign favourites. About the same time he published in England the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the emperor Frederick, his brother-in-law; and said, being the pope's vassal, he was obliged by his allegiance to obey all the commands of his holiness. In this weak reign, when any neighbouring potentate insulted the king's dominions, instead of taking revenge for the injury, he complained to the pope as his superior lord, and begged him to give protection to his vassal.

GRIEVANCES. 1247.

THE resentment of the English barons rose high at the preference given to foreigners; but no remonstrance could ever prevail on the king to moderate his attachment towards them. After the Provençals and Savoyards might have been supposed pretty well satiated with the dignities and riches which they had acquired, a new set of hungry foreigners were invited over, and shared those favours which the king ought in policy to have conferred on the English nobility, by whom his government could have been defended. His mother Isabella, who had been unjustly taken by the late king from the count de la Marche, to whom she was betrothed, was no sooner mistress of herself by the death of her husband than she married that nobleman; and she had borne him four sons, Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aymer, whom she sent over to England, to pay a visit to their brother. The good natured disposition of Henry was moved at the sight of such near relations; and he considered neither his own circumstances, nor the inclinations of his people, in the honours and riches which he conferred upon them. Complaints rose as high against the credit of the Gascon, as ever they had done against that of the Poictevin and of the Savoyard favourites; and, to a nation prejudiced against them, all their measures appeared exceptionable and criminal. Violations of the Great Charter were frequently

mentioned; and it is indeed more than probable that foreigners, relying on the boundless affections of a weak prince, would, in an age when a regular administration was not any where known, pay more attention to their present interest than to the liberties of the people. It is reported that the Poictevins and other strangers, when the laws were at any time appealed to in opposition to their oppressions, scrupled not to reply, 'What did the English laws signify to them? They minded them not.' And, as words are often more offensive than actions, this open contempt of the English made every act of violence committed by the foreigners appear not only an injury, but an affront, to them.

I reckon not among the violations of the Great Charter some arbitrary exertions of prerogative, to which Henry's necessities pushed him, and which were uniformly continued by all his successors till the last century. As the parliament often refused him supplies, and that in a manner somewhat rude and indecent, he obliged his opulent subjects, particularly the citizens of London, to grant him loans of money; and it is natural to imagine that the same want of economy which reduced him to the necessity of borrowing, would prevent him from being very punctual in the repayment. He demanded benevolences, or pretended voluntary contributions, from his nobility and prelates. He was the first king of England since the conquest that could fairly be said to lie under the restraint of law; and he was also the first that practised the dispensing power, and employed the clause of 'non obstante' in his grants and patents. When objections were made to this novelty, he replied that the pope exercised that authority; and why might not he imitate the example? But the abuse which the pope made of his dispensing power was more likely to excite the jealousy of the people than to reconcile them to a similar practice in their civil government. Roger de Thurkesby, one of the king's justices, was so displeased with the precedent, that he exclaimed, 'Alas! what times are we fallen into! Behold, the civil court is cor-

The great charter is frequently violated.

The English are not at the mercy of the foreigners.

Henry compels loans from the city.

Henry the first king since the conquest restrained by law.

He was the first to use the dispensing power.

rupted in imitation of the ecclesiastical, and the river is poisoned from that fountain !'

Discontent prevails.

The king's partiality and profuse bounty to his foreign relations, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done meanwhile for the honour of the nation ; or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with any glory to himself or to the public : at least, such military talents in the king would have served to keep his barons in awe, and have given authority to his government. But, though he declared war against Lewis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces, he was unsuccessful against that great monarch ; was worsted at Taillebourg ; was deserted by his allies ; lost what remained to him of Poitou ; and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into England. The Gascon nobility were attached to the English government, because the distance of their sovereign allowed them to remain in a state of almost total independence ; and they claimed, some time after, Henry's protection against an invasion which the king of Castile made upon that territory. Henry returned into Guienne, and was more successful in this expedition ; but he thereby involved himself and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents, and exposed him to greater danger from their enterprises.

An unsuccessful war with France.

Henry succeeds in defending Guienne against Castile.

He is plunged in difficulties.

Is jealous of the wealth of the citizens.

Want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, were Henry's great defects ; and his debts, even before this expedition, had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels in order to discharge them. When this expedient was first proposed to him he asked where he should find purchasers ? It was replied, 'The citizens of London.' 'On my word,' said he, 'if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers. These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities.' And he was thenceforth observed to be more forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

But the grievances which the English during this reign had reason to complain of in the civil government, seem to have been still less burdensome than those which they suffered from the court of Rome. On the death of Langton, in 1228, the monks of Christ church elected Walter de Hemesham, one of their own body, for his successor : but, as Henry refused to confirm the election, the pope, at his desire, annulled it ; and immediately appointed Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, for archbishop, without waiting for a new election. On the death of Richard, in 1231, the monks elected Ralph de Neville bishop of Chichester ; and, though Henry was much pleased with the election, the pope, who thought that prelate too much attached to the crown, assumed the power of annulling his election. He rejected two clergymen more, whom the monks had successively chosen ; and he at last told them that, if they would elect Edmund, treasurer of the church of Salisbury, he would confirm their choice ; and his nomination was complied with. The pope had the prudence to appoint both times very worthy primates ; but men could not forbear observing his intention of thus drawing gradually to himself the right of bestowing that important dignity.

Oppression of the pope.

The pope annuls elections made in the English church.

The avarice, however, more than the ambition, of the see of Rome, seems to have been the ground of general complaint. The papal ministers, finding a vast stock of power amassed by their predecessors, were desirous of turning it to immediate profit. Every thing was become venal in the Romish tribunals ; simony was openly practised ; no favours, and even no justice, could be obtained without a bribe ; the highest bidder was sure to have the preference, without regard either to the merits of the person or of the cause ; and the pope openly assumed an absolute and uncontrolled authority of setting aside, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, all particular rules, and all privileges of patrons, churches, and convents. On pretence of remedying these abuses, pope Honorius, in 1226, complaining of the poverty of his see as the source of all grievances, demanded from

Avarice of the papal ministers.

Bribery universal.

New claims of the pope.

every cathedral two of the best prebends, from every convent two monks' portions, to be set apart as a perpetual and settled revenue of the papal crown: but, all men being sensible that the revenue would continue for ever, and the abuses immediately return, his demand was unanimously rejected. About three years after the pope demanded, and obtained, the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, which he levied in a very oppressive manner; requiring payment before the clergy had drawn their rents or tithes, and sending about usurers, who advanced them the money at exorbitant interest. In the year 1240, Otho the legate, having in vain attempted the clergy in a body, obtained separately, by intrigues and menaces, large sums from the prelates and convents; and, on his departure, is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. This experiment was renewed four years after with success by Martin the nuncio, who brought from Rome powers of suspending and excommunicating all clergymen that refused to comply with his demands. The king, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance those exactions.

Meanwhile all the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians; non-residence and pluralities were carried to an enormous height; Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held at once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings; and the abuses became palpable to the blindness of superstition itself. The people rose against the Italian clergy; pillaged their barns; wasted their lands; insulted the persons of such of them as they found in the kingdom; and, when the justices made inquiry into the authors of this disorder, the guilt was found to involve so many, and those of such high rank, that it passed unpunished. / At last, when Innocent IV. in 1245, called a general council at Lyons, in order to excommunicate the emperor Frederic, the king and nobility sent over agents to complain before the council of the rapacity of the Romish church. They represented, among many other grievances, that the benefices

of the Italian clergy in England had been estimated, and were found to amount to sixty thousand marks a year, a sum which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itself. They obtained only an evasive answer from the pope; but, as mention had been made before the council of the feudal subjection of England to the see of Rome, the English agents, at whose head was Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, exclaimed against the pretension, and insisted that king John had no right, without the consent of his barons, to subject the kingdom to so ignominious a servitude. The popes seem thenceforth to have little insisted on that pretension.

This check, received at the council of Lyons, was not able to stop the court of Rome in its rapacity. Innocent exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception, the third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents. He claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a title to inherit all money gotten by usury; he levied benevolences upon the people; and, when the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, he threatened to pronounce against him the same censures he had emitted against the emperor Frederic.

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the pope was the embarking of Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Fare, as it was called; an enterprise which threw much dishonour on the king, and involved him, during some years, in great trouble and expense. The Romish church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over England; and which, by reason of the distance, as well as high spirit, of this latter kingdom, she was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor Frederic II. the succession of Sicily devolved to Conradine, grandson of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of

The king complains of the exactions of the pope.

The feudal subjection of England to the see of Rome is denounced.

Enormous pretensions of the pope.

He leads Henry to form designs on Naples.

A dispute in Sicily.

Pope Innocent's schemes.

The pope offers the sovereignty to Richard earl of Cornwall.

Afterwards to Edmond king Henry's second son.

the prince, had formed a scheme of establishing his own authority. Pope Innocent, who had carried on violent war against the emperor Frederic, and had endeavoured to dispossess him of his Italian dominions, continued hostilities against his grandson; but, being disappointed in all his schemes by Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not sufficient to bring to a happy issue so great an enterprise. He pretended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Richard earl of Cornwall, whose immense riches, he flattered himself, would be able to support the military operations against Mainfroy. As Richard had the prudence to refuse the present, he applied to the king, whose levity and thoughtless disposition gave Innocent more hopes of success; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmond. Henry, without consulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted of the insidious proposal; and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own interests to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterprises at the

expense of his ally; Alexander IV. who succeeded him in the papal throne, continued in the same policy; and Henry was surprised to find himself on a sudden involved in an immense debt, which he had never been consulted in contracting. The sum already amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and forty-one marks, beside interest; and he had the prospect, if he answered this demand, of being soon loaded with more exorbitant expenses; if he refused it, of both incurring the pope's displeasure and losing the crown of Sicily, which he hoped soon to have the glory of fixing on the head of his son.

He applied to the parliament for supplies; and, that he might be sure not to meet with opposition, he sent no writs to the more refractory barons: but even those who were summoned, sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the pope, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects; and, making a pretext of the absence of their brethren, they refused to take the king's demands into consideration. In this extremity the clergy were his only resource; and, as both their temporal and spiritual sovereign concurred in loading them, they were ill able to defend themselves against this united authority.*

Henry is involved in debt by the wars of the pope.

He seeks aid from parliament.

The barons in parliament refuse supplies.

* It is not correct to say that, in such circumstances, the clergy were his only resource. He sometimes claimed aid from the law. "In March, 1257, a great parliament was held at London, in which Henry de Bath, chief justiciary of England, was called upon to answer several crimes and misdemeanors alleged against him. The king himself was his prosecutor. He was very angry with the justice, that he came thither, as it were, guarded by a great number of armed men of his wife's kindred and his own, as well as all his servants. He accused him more highly than the rest, laying to his charge, amongst other things, that he was a disturber of the whole kingdom, by exasperating all his barons against him, from which a general sedition might be expected. Therefore, the king caused it to be proclaimed by the common crier at London, and in court, that, if any person had cause of action or complaint against Henry de Bath, they should come into court before the king's presence, and there they should be fully heard. By these means many complaints were urged against him; and one of his own brother justices openly protested that he suffered a very great villain, imprisoned and convict, to escape unpunished, having received several rich gifts for that purpose. Upon which the king, being much

provoked, mounted up on high, and called out with a loud voice, that 'if any man whatsoever will kill Henry de Bath, he shall be acquitted of his death, and I pronounce him acquitted accordingly.' And then the king withdrew hastily. There were many present that would have done this lord of Bath's business for him presently, had not the lord John Mansell interposed, and prudently checked their fury. 'My lords and friends,' said he, 'I am not against prosecuting him, but it is not necessary at all to be thus in anger: perhaps our lord the king, by this time, repents his rash expression. Besides, if you lay violent hands on Henry, behold, the bishop of London will excommunicate you, and his military friends may revenge his death.' Thus, in a great measure, their fury was appeased; and earl Richard, with the aforesaid bishop, taking up the matter, things were carried with more moderation against him. The king being afterwards privately informed that there might be some gain in the case, and a certain sum of money being promised, the prisoner was released from both death and bondage: and shortly after, on the payment of 2000 marks, was reconciled to the king, and entered again into his office, as if nothing had happened."—*Parliamentary History*.

The pope publishes a crusade against Sicily.

A tenth levied on the clergy.

The bishop of Hereford draws bills on the English clergy.

The pope's legate attempts to mediate.

The bishops of London and Winchester only resist.

The pope published a crusade for the conquest of Sicily; and required every one who had taken the cross against the infidels, or had vowed to advance money for that service, to support the war against Mainfroy; a more terrible enemy to the Christian faith than any Saracen. He levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in England for three years; and gave orders to excommunicate all bishops who made not punctual payment. He granted to the king the goods of intestate clergymen, the revenues of vacant benefices, the revenues of all non-residents. But these taxations, being levied by some rule, were less grievous than another imposition, which arose from the suggestion of the bishop of Hereford, and which might have opened the door to endless and intolerable abuses.

This prelate, who resided at the court of Rome by a deputation from the English church, drew bills of different values, but amounting on the whole to one hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and forty marks, on all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom; and granted these bills to Italian merchants, who it was pretended had advanced money for the service of the war against Mainfroy. As there was no likelihood of the English prelates submitting, without compulsion, to such an extraordinary demand, Rustand the legate was charged with the commission of employing authority to that purpose; and he summoned an assembly of the bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the pleasure of the pope and of the king. Great were the surprise and indignation of the assembly: the bishop of Worcester exclaimed that he would lose his life rather than comply: the bishop of London said that the pope and king were more powerful than he; but, if his mitre were taken off his head, he would clap on a helmet in its place. The legate was no less violent on the other hand; and he told the assembly, in plain terms, that all ecclesiastical benefices were the property of the pope, and he might dispose of them, either in whole or in part, as he saw proper. In the end, the bishops and abbots, being threatened with excommu-

nication, which made all their revenues fall into the king's hands, were obliged to submit to the exaction; and the only mitigation which the legate allowed them was, that the tenths already granted should be accepted as a partial payment of the bills. But the money was still insufficient for the pope's purpose; the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever; the demands which came from Rome were endless; pope Alexander became so urgent a creditor, that he sent over a legate to England, threatening the kingdom with an interdict, and the king with excommunication, if the arrears which he pretended to be due to him were not instantly remitted; and at last Henry, sensible of the cheat, began to think of resigning into the pope's hands that crown which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family should ever enjoy.

EARL OF CORNWALL KING OF THE ROMANS. 1255.

THE earl of Cornwall had now reason to value himself on his foresight, in refusing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the solid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood of England to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity. But his vanity and ambition prevailed at last over his prudence and his avarice; and he was engaged in an enterprise no less extensive and vexatious than that of his brother, and not attended with much greater probability of success. The immense opulence of Richard having made the German princes cast their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election; and he succeeded so far as to be chosen king of the Romans, which seemed to render his succession infallible to the imperial throne. He went over to Germany, and carried out of the kingdom no less a sum than seven hundred thousand marks, if we may credit the account given by some ancient authors, which is probably much exaggerated. His money procured him friends, and partisans; but it was soon drained by the avidity of the German

Eventually they submit.

The exorbitant demands of the pope dispose Henry to resign his crown.

The earl of Cornwall, conscious of his opulence and power, attracts the notice of the Germans.

He becomes a candidate for the German empire.

The earl sends vast sums in Germany.

He gains
but an
empty title.

princes : and, having no personal or family connexions in that country, and no solid foundation of power, he found at last that he had lavished away the frugality of a whole life to procure a splendid title ; and that his absence from England, joined to the weakness of his brother's government, gave reins to the factitious and turbulent dispositions of the English barons, and involved his own country and family in great calamities.

DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS.

The barons
prove
most for-
midable
to the
crown.

THE successful revolt of the nobility from king John, and their imposing on him and his successors limitations of their royal power, had made them feel their own weight and importance ; and, being followed by a long minority, had impoverished as well as weakened that crown, which they were at last induced to replace on the head of young Henry. In the king's situation, either great abilities and vigour were requisite to overawe the barons, or great caution and reserve to give them no pretence for complaints ; and this prince was possessed of neither of these talents. He had not prudence to choose right measures ; he wanted even that constancy which sometimes gives weight to wrong ones ; he was entirely devoted to his favourites, who were always foreigners ; he lavished on them his diminished revenue ; and, finding that his barons indulged their disposition towards tyranny, and observed not to their own vassals the same rules which they had imposed on the crown, he was apt, in his administration, to neglect all the salutary articles of the Great Charter, which he remarked to be so little regarded by his nobility. This conduct lessened his authority, had multiplied complaints ; and had frequently exposed him to affronts, and even to dangerous attempts upon his prerogative. In 1244, when he desired a supply from parliament, the barons, complaining of the frequent breaches of the Great Charter, and of the many fruitless applications which they had formerly made for the redress of this and other grievances, demanded, that he should give them the

the king is
devoted to
foreign fa-
vourites.

The barons
complain.

nomination of the great justiciary and of the chancellor, to whose hands chiefly the administration of justice was committed : and, if we may credit the historian, they had formed the plan of other limitations, as well as of associations to maintain them, which would have reduced the king to be an absolute cypher, and have held the crown in perpetual pupillage and dependence. The king would agree to nothing but a renewal of the charter, and a general permission to excommunicate all the violators of it : and he received no supply, except a scutage of twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Scotland ; a burden which was expressly annexed to their feudal tenures.

Four years after, in a full parliament, when Henry demanded a new supply, he was openly reproached with a breach of his word, and the frequent violations of the charter. He was asked whether he did not blush to desire any aid from his people, whom he professedly hated and despised ; to whom on all occasions he preferred aliens and foreigners ; and who groaned under the oppressions which he either permitted or exercised over them. He was told that, besides disparaging his nobility by forcing them to contract unequal and mean marriages with strangers, no rank of men was so low as to escape vexations from him or his ministers ; that even the victuals consumed in his household, the clothes which himself and his servants wore, still more the wine which they used, were all taken by violence from the lawful owners, and no compensation was ever made them for the injury : that foreign merchants, to the great prejudice and infamy of the kingdom, shunned the English harbours, as if they were possessed by pirates, and the commerce with all nations was thus cut off by these acts of violence : that loss was added to loss, and injury to injury, while the merchants who had been despoiled of their goods, were also obliged to carry them at their own charge to whatever place the king was pleased to appoint them ; that even the poor fishermen on the coast could not escape his oppressions and those

The nobles
aim
at making
the king a
cypher.

He is bit-
terly re-
proached.

Henry is
accused of
enormous
exactions.

Proceedings
most detri-
mental to
the industry
of the
country.

of his courtiers; and, finding that they had not full liberty to dispose of their commodities in the English market, were frequently constrained to carry them to foreign ports, and to hazard all the perils of the ocean, rather than those which awaited them from his oppressive emissaries: and that his very religion was a ground of complaint to his subjects, while they observed that the waxen tapers and splendid silks, employed in so many useless processions, were the spoils which he had forcibly ravished from the true owners. Throughout this remonstration, in which the complaints may be supposed to be somewhat exaggerated, there appears a strange mixture of regal tyranny in the practices which gave rise to it, and of aristocratical liberty, or rather licentiousness, in the expressions employed by the parliament. But a mixture of this kind is observable in all the ancient feudal governments; and both of them proved equally hurtful to the people.

As the king, in answer to their remonstration, gave the parliament only good words and fair promises, attended with the most humble submissions, which they had often found deceitful, he obtained no supply; and therefore, in 1253, when he found himself again under the necessity of applying to parliament, he had provided a new pretence; which he deemed infallible; and, taking the vow of a crusade, he demanded their assistance in that pious enterprise. The parliament, however, hesitated to comply; and the ecclesiastical order sent a deputation, consisting of four prelates, the primate, and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, in order to remonstrate with him on his frequent violations of their privileges, the oppressions with which he had loaded them and all his subjects, and the uncanonical and forced elections which were made to vacant dignities. 'It is true,' replied the king, 'I have been somewhat faulty in this particular; I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see; I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected: my proceedings, I confess, were very irregular, my lords of

Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities: I am determined henceforth to correct these abuses; and it will also become you, in order to make a thorough reformation, to resign your present benefices, and try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner. The bishops, surprised at these unexpected sarcasms, replied that the question was not how to correct past errors, but to avoid them for the future. The king promised redress both of ecclesiastical and civil grievances; and the parliament, agreed to grant him a supply, a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices, and a scutage of three marks on each knight's fee; but they required that he should ratify the Great Charter in a manner still more authentic and more solemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were assembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate the fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, 'May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and corrupt in hell!' The king bore a part in this ceremony; and subjoined, 'So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed.' Yet was the tremendous ceremony no sooner finished than his favourites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same arbitrary administration; and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed.

SIMON DE MOUNTFORT EARL OF LEICESTER. 1258.

ALL these imprudent and illegal measures afforded a pretence to Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand which held it. This nobleman was a younger son of that Simon de Mountfort

Henry resolves to change his course.

He promises to redress grievances.

The Great Charter confirmed with awful solemnity.

The king's arbitrary course is resumed.

Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, attempts to make innovations.

De Mount-
fort's family
attains
great opu-
lence.

He is hus-
band to the
king's
sister.

Leicester is
supported
by the
king's
favour.

Violent
differences
between
him and
the king.

Leicester
is re-
stored to
favour.

who had conducted with such valour and renown the crusade against the Albigenses, and who, though he tarnished his famous exploits by cruelty and ambition, had left a name very precious to all the bigots of that age, particularly to the ecclesiastics. A large inheritance in England fell by succession into this family; but, as the elder brother enjoyed still more opulent possessions in France, and could not perform fealty to two masters, he transferred his right to Simon his younger brother, who came over to England, did homage for his lands, and was raised to the dignity of earl of Leicester. In the year 1238. he espoused Eleanor dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king: but the marriage of this princess with a subject and a foreigner, though contracted with Henry's consent, was complained of by the earl of Cornwall and all the barons of England; and Leicester was supported against their violence by the king's favour alone. But he had no sooner established himself in his possessions than he acquired, by insinuation and address, a strong interest with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. He lost, however, the friendship of Henry from the usual fickleness of that prince; he was banished the court; he was recalled; he was intrusted with the command of Guienne, where he did good service and acquired honour; he was again disgraced by the king, and his banishment from court seemed now final and irrevocable. Henry called him traitor to his face; Leicester gave him the lie, and told him that, if he were not his sovereign, he would soon make him repent of that insult. Yet was this quarrel accommodated, either from the good-nature or timidity of the king; and Leicester was again admitted into some degree of favour and authority. But, as this nobleman was become too great to preserve an entire complaisance to Henry's humours, and to act in subserviency to his other minions, he found more advantage in cultivating his interest with the public, and in inflaming the general discontents. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the Great Charter, the

acts of violence committed on the people, the combination between the pope and the king in their tyranny and extortions, Henry's neglect of his native subjects and barons; and, though himself a foreigner, he was more loud than any in representing the indignity of submitting to the dominion of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretensions to devotion he gained the favour of the zealots and clergy; by his seeming concern for public good he acquired the affections of the public; and, besides the private friendships which he had cultivated with the barons, his animosity against the favourites created an union of interests between him and that powerful order.

A recent quarrel, between Leicester and William de Valence, Henry's half brother and chief favourite, brought matters to extremity, and determined the former to give full scope to his bold and unbounded ambition, which the laws and the king's authority had hitherto with difficulty restrained. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun high constable, Roger Bigod earl mareschal, and the earls of Warwick and Gloucester; men who stood in the first rank of the English nobility. He represented to this company the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto appeared, so unfit for the charge with which they were intrusted. He exaggerated the oppressions exercised on the lower orders of the state, the violations of the barons' privileges, the continued depredations made on the clergy; and, in order to aggravate the enormity of his conduct, he appealed to the Great Charter, which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent for ever the return of those intolerable grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who, at a great expense of blood, had extorted that famous concession from the crown; but lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage to be wrested from them by a weak prince and by insolent strangers. And he insisted that the king's word could no longer be relied on; and that nothing

Leicester
inflames the
public
mind.

He unites
all classes
against the
govern-
ment.

A secret
meeting of
the barons
called.

Leicester
proposes a
general re-
form of the
state.

He inveighs
against the
violations of
the charter.

And insists
that the
king ought
to be re-
strained.

but his absolute inability to violate national privileges could henceforth ensure the observance of them.

These topics, which were founded in truth, had the desired effect; and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their side. The king on his entry, struck with the unusual appearance, asked them what was their purpose; and whether they pretended to make him their prisoner? Roger Bigod replied, in the name of the rest, that he was not their prisoner, but their sovereign; that they even intended to grant him large supplies, in order to fix his son on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected some return for this expense and service; and that, as he had frequently made submissions to the parliament, and had still allowed himself to be carried into the same path, which gave them such just reason of complaint, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of supply, partly intimidated by the martial appearance of the barons, promised to summon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect the persons who were to be intrusted with the chief authority.

PROVISIONS OF OXFORD.

THIS parliament, which the royalists, and even the nation, from experience of the confusions that attended its measures, afterwards denominated 'the mad parliament,'* met on the day appointed; and, as all the barons brought with them their

military vassals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions, was in reality a prisoner, and was obliged to submit to all the terms which they were pleased to impose. Twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers, twelve more were chosen by parliament: to these twenty-four unlimited authority was granted to reform the state; and the king himself took an oath that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his secret influence and direction. The first step seemed well calculated for the end which they professed to be the object of all these innovations. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties: a nearer approach to our present constitution than had been made by the barons in the reign of king John, when the knights were only appointed to meet in their several counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances. Meanwhile the twenty-four barons proceeded to enact some regulations, as a redress of such grievances as were supposed to be sufficiently notorious. They ordered that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the freeholders in each county; that the sheriffs should have no power of fining that baron who did not attend their courts, or the circuits of the justiciaries; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and

Twenty-four barons appointed to reform the state

Henry swears to maintain their ordinances.

Knights chosen in counties to report grievances to parliament.

Three sessions of parliament to be held in each year.

* For so much as kyng Henrie had promised oftentimes the restitution of certayne ancient laws and ordinances, which were more easy and commoious to his people, and by his long delaie brought nothyng to effect, the lordes of England beganne to aurmure and grudge against him: wherefore, to appease their malice, he held a parlyament at Oxenforde;

whiche was after called the madde parliament, because many thynges were therein enacted whiche proved after to the confusion of the realme, and death of manie noblemen. For confrmacion of these actes were chosen XII piers, called Douze piers; whiche had autoritee to correcte the breakers of their ordinances. — *Laquetie*. — Ed.

no castles intrusted to their custody ; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues or any counties or hundreds be let to farm. Such were the regulations which the barons established at Oxford for the redress of public grievances.

But the earl of Leicester and his associates, instead of continuing in this popular course, or granting the king that supply which they had promised him, immediately provided for the extension and continuance of their own authority. They roused anew the popular clamour which had long prevailed against foreigners ; and they fell with the utmost violence on the king's half-brothers, who were supposed to be the authors of all national grievances, and whom Henry had no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, sensible of their danger, took to flight, they were eagerly pursued by the barons ; Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the see of Winchester, took shelter in his episcopal palace, and carried the others along with him ; they were surrounded in that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force, and to be punished for their crimes and misdemeanors ; and the king, pleading the sacredness of an ecclesiastical sanctuary, was glad to extricate them from this danger by banishing them the kingdom. In this act of violence, as well as in the former usurpations of the barons, the queen and her uncles were thought to have secretly concurred ; being jealous of the credit acquired by the brothers, which they found had eclipsed and annihilated their own.

USURPATIONS OF THE BARONS.

BUT the subsequent proceedings of the twenty-four barons were sufficient to open the eyes of the nation, and to prove their intention of reducing, for ever, both the king and the people under the arbitrary power of a very narrow aristocracy. They pretended that they had not yet digested all the regulations necessary for the reformation of the state ; and they must still retain their power till that great purpose were thoroughly effected : in other words, that they must be perpetual

governors, till they were pleased to abdicate their authority. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes : they displaced all the chief officers of the crown, and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their place : even the officers of the king's household were disposed of at their pleasure : the government of all the castles was put into hands in whom they found reason to confide : and, the whole power of the estate being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impose an oath, by which all the subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons : and all this for the greater glory of God, the honour of the church, the service of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom. No one dared to withstand this tyrannical authority ; prince Edward himself, the king's eldest son, a youth of eighteen, who began to give indications of that great and manly spirit which appeared throughout the whole course of his life, was, after making some opposition, constrained to take that oath, which really deposed his father from sovereign authority. Earl Warrenne was the last person in the kingdom that could be brought to give the confederated barons this mark of submission.

But the twenty-four barons, not content with the usurpation of the royal power, introduced an innovation in the constitution of parliament which was of the utmost importance. They ordained that this assembly should choose a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the sessions, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should attend, on a summons, the person of the king in all his motions. But so powerful were these barons that this regulation was also submitted to ; the whole government was overthrown, or fixed on new foundations ; and the monarchy was totally subverted, without its being possible for the king to strike a single stroke in defence of the constitution against the newly-elected oligarchy.

They seek to perpetuate their power.

Their creatures fill every office.

They require an oath of obedience.

Prince Edward takes it.

Earl Warrenne is the last to submit.

The whole power of parliament placed in a committee of twelve.

The barons provide for the extension of their authority.

The king's half-brothers withdraw.

They are banished by the king.

Tyranny of the barons.

The king of the Romans promises to visit England.

He is required to swear that he will observe the provisions of the extent.

The king of the Romans takes the oath.

The barons become unpopular.

The knights of the shires re-monstrate against their proceedings.

The report that the king of the Romans intended to pay a visit to England gave alarm to the ruling barons, who dreaded lest the extensive influence and established authority of that prince would be employed to restore the prerogatives of his family, and overturn their plan of government. They sent over the bishop of Worcester, who met him at St. Omers; asked him, in the name of the barons, the reason of his journey, and how long he intended to stay in England; and insisted that, before he entered the kingdom, he should swear to observe the regulations established at Oxford. On Richard's refusal to take this oath, they prepared to resist him as a public enemy; they fitted out a fleet; assembled an army; and spread the report that Richard, attended by a number of strangers, meant to restore the authority of his exiled brothers, and to violate all the securities provided for public liberty. The king of the Romans was at last obliged to submit to the terms required of him.

But the barons, in proportion to their continuance in power, began gradually to lose that popularity which had assisted them in obtaining it; and men repined that regulations, which were occasionally established for the reformation of the state, were likely to subvert entirely the ancient constitution. They were apprehensive lest the power of the nobles, always oppressive, should now exert itself without control; and their fears were increased by some new edicts of the barons, which were plainly calculated to procure to themselves an impunity in all their violences. They appointed that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years. The cry became loud that the barons should finish their intended regulations. The knights of the shires, who seem now to have been pretty regularly assembled, and sometimes in a separate house, made remonstrances against the slowness of their proceedings. They represented that, though the king had performed all the conditions required of him, the barons had done nothing for the public good, and had only

been careful to promote their own private advantage, and to make inroads on royal authority; and they even appealed to prince Edward, and claimed his interposition for the interests of the nation and the reformation of the government. The prince replied that, though it was contrary to his private sentiments, he had sworn to maintain the provisions of Oxford, he was determined to observe his oath: but he sent a message to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to a speedy conclusion, and fulfil their engagements to the public; otherwise he menaced them that, at the expense of his life, he would oblige them to do their duty, and would shed the last drop of his blood in promoting the interests and satisfying the just wishes of the nation.

The barons, urged by so pressing a necessity, published at last a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the state. But the expectations of the people were extremely disappointed when they found that these consisted only of some trivial alterations in the municipal law; and still more when the barons pretended that the task was not yet finished, and that they must farther prolong their authority, in order to bring the work of reformation to the desired period. The current of popularity was now much turned to the side of the crown; and the barons had little to rely on for their support besides the private influence and power of their families, which, though exorbitant, was likely to prove inferior to the combination of king and people. Even this basis of power was daily weakened by their intestine jealousies and animosities. Their ancient and inveterate quarrels broke out when they came to share the spoils of the crown; and the rivalry between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the chief leaders among them, began to disjoint the whole confederacy. The latter was desirous of stopping or retarding the career of the barons' usurpations: but the former, enraged at the opposition which he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in English affairs; and he retired into France.

The kingdom of France, the only state

Prince Edward's interposition claimed.

He menaces the barons.

The popular feeling turns to the side of the crown.

The barons are divided by jealousies.

Differences long smolder between Leicester and Gloucester.

Lewis IX. a monk and a hero.

He acts a generous part.

He suggests healing measures to the hostile parties in England,

He yields Poitou and Guienne.

Henry cedes Normandy to Lewis.

with which England had any considerable intercourse, was at this time governed by Lewis IX: This monarch united, to the mean and abject superstition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greatest hero; and what may be deemed more extraordinary, the justice and integrity of a disinterested patriot, the mildness and humanity of an accomplished philosopher. So far from taking advantage of the divisions among the English, or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, he had entertained many scruples with regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father; had even expressed some intention of restoring the other provinces; and was only prevented from taking that imprudent resolution by the united remonstrances of his own barons, who represented the extreme danger of such a measure, and, what had a greater influence on Lewis, the justice of punishing, by a legal sentence, the barbarity and felony of John. Whenever this prince interposed in English affairs, it was always with an intention of composing the differences between the king and his nobility; he recommended to both parties every reconciling measure; and he used all his authority with Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to a compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, even in a more prosperous state of their affairs, be deemed advantageous to the English. He yielded up some territories which had been conquered from Poitou and Guienne; he ensured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay that prince a large sum; and he only required that the king should, in return, make a final cession of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This cession was ratified by Henry, by his two sons and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans and his three sons; Leicester alone, either moved by a vain

arrogance, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the English populace, protested against the deed, and insisted on the right, however distant, which might accrue to his consort. Lewis saw, in this obstinacy, the unbounded ambition of the man; and, as the barons insisted that the money due by treaty should be at their disposal, not at Henry's, he also saw, and probably with regret, the low condition to which this monarch, who had more erred from weakness than from any bad intentions, was reduced by the turbulence of his own subjects.

But the situation of Henry soon after wore a more favourable aspect. The twenty-four barons had now enjoyed the sovereign power near three years; and had visibly employed it, not for the reformation of the state, which was their first pretence, but for the aggrandizement of themselves and their families. The breach of trust was apparent to all the world; the dissensions among the barons themselves, which increased the evil, made also the remedy more obvious and easy; and the secret desertion, in particular, of the earl of Gloucester to the crown, seemed to promise Henry certain success in any attempt to resume his authority. Yet durst he not take that step, so reconcileable both to justice and policy, without making a previous application to Rome, and desiring an absolution from his oaths and engagements.

The pope was at this time much dissatisfied with the conduct of the barons; who, in order to gain the favour of the people and clergy of England, had expelled all the Italian ecclesiastics; had confiscated their benefices; and seemed determined to maintain the liberties and privileges of the English church, in which the rights of patronage belonging to their own families were included. The extreme animosity of the English clergy against the Italians was also a source of his disgust to this order; and an attempt which had been made by them for farther liberty, and greater independence on the civil power, was therefore less acceptable to the court of Rome. About the same time that the barons at Oxford had annihilated the prerogatives of the monarchy, the clergy met

Leicester opposes the cession.

Henry's situation is improved.

Gloucester secretly deserts to his cause.

The pope dissatisfied with the barons.

Animosity of the English clergy against Italians

A synod at Merton.

Ancient usage is discredited a subsequent authority for clerical possessions.

the pope is alone of the English clergy.

is willing to annul the constitutions of the church.

new royal rescripts absolved.

in a synod at Merton, and passed several ordinances, which were no less calculated to promote their own grandeur at the expense of the crown. They decreed that it was unlawful to try ecclesiastics by secular judges; that the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts; that lay patrons had no right to confer spiritual benefices; that the magistrate was obliged, without farther inquiry, to imprison all excommunicated persons; and that ancient usage, without any particular grant or charter, was a sufficient authority for any clerical possessions or privileges. About a century before, these claims would have been supported by the court of Rome beyond the most fundamental articles of faith; they were the chief points maintained by the great martyr Becket; and his resolution in defending them had exalted them to the high station which he held in the catalogue of Romish saints. But principles were changed; the pope was become somewhat jealous of the great independence of the English clergy, which emboldened them to resist his authority, and to complain of the preference given to the Italian courtiers. He was ready, therefore, on the king's application, to annul these new constitutions of the church of England; and at the same time he absolved the king and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the provisions of Oxford.

PRINCE EDWARD. 1261.

PRINCE Edward, whose liberal mind, though in such early youth, had taught him the great prejudice which his father had incurred by his levity, inconstancy, and frequent breach of promise, refused for a long time to take advantage of this absolution; and declared that the provisions of Oxford, how unreasonable soever in themselves and how much soever abused by the barons, ought still to be adhered to by those who had sworn to observe them. He himself had been constrained to take that oath; yet was he determined to keep it. By this scrupulous fidelity the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover fully the royal autho-

riety, and to perform such great actions, both during his own reign and that of his father.

The situation of England during this period was somewhat peculiar. There was no regular military force: the sword, however, was not, properly speaking, in the hands of the people: the barons were alone intrusted with the defence of the community; and, after any effort which they made, as the military retainers departed home, the armies were disbanded, and could not speedily be reassembled. It was easy, therefore, for a few barons by a combination, to get the start of the other party, to collect suddenly their troops, and to appear unexpectedly in the field with an army, which their antagonists, though superior in power and interest, would not dare to encounter. Hence the sudden revolutions which often took place; hence the frequent victories obtained without a blow by one faction over the other; and hence it happened that the seeming prevalence of a party was seldom a prognostic of its long continuance in power and authority.

The king, as soon as he received the pope's absolution, accompanied with menaces of excommunication against all opponents, trusting to the countenance of the church, to the support promised him by many considerable barons, and to the returning favour of the people took off the mask. After justifying his conduct by a proclamation, in which he set forth the private ambition, and the breach of trust, conspicuous in Leicester and his associates, he declared that he had resumed the government, and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his subjects. He removed Hugh le Despenser and Nicholas de Ely, the justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their place. He substituted new sheriffs in all the counties, men of character and honour; he placed new governors in most of the castles; he changed all the officers of his household; he summoned a parliament, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified, with only five dissenting voices;

Peculiar situation of England.

The barons' combinations.

They cause frequent victories and revolutions.

The king acts on the pope's absolution.

His resumed authority is ratified by parliament.

and the barons, after making one fruitless effort to take the king by surprise at Winchester, were obliged to acquiesce in those new regulations.

He offers to submit all differences to the decision of the queen of France.

The king, in order to cut off every objection to his conduct, offered to refer all the differences between him and the earl of Leicester to Margaret queen of France. The celebrated integrity of Lewis gave a mighty influence to any decision which issued from his court; and Henry probably hoped that the gallantry, on which all barons, as true knights, valued themselves, would make them ashamed not to submit to the award of that princess. Lewis merited the confidence reposed in him. By an admirable conduct, probably as political as just, he continually interposed his good offices to allay the civil discords of the English; he forwarded all healing measures which might give security to both parties; and he still endeavoured, though in vain, to sooth the fierce ambition of the earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit peaceably to the authority of his sovereign.

The good offices of Lewis unavailing.

CIVIL LAWS OF THE BARONS.

1263.

THAT bold and artful conspirator was nowise discouraged by the bad success of his past enterprises. The death of Richard earl of Gloucester, who was his chief rival in power, and who before his decease had joined the royal party, seemed to open a new field to his violence, and to expose the throne to fresh insults and injuries. It was in vain that the king professed his intentions of observing strictly the Great Charter, even of maintaining all the regulations made by the reforming barons at Oxford or afterwards, except those which entirely annihilated the royal authority; these powerful chieftains, could not peaceably resign the hopes of uncontrolled power, with which they had flattered themselves, and which they had so long enjoyed. Many of them engaged in Leicester's views; and among the rest Gilbert, the young earl of Gloucester, who brought him a mighty accession of power

Leicester finds a new field for his violence.

The young earl of Gloucester joins his party.

from the extensive authority possessed by that opulent family. Even Henry son of the king of the Romans, commonly called Henry d'Allmaine, though a prince of the blood, joined the party of the barons against the king, the head of his own family. Leicester, who resided in France, secretly formed the links of this conspiracy, and planned the whole scheme of operations.

Leicester remains in France.

The princes of Wales, notwithstanding the great power of the monarchs, both of the Saxon and Norman line, still preserved authority in their own country. Though they had often been constrained to pay tribute to the crown of England, they were with difficulty retained in subordination, or even in peace; and, almost through every reign since the conquest, they had infested the English frontiers with such sudden inroads as seldom merit to have place in a general history. The English, content with repelling their invasions, and chasing them back into their mountains, had never pursued the advantages obtained over them, nor been able to fix a total, or so much as a feudal, subjection on the country. This advantage was reserved to the present king, the weakest and most indolent. In the year 1237, Lewellyn prince of Wales, declining in years and broken with infirmities, but still more harassed with the rebellion and undutiful behaviour of his youngest son Griffin, had recourse to the protection of Henry; and, consenting to subject his principality, which had so long maintained, or soon recovered, its independence, to vassalage under the crown of England, had purchased security on these dishonourable terms. His eldest son and heir, David, renewed the homage to England; and, having taken his brother prisoner, delivered him into Henry's hands, who committed him to the Tower. That prince, endeavouring to make his escape, lost his life in the attempt; and the prince of Wales, freed from the apprehensions of so dangerous a rival, paid henceforth less regard to the English monarch, and even renewed those incursions by which the Welsh had been accustomed to infest the English borders. Lewellyn, however, the

Wales up to this period nearly independent.

Her prince submits to Henry.

His rebellious son is committed to the Tower, and dies attempting to escape.

son of Griffin, who succeeded to his uncle, had been obliged to renew the homage, now claimed by England as an established right; but he was well pleased to inflame those civil discords, on which he founded his hopes of future independence. He entered into a confederacy with the earl of Leicester, and, collecting all the force of his principality, invaded England with thirty thousand men. He ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and of all the barons who adhered to the crown; he marched into Cheshire, and committed like depredations on prince Edward's territories; every place where his disorderly troops appeared was laid waste with fire and sword; and, though Mortimer, a gallant and expert soldier, made stout resistance, it was found necessary that the prince himself should head the army against this invader. Edward repulsed prince Lewellyn, and obliged him to take shelter in the mountains of North Wales: but he was prevented from making farther progress by the disorders which soon after broke out in England.

The Welsh invasion was the appointed signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms; and Leicester, coming over secretly from France, collected all the forces of his party and commenced an open rebellion. He seized the person of the bishop of Hereford; a prelate obnoxious to all the inferior clergy on account of his devoted attachment to Rome. Simon bishop of Norwich, and John Mansel, because they had published the pope's bull, absolving the king and kingdom from their oaths to observe the provisions of Oxford, were made prisoners, and exposed to the rage of the party. The king's demesnes were ravaged with unbounded fury; and, as it was Leicester's interest to allure, by the hopes of plunder, all the disorderly ruffians in England, he gave them a general license to pillage the barons of the opposite party, and even all neutral persons. But one of the principal resources of his faction was the populace of the cities, particularly of London; and, as he had,

by his hypocritical pretensions to sanctity and his zeal against Rome, engaged the monks and lower ecclesiastics in his party, his dominion over the inferior ranks of men became uncontrollable. Thomas Fitz Richard, mayor of London, a furious and licentious man, gave the countenance of authority to these disorders in the capital; and, having declared war against the substantial citizens, he loosened all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly but ill restrained. On the approach of Easter, the zeal of superstition, the appetite for plunder, or the pleasure of committing havoc and destruction, prompted them to attack the unhappy Jews, who were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred, to the number of five hundred persons.* The Lombard bankers were next exposed to the rage of the people; and though, by taking sanctuary in the churches, they escaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the multitude. Even the houses of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night; and way was made by sword and by fire to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons. The queen, who, though defended by the Tower, was terrified by the neighbourhood of such dangerous commotions, resolved to go by water to the castle of Windsor; but, as she approached the bridge, the populace assembled against her; the cry ran, 'Drown the witch;' and, besides abusing her with the most opprobrious language, and pelting her with rotten eggs and dirt, they had prepared large stones to sink her barge when she should attempt to shoot the bridge: and she was so frightened that she returned to the Tower.

The violence and fury of Leicester's faction had risen to such a height in all parts of England that the king was obliged to set on foot a treaty of peace, and to make an accommodation with the barons on the most disadvantageous terms. He agreed to confirm anew the provisions of

* The pretext for this inhuman butchery was that a Jew had taken usurious interest from a citizen;

two-pence for the loan of twenty shillings for a week.—ED.

Oxford, even those which entirely annihilated the royal authority; and the barons were again reinstated in the sovereignty of the kingdom. They restored Hugh le Despenser to the office of chief justiciary; they appointed their own creatures sheriffs in every county of England; they took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses; they even named all the officers of the king's household; and they summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to settle more fully their plan of government. They here produced a new list of twenty-four barons, to whom they proposed that the administration should be entirely committed; and they insisted that the authority of this junta should continue, not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of prince Edward.

This prince, the life and soul of the royal party, had unhappily, before the king's accommodation with the barons, been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at Windsor; and that misfortune, more than any other incident, had determined Henry to submit to the ignominious conditions imposed upon him. But Edward, having recovered his liberty by the treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family; and he gained a great party, even among those who had at first adhered to the cause of the barons. His cousin Henry d'Allmaine, Roger Bigod earl marshal, earl Warrenne, Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, John lord Basset, Ralph Basset, Hamond l'Estrange, Roger Mortimer, Henry de Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Leybourne, with almost all the lords marchers, as they were called, on the borders of Wales and of Scotland, the most warlike parts of the kingdom, declared in favour of the royal cause; and hostilities, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England. But the near balance of the parties, joined to the universal clamour of the people, obliged the king and barons to open anew the negotiations for peace; and it was agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

They take possession of all the royal castles.

All the powers of government claimed for twenty-four barons.

Prince Edward a prisoner to Leicester.

Edward when liberated forms a great party.

The civil war is renewed.

REFERENCE TO THE KING OF FRANCE. 1264.

THIS virtuous prince, the only man who in like circumstances could safely have been intrusted with such an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and had even invited over to Paris both the king and the earl of Leicester, in order to accommodate the differences between them; but found that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester, were so violent as to render all his endeavours ineffectual. But, when this solemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not discouraged from pursuing his honourable purpose. He summoned the states of France at Amiens; and there, in the presence of that assembly, as well as in that of the king of England and Peter de Mountfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial. It appeared to him that the provisions of Oxford were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of trust, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled these provisions; restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and, in a word, re-established the royal power in the same condition on which it stood before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford. But, while he thus suppressed dangerous innovations, and preserved unimpaired the prerogatives of the English crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and, besides ordering that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, he declared that his award was not anywise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former concessions or charters of the crown.

Lewis invites Henry and Leicester to Paris.

Their quarrel is brought to trial before him.

He re-establishes the power of Henry.

But respects the liberties of the people.

RENEWAL OF THE CIVIL WARS.

THIS equitable sentence was no sooner

known in England than Leicester and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourse to arms, to procure more advantageous conditions. Without regard to his oaths and subscriptions, that enterprising conspirator directed his two sons, Richard and Peter de Mountfort, in conjunction with Robert de Ferrars earl of Derby, to attack the city of Worcester; while Henry and Simon de Mountfort, two others of his sons, assisted by the prince of Wales, were ordered to lay waste the estate of Roger de Mortimer. He himself resided at London; and, employing as his instrument Fitz Richard the seditious mayor, who had violently and illegally prolonged his authority, he wrought up that city to the highest ferment and agitation. The populace formed themselves into bands and companies; chose leaders; practised all military exercises; committed violence on the royalists; and an association was entered into between the city and eighteen great barons never to make peace with the king but by common consent. At the head of those who swore to maintain this association were the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, with le Despenser the chief justiciary; men who had all previously sworn to submit to the award of the French monarch. Their only pretence for this breach of faith was, that the latter part of Lewis's sentence was, as they affirmed, a contradiction to the former: he ratified the charter of liberties, yet annulled the provisions of Oxford; which were only calculated to preserve that charter, and without which, in their estimation, they had no security for its observance.

The king and prince, finding a civil war inevitable, prepared themselves for defence; and, summoning the military vassals from all quarters, and being reinforced by Baliol lord of Galloway, Brus lord of Annandale, Henry Percy, John Comyn, and other barons of the north, they composed an army, formidable as well from its numbers as its military prowess and experience. The first enterprise of the royalists was the attack of Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Mountfort, with many of the principal barons of

that party: and, a breach being made in the walls by Philip Basset, the place was carried by assault, and both the governor and the garrison were made prisoners. The royalists marched thence to Leicester and Nottingham; both which places having opened their gates to them, prince Edward proceeded with a detachment into the county of Derby, in order to ravage with fire and sword the lands of the earl of that name, and take revenge for his disloyalty. Like maxims of war prevailed with both parties throughout England; and the kingdom was thus exposed in a moment to greater devastation, from the animosities of the rival barons, than it would have suffered from many years of foreign or even domestic hostilities, conducted by more humane and more generous principles.

The earl of Leicester, master of London, and of the counties of the south-east of England, formed the siege of Rochester, which alone declared for the king in those parts; and which, besides earl Warrenne the governor, was garrisoned by many noble and powerful barons of the royal party. The king and prince hastened from Nottingham, where they were then quartered, to the relief of the place; and on their approach Leicester raised the siege, and retreated to London; which, being the centre of his power, he was afraid might fall into the king's hands, either by force or by a correspondence with the principal citizens, who were all secretly inclined to the royal cause. Reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and having summoned his partizans from all quarters, he thought himself strong enough to hazard a general battle with the royalists, which, if it proved successful, might be decisive against the king, who had no retreat for his broken troops in those parts; while Leicester himself, in case of any sinister accident, could easily take shelter in the city. To give the better colouring to his cause, he previously sent a message with conditions of peace to Henry, submissive in the language, but exorbitant in the demands; and, when the messenger returned with the lie and defiance from the king, the prince, and the king of the Romans, he

They gain
Leicester
and Not-
tingham.

Wide
spread de-
vastation.

Leicester
besieges
Rochester.

He retreats
before the
king to
London.

He is rein-
forced by
the Lon-
doners.

The lie
given to
Leicester by
the king
and prince.

Leicester
renounces
his allegi-
ance.

sent a new message, renouncing, in the name of himself and of the associated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then marched out of the city with his army, divided into four bodies: the first commanded by his two sons Henry and Guy de Mountfort, together with Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, who had deserted to the barons: the second led by the earl of Gloucester, with William de Montchesney and John Fitz John; the third, composed of Londoners, under the command of Nicholas de Segrave; the fourth headed by himself in person. The bishop of Chichester gave a general absolution to the army, accompanied with assurances that if any of them fell in the ensuing action, they would infallibly be received into heaven, as the reward of their suffering in so meritorious a cause.*

He marches
to give the
king bat-
tle.

BATTLE OF LEWES.

The royal-
ists nearly
surprised.

LEICESTER, who possessed great talents for war, conducted his march with such skill and secrecy, that he had well nigh surprised the royalists in their quarters at Lewes in Sussex: but the vigilance and activity of prince Edward soon repaired this negligence; and he led out the king's army in three bodies. He himself conducted the van, attended by earl Warrenne and William de Valence: the main body was commanded by the king of the Romans and his son Henry; the king himself was placed in the rear at the head of his principal nobility. Prince Edward rushed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the post of honour in leading the rebel army; but who, from their ignorance of discipline and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the gentry and military men, of whom the prince's body was composed. They were broken in an instant; were chased off the field; and Edward, transported by his martial ardour, and eager to revenge the insolence of the Londoners against his mother, put them to the sword for the length of four miles, without giving them any quarter, and without reflecting

The Lon-
doners
routed by
prince
Edward.

on the fate which in the mean time attended the rest of the army. The earl of Leicester, seeing the royalists thrown into confusion by their eagerness in the pursuit, led on his remaining troops against the bodies commanded by the two royal brothers: he defeated with great slaughter the forces headed by the king of the Romans; and that prince was obliged to yield himself prisoner to the earl of Gloucester: he penetrated to the body where the king himself was placed, threw it into disorder, pursued his advantage, chased it into the town of Lewes, and obliged Henry to surrender himself prisoner.

Leicester
triumphs.

The king
taken pri-
soner by
Leicester.

Prince Edward, returning to the field of battle from his precipitate pursuit of the Londoners, was astonished to find it covered with the dead bodies of his friends; and still more to hear that his father and uncle were defeated and taken prisoners; and that Arundel, Comyn, Brus, Hamond l'Estrange, Roger Leybourne, and many considerable barons of his party, were in the hands of the victorious enemy. Earl Warrenne, Hugh Bigod, and William de Valence, struck with despair at this event, immediately took to flight, hurried to Pevensey, and made their escape beyond sea; but the prince, intrepid amidst the greatest disasters, exhorted his troops to revenge the death of their friends, to relieve the royal captives, and to snatch an easy conquest from an enemy disordered by their own victory. He found his followers intimidated by their situation; while Leicester, afraid of a sudden and violent blow from the prince, amused him by a feigned negotiation, till he was able to recall his troops from the pursuit, and bring them into order. There now appeared no farther resource to the royal party; surrounded by the armies and garrisons of the enemy, destitute of forage and provisions, and deprived of their sovereign, as well as of their principal leaders. The prince, therefore, was obliged to submit to Leicester's terms, which were short and severe, agreeably to the suddenness and

Prince
Edward ex-
horts his
troops to
seek re-
venge.

He is com-
pelled to
submit to
Leicester.

* It was a part of Leicester's policy to make a great show of reverence for religion, which had

much weight with his followers, who were thus persuaded that his cause was that of God.—ED.

Severe terms imposed by Leicester in "The Mise of Lewes."

The prince becomes Leicester's prisoner.

Leicester acts as tyrant of the kingdom.

He disarms and imprisons the royalists.

necessity of the situation. He stipulated that he and Henry d'Allmaine should surrender themselves prisoners as pledges in lieu of the two kings; that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that, in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France; that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates and three noblemen; these six to choose two others of their own country; and these two to choose one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom. The prince and young Henry accordingly delivered themselves into Leicester's hands, who sent them under a guard to Dover castle. Such are the terms of agreement, commonly called 'the Mise of Lewes,' from an obsolete term of that meaning; for it appears that all the gentry and nobility of England, who valued themselves on their Norman extraction, and who disdained the language of their native country, made familiar use of the French tongue till this period, and for some time after.

Leicester had no sooner obtained this great advantage, and gotten the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as tyrant of the kingdom. He still detained the king in effect a prisoner, and made use of that prince's authority to purposes the most prejudicial to his interests, and the most oppressive of his people. He everywhere disarmed the royalists, and kept all his own partisans in a military posture. He observed the same partial conduct in the deliverance of the captives, and even threw many of the royalists into prison besides those who were taken in the battle of Lewes. He carried the king from place to place, and obliged all the royal castles, on pretence of Henry's commands, to receive a governor and garrison of his own appointment. All the officers of the crown and of the household were named by him; and the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands. He instituted in the counties a

new kind of magistracy, endowed with new and arbitrary powers, that of conservators of the peace. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners; and told his barons, with a wanton insolence, that it was sufficient for them that he had saved them by that victory from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them: he even treated the earl of Gloucester in the same injurious manner, and applied to his own use the ransom of the king of the Romans, who in the field of battle had yielded himself prisoner to that nobleman. Henry, his eldest son, made a monopoly of all the wool in the kingdom, the only valuable commodity for foreign markets which it at that time produced. The inhabitants of the cinque ports, during the present dissolution of government, betook themselves to the most licentious piracy, preyed on the ships of all nations, threw the mariners into the sea, and by these practices soon banished all merchants from the English coasts and harbours. Every foreign commodity rose to an exorbitant price; and woollen cloth, which the English had not then the art of dying, was worn by them white, and without receiving the last hand of the manufacturer. In answer to the complaints which arose on this occasion, Leicester replied that the kingdom needed no intercourse with foreigners. And it was found that he even combined with the pirates of the cinque ports, and received as his share the third of their prizes.

No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France, so essential an article in the agreement of Lewes; and Leicester summoned a parliament, composed altogether of his own partisans, to rivet, by their authority, that power which he had acquired by violence, and which he used with so much injustice. An ordinance was there passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted, that every act of royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the majority of three; Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the

He forms a new magistracy.

He seizes the estates of many barons.

His son monopolises all the wool in the kingdom.

The art of dying not possessed in England.

Royal power to be exercised by a council of nine.

The sceptre
in Leicester's
hands.

bishop of Chichester. By this intricate plan the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands; as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester, and thereby commanded all the resolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or discard every member of the supreme council.

Perilous
situation of
Leicester.

But it was impossible that things could long remain in this stange situation. It behoved Leicester either to descend with some peril into the rank of a subject, or to mount up with no less into that of a sovereign; and his ambition, unrestrained either by fear or by principle, gave too much reason to suspect him of the latter intention. Meanwhile he was exposed to anxiety from every quarter, and felt that the smallest incident was capable of overturning that immense and ill cemented fabric which he had reared. The queen, whom her husband had left abroad, had collected an army of desperate adventurers, and a great number of ships, with a view of invading the kingdom, and of bringing relief to her unfortunate family. Lewis, detesting Leicester's usurpations and perjuries, and disgusted at the English barons, secretly favoured all her enterprises, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the same purpose. An English army, by the pretended authority of the captive king, was assembled on the coast to oppose this projected invasion; but Leicester owed his safety more to cross winds, which dispersed the queen's fleet, than to any resistance which, in their present situation, could have been expected from the English.

The queen
prepares an
armament.

It is dis-
persed by
storms.

The pope
orders Lei-
cester to be
excommu-
nicated.

Leicester found himself better able to resist the spiritual thunders which were levelled against him. The pope, still adhering to the king's cause, dispatched cardinal Guido as his legate into England, with orders to excommunicate, by name, the three earls, Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, and all others, who concurred in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign. Leicester menaced the legate with death if he set foot within the kingdom; but Guido, meeting in France the bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester, who had been sent thither on a negocia-

tion, commanded them, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, to carry his bull into England, and to publish it against the barons. When the prelates arrived off the coast they were boarded by the piratical mariners of the cinque ports, to whom probably they gave a hint of the cargo which they brought along with them. The bull was torn and thrown into the sea; which furnished the artful prelates with a plausible excuse for not obeying the orders of the legate. Leicester appealed from Guido to the pope in person; but, before the ambassadors appointed to defend his cause could reach Rome, the pope was dead; and they found the legate himself, from whom they had appealed, seated on the papal throne, by the name of Urban IV. That daring leader was nowise dismayed at this incident; and, as he found that a great part of his popularity was founded on his opposition to the court of Rome, now become odious, he persisted with the more obstinacy in the prosecution of his measures.

The papal
bull de-
stroyed

A legate
appealed
against by
Leicester
becomes
pope.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 1265.

THAT he might both increase and turn to advantage his popularity, Leicester summoned a new parliament in London, where he knew his power was uncontrollable; and he fixed this assembly on a more democratical basis than any which had ever been summoned since the foundation of the monarchy. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire; and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs; an order of men which, in former ages, had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly esteemed the epoch of the house of commons in England; and it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any representatives sent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of those assemblies, the prelates and barons only are mentioned as the constituent members;

Leicester
assembles a
new parlia-
ment in
London.

Borough
representa-
tives first
sit in par-
liament.

and, even in the most particular narratives delivered of parliamentary transactions, (as in the trial of Thomas à Becket, where the events of each day, and almost of each hour, are carefully recorded by contemporary authors) there is not, throughout the whole, the least appearance of a house of commons. But, though that house derived its existence from so precarious, and even so invidious, an origin as Leicester's usurpation, it soon proved, when summoned by the legal princes, one of the most useful, and, in process of time, one of the most powerful, members of the national constitution; and gradually rescued the kingdom from aristocratical as well as from regal tyranny. But Leicester's policy only forwarded by some years an institution for which the general state of things had prepared the nation. The feudal system, with which the liberty, much more the power, of the commons was totally incompatible, began gradually to decline; and both the king and the commonalty, who felt its inconveniences, contributed to favour this new power, which was more submissive than the barons to the regular authority of the crown, and at the same time afforded protection to the inferior orders of the state.

Leicester, having thus assembled a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons. Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, was accused in the king's name, seized, and committed to custody, without being brought to any legal trial. John Gifford, menaced with the same fate, fled from London, and took shelter in the borders of Wales. Even the earl of Gloucester, whose power and influence had so much contributed to the success of the barons, but who of late was extremely disgusted with Leicester's arbitrary conduct, found himself in danger from the prevailing authority of his ancient confederate; and he retired from parliament. This known dissension gave courage to all Leicester's enemies and to the king's friends, who were now sure of protection from so potent a leader. Though Roger Mortimer, Hamond l'Estrange, and

other powerful marchers of Wales, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, their authority still remained over the territories subjected to their jurisdiction; and there were many others who were disposed to give disturbance to the new government. The animosities inseparable from the feudal aristocracy broke out with fresh violence, and threatened the kingdom with new convulsions and disorders.

The earl of Leicester, surrounded with these difficulties, embraced a measure, from which he hoped to reap some present advantages, but which proved the source of all his future calamities. The active and intrepid prince Edward had languished in prison ever since the fatal battle of Lewes; and, as he was extremely popular in the kingdom, there arose a general desire of seeing him again restored to liberty. Leicester, finding that he could with difficulty oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, stipulated with the prince that, in return, he should order his adherents to deliver up to the barons all their castles, particularly those on the borders of Wales; and should swear neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce into it any foreign forces. The king took an oath to the same effect; and he also passed a charter, in which he confirmed the agreement or 'Mise of Lewes;' and even permitted his subjects to rise in arms against him if he should ever attempt to infringe it. So little care did Leicester take, though he constantly made use of the authority of this captive prince, to preserve to him any appearance of royalty or kingly prerogatives!

In consequence of this treaty, prince Edward was brought into Westminster-hall, and was declared free by the barons. But, instead of really recovering his liberty, as he had vainly expected, he found that the whole transaction was a fraud on the part of Leicester; that he himself still continued a prisoner at large, and was guarded by the emissaries of that nobleman. As Gloucester, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales, Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford; continued still to menace and negotiate;

Violent
consequences.

Leicester
loses prince
Edward's
liberty.

Leicester
loses
Edward's
liberty.

Though
liberated,
Edward
finds him-
self virtu-
ally a pri-
soner.

The earl of Gloucester plans his escape.

Edward deceives his attendants, and gains his liberty.

Leicester is surrounded by his enemies.

and that he might add authority to his cause, he carried both the king and prince with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He found means to convey to him a horse of extraordinary swiftness; and appointed Roger Mortimer, who had returned into the kingdom, to be ready with a small party to receive the prince, and to guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of Leicester's retinue, who were his guards; and, making matches between their horses, after he thought he had tired and blown them sufficiently, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, and called to his attendants, that he had long enough enjoyed the pleasure of their company, and now bid them adieu. They followed him without being able to overtake him; and the appearance of Mortimer with his company put an end to their pursuit.

BATTLE OF EVESHAM AND DEATH OF LEICESTER.

THE royalists, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the oppressions under which the nation laboured, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the countenance of the earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. This nobleman found himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom; surrounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight under these multiplied disadvantages. In this extremity he wrote to his son Simon de Mountfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view; where, fancying that all Edward's force

and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded. But the prince, making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp; dispersed his army; and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severn in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who availed himself of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward made a body of his troops advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himself, making a circuit with the rest of his forces, purposed to attack the enemy on the other quarter. Leicester was long deceived by this stratagem, and took one division of Edward's army for his friends; but at last perceiving his mistake, and observing the great superiority and excellent disposition of the royalists, he exclaimed that they had learned from him the art of war; adding, 'The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are the prince's!' The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leicester's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much used among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by sickness and desertion, and was soon broken by the victorious royalists; while his Welsh allies, accustomed only to a desultory kind of war, immediately took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. Leicester himself, asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, with his eldest son Henry, Hugh le Despenser, and about an hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party.* The old king had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the

Simon de Mountfort, his son, hastening to his relief, is defeated.

Edward's troops march under de Mountfort's banners.

The battle of Evesham

Leicester is killed in battle.

* Brutal vengeance pursued the earl even after he was no more. It was not enough to refuse the fainting warrior quarter, his lifeless remains were horribly mutilated, and presented to the lady of lord Roger Mortimer, Leicester's bitter enemy, as that which she must feel gratified to look upon. In other respects the lust for vengeance on the part

of the royalists was carried to a degrading length. No prisoners were taken; and a hundred and eighty knights and barons, of the opposite party, were mercilessly put to the sword. This goes far to account for the laudatory sentence we meet with in old writers, in connection with this event, "that no blood was shed on the scaffold."—ED.

battle; and, being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life: but, crying out, 'I am Henry of Winchester, your king, he was saved, and put in a place of safety by his son, who flew to his rescue.

The violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery, of the earl of Leicester, give a very bad idea of his moral character, and make us regard his death as the most fortunate event which in this conjuncture could have happened to the English nation; yet must we allow the man to have possessed great abilities, and the appearance of great virtues, who, though a stranger, could, at a time when strangers were the most odious and the most universally decried, have acquired so extensive an interest in the kingdom. His military capacity and his political craft were equally eminent; he possessed the talents both of governing men and conducting business; and though his ambition was boundless, it seems neither to have exceeded his courage nor his genius; and he had the happiness of making the low populace, as well as the haughty barons, co-operate towards the success of his selfish and dangerous purposes. A prince of greater vigour than Henry might have directed the talents of this nobleman either to the exaltation of his throne, or to the good of his people: but the advantages given to Leicester, by the weak and variable administration of the king, brought on the ruin of royal authority, and produced great confusions in the kingdom; which, however, in the end preserved, and extremely improved, national liberty and the constitution. His popularity, even after his death, continued so great that, though he was excommunicated by Rome, the people believed him to be a saint; and many miracles were said to be wrought upon his tomb.

SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE victory of Evesham, with the death of Leicester, proved decisive in favour of the royalists; and made an equal, though

an opposite, impression on friends and enemies in every part of England. The king of the Romans recovered his liberty; the other prisoners of the royal party were not only freed but courted by their keepers; Fitz Richard, the seditious mayor of London, who had marked out forty of the most wealthy citizens for slaughter, immediately stopped his hand on receiving intelligence of this great event; and almost all the castles, garrisoned by the barons, hastened to make their submissions to the king. The isle of Axholme alone, and that of Ely, ventured to make resistance; but were at last reduced, as well as the castle of Dover, by the valour and activity of prince Edward. Adam de Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himself during some time in the forests of Hampshire, committed depredations in the neighbourhood, and obliged the prince to lead a body of troops into that country against him. Edward attacked the camp of the rebels; and, being transported by the ardour of battle, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon in single combat. The victory was long disputed between these valiant combatants; but ended in the prince's favour, who wounded his antagonist, threw him from his horse, and took him prisoner. He not only gave him his life, but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, restored him to his estate, received him into favour, and was ever after faithfully served by him.

A total victory of the sovereign over so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution of government, and strengthens, as well as enlarges, for some time the prerogatives of the crown: yet no sacrifices of national liberty were made on this occasion; the Great Charter remained still inviolate; and the king, sensible that his own barons, by whose assistance alone he had prevailed, were no less jealous of their independence than the other party, seems thenceforth, to have more carefully abstained from all those exertions of power which had afforded so plausible a pretence to the rebels. No blood was shed on the scaffold: no attainders, except of the

The king, &c.
the Romans
gains his
liberty.

The barons'
castles submit
to the king.

Adam de
Gourdon
encounter-
ed by prince
Edward.

Gourdon is
wounded
and taken
into favour.

The king
exerts less
arbitrary
power than
formerly.

The rebel
lords are
restored to
their lands.

Mountfort family, were carried into execution: and, though a parliament assembled at Winchester attainted all those who had borne arms against the king, easy compositions were made with them for their lands; and the highest sum levied exceeded not five years' rent of their estate. Even the earl of Derby, who again rebelled, after having been pardoned, was obliged to pay only seven years' rent, and was a second time restored. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjointed by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

The city of
London is re-
stored to its
privileges.

The city of London, which had carried farthest animosity against the king, and which seemed determined to stand upon its defence after almost all the kingdom had submitted, was restored to most of its liberties and privileges; and Fitz Richard the mayor, who had been guilty of so much illegal violence, was only punished by fine and imprisonment. The countess of Leicester, the king's sister, who had been extremely forward in all attacks on the royal family, was dismissed the kingdom, with her two sons, Simon and Guy, who proved very ungrateful for this lenity. Five years afterwards they assassinated, at Viterbo in Italy, their cousin Henry d'Allmaine, who at that very time was endeavouring to make their peace with the king; and, by taking sanctuary in the church of the Franciscans, they escaped the punishment due to so great an enormity.*

The king's
sister and
her sons
banished.

Henry
d'Allmaine
is mur-
dered.

The merits of the earl of Gloucester, after he returned to his allegiance, had

been so great, that it was almost impossible to content him in his demands; and his youth and temerity, as well as his great power, tempted him, on some new disgust, to raise again the flames of rebellion. The mutinous populace of London, at his instigation, took to arms; and the prince was obliged to levy an army of thirty thousand men, in order to suppress them. Even this second rebellion did not provoke the king to any act of cruelty; and the earl of Gloucester himself escaped with total impunity. He was only obliged to enter into a bond of twenty thousand marks that he should never again be guilty of rebellion. A strange method of enforcing the laws, and a proof of the dangerous independence of the barons in those ages! These potent nobles were, from the danger of the precedent, averse to the execution of the laws of forfeiture and felony against any of their fellows; though they could not refuse to concur in obliging them to fulfil any voluntary contract and engagement into which they had entered.

The earl of
Gloucester
raises a new
rebellion.

Being sub-
dued he
binds him-
self to re-
bel no
more.

The prince, finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, was seduced, by his avidity for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the holy land; and he endeavoured previously to settle the state in such a manner as to dread no bad effects from his absence. As the formidable power and turbulent disposition of the earl of Gloucester gave him apprehensions, he insisted on carrying him along with him, in consequence of a vow which that nobleman had made to undertake the same voyage. In

The prince
resolves to
make war
on the in-
fidels.

He insists
on Glo-
cester's
taking part
in the ex-
pedition.

* Henry D'Allmaine, the son of the king of the Romans, accompanied prince Edward to the Holy Land. He was directed to return to England on a special meeting. Journeying through Italy, he had reached the city of Viterbo, when, being at church, and engaged in prayer, at an early hour of the day, Simon and Guido de Mountfort, his cousins, and the sons of the late earl of Leicester, sprang upon him, exclaiming, 'Thou shalt die, traitor,' and instantly slew him at the altar to which he had clung, as also the priest who had mercifully interposed to save the destined victim. The corpse was hideously mutilated in revenge for the indignities

offered to the body of Leicester after the battle of Evesham. The news of this dismal catastrophe, when carried to the king of the Romans, found him rejoicing in having married a young beauty. It was believed that the shock he received from the tidings, shortened his life; and he died shortly after, in December, 1277. The excuse set up for this crime was a very poor one, as neither the murdered prince nor his father were at Evesham when Leicester died, and consequently took no part in those outrages which his sons undertook so savagely to avenge.—
ED.



the mean time he obliged him to resign some of his castles, and to enter into a new bond not to disturb the peace of the kingdom. He sailed from England with an army; and arrived in Lewis's camp before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate and the fatigues of his enterprise. The great, if not only, weakness of this prince in his government was the imprudent passion for crusades; but it was his zeal chiefly that procured him, from the clergy, the title of St. Lewis, by which he is known in the French history. He was succeeded by his son Philip, denominated the Hardy; a prince of some merit, though much inferior to that of his father.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1272.

PRINCE Edward, not discouraged by this event, continued his voyage to the holy land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour; revived the glory of the English name in those parts; and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt.* Meanwhile his absence from England was attended with many of those pernicious consequences which had been dreaded from it. The laws were not executed; the barons oppressed the common people with impunity; they gave shelter on their estates to bands of robbers, whom they employed in committing ravages on the estates of their enemies; the populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness; and the old king, unequal to the burden of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant son to return, and to assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble

and irresolute hands. At last, overcome by the cares of government and infirmities, he expired at St. Edmondsbury, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and fifty-sixth of his reign; the longest reign that is to be met with in the English annals.† His brother, the king of the Romans (for he never attained the title of emperor), died about seven months before him.

The most obvious circumstance of Henry's character is his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favorites as when a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the confidence of his people. Hence too were derived his profusion to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variableness of his conduct, his hasty resentments, and his sudden return of affection. Instead of reducing the dangerous power of his nobles, by obliging them to observe the laws towards their inferiors, and setting them the salutary example, he was seduced to imitate their conduct, and to make his arbitrary will, or rather that of his ministers, the rule of his actions. Instead of accommodating himself, by a strict frugality, to the embarrassed situation in which his revenue had been left by the military expeditions of his uncle, the dissipations of his father, and the usurpations of the barons, he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions: which, without enriching himself, impoverished, at least disgusted, his people. Of all men, nature seemed least to have fitted him for being a tyrant; yet are there instances of oppression in his reign, which had been carefully guarded against by the Great Charter, and are

King Henry
died.

He
was unequal
to the king-
ly duties.

He was
weak, and
timid, and
imprudent.

The Great
Charter
violated in
his reign.

* One Anzazim, a desperate Saracen, and one of the adherents of the emir of Jaffa, had, by artful perseverance, gained the confidence of Edward; and, on the Friday of Whitsun week, about the hour of vespers, while presenting a letter to the prince, who was resting on a couch, he attempted to stab him to the heart: three wounds he actually inflicted. Edward instantly seized and dispatched the assassin with his own dagger, the point of which was found

to have been dipped in poison. A skilful surgeon, then in Acre, prevented the fatal consequences which had been expected to follow. The exemplary affection of his wife Eleanor is said to have prompted her to suck the poison from his wound; but this seems to have been the invention of a subsequent age.

† It has since been exceeded by the reign of George III. which extended to sixty years.—Ed.

Henry was noted for piety.

inconsistent with all rules of good government. Greater abilities, with his good dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain and defend them.

This prince was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worship; and a saying of his on that head is much celebrated by ancient writers. He was engaged in a dispute with Lewis the IX. of France, concerning the preference between sermons and masses. He maintained the superiority of the latter; and affirmed that he would rather have one hour's conversation with a friend, than hear twenty the most elaborate discourses pronounced in his praise.

Two sons and two daughters survived him.

Henry left two sons, Edward his successor, and Edmond earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix duchess of Brittany. He had five other children, who died in their infancy.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

Disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts.

THE following are the most remarkable laws enacted during this reign. There had been great disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts concerning bastardy. The common law had deemed all those to be bastards who were born before wedlock; by the canon law they were legitimate; and, when any dispute of inheritance arose, it had formerly been usual for the civil courts to issue writs to the spiritual, directing them to inquire into the legitimacy of the person. The bishop always returned an answer agreeable to the canon law, though contrary to the municipal law of the kingdom. For this reason the civil courts had changed the terms of their writ; and, instead of requiring the spiritual courts to make inquisition concerning the legitimacy or the person, they only proposed the simple question of fact, whether he were born before or after wedlock? The prelates complained of this practice to the parliament assembled at Merton in the twentieth of this king, and desired that the municipal law might be rendered conformable to the canon; but received from all the nobility the me-

The civil courts evade the ecclesiastical law.

The bishops complain to the barons.

morable reply, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare,' We will not change the laws of England.

After the civil wars, the parliament summoned at Marlebridge gave their approbation to most of the ordinances which had been established by the reforming barons; and which, though advantageous to the security of the people, had not received the sanction of a legal authority. Among other laws, it was there enacted that all appeals from the courts of inferior lords should be carried directly to the king's courts without passing through the courts of the lords immediately superior. It was ordained that money should bear no interest during the minority of the debtor. This law was reasonable, as the estates of minors were always in the hands of their lords, and the debtors could not pay interest where they had no revenue. The charter of king John had granted this indulgence; it was omitted in that of Henry III; but it was renewed by the statute of Marlebridge. Most of the other articles of this statute are calculated to restrain the oppression of sheriffs, and the violence and iniquities committed in distraining cattle and other goods. Cattle, and the instruments of husbandry, formed at that time the chief riches of the people.

In the thirty-fifth year of this king an assize was fixed on bread, the price of which was settled, according to the different prices of corn, from one shilling a quarter to seven shillings and sixpence, money of that age. These great variations are alone a proof of bad tillage; yet did the prices often rise much higher than any taken notice of by the statute. The Chronicle of Dunstable tells us that in this reign wheat was once sold for a mark, nay, for a pound a quarter; that is, three pounds of our present money. The same law affords us a proof of the little communication between the parts of the kingdom, from the very different prices which the same commodity bore at the same time. 'A brewer,' says the statute, 'may sell two gallons of ale for a penny in cities, and three or four gallons for the same price in the country.' At present such

The barons will not change the laws of England.

Provisions of the Statute of Marlebridge.

An assize of bread.

Prices of ale

commodities, by the great consumption of the people, and the great stocks of the brewers, are rather cheaper in cities. The chronicle above mentioned observes that wheat one year was sold in many places for eight shillings a quarter, but never rose in Dunstable above a crown.

Though commerce was still very low, it seems rather to have increased since the conquest; if we may judge of the increase of money by the price of corn. The medium between the highest and lowest prices of wheat assigned by the statute is four shillings and three pence a quarter, that is, twelve shillings and nine pence of our present money. This is near half of the middling price in our time. Yet the middling price of cattle, so late as the reign of king Richard, we find to be above eight, near ten times lower than the present. Is not this the true inference, from comparing these facts, that, in all uncivilized nations, cattle, which propagate of themselves, bear always a lower price than corn, which requires more art and stock to render it plentiful than those nations are possessed of? It is to be remarked that Henry's assize of corn was copied from a preceding assize established by king John; consequently the prices which we have here compared of corn and cattle may be looked upon as contemporary; and they were drawn, not from one particular year, but from an estimation of the middling prices for a series of years. It is true, the prices assigned by the assize of Richard were meant as a standard for the accompts of sheriffs and escheators; and, as considerable profits were allowed to these ministers, we may naturally suppose that the common value of cattle was somewhat higher; yet still, so great a difference between the prices of corn and cattle as that of four to one, compared to the present rate, affords important reflexions concerning the very different state of industry and tillage in the two periods.

Interest had in that age mounted to an enormous height, as might be expected from the barbarism of the times and men's ignorance of commerce. Instances occur of fifty per cent. paid for money.

There is an edict of Philip Augustus near this period, limiting the Jews in France to forty-eight per cent. Such profits tempted the Jews to remain in the kingdom, notwithstanding the grievous oppressions to which, from the prevalent bigotry and rapine of the age, they were continually exposed. It is easy to imagine how precarious their state must have been under an indigent prince, somewhat restrained in his tyranny over his native subject, but who possessed an unlimited authority over the Jews, the sole proprietors of money in the kingdom, and hated, on account of their riches, their religion, and their usury; yet will our ideas scarcely come up to the extortions which, in fact, we find to have been practised upon them. In the year 1241 twenty thousand marks were exacted from them. Two years after money was again extorted; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay above four thousand marks. In 1250 Henry renewed his oppressions; and the same Aaron was condemned to pay him thirty thousand marks upon an accusation of forgery. The high penalty imposed is rather a presumption of his innocence than his guilt. In 1225 the king demanded eight thousand marks from the Jews, and threatened to hang them if they refused compliance. They now lost all patience, and desired leave to retire out of the kingdom. But the king replied, 'How can I remedy the oppressions you complain of? I am my myself a beggar: I am spoiled, I am stripped of all my revenues: I owe above two hundred thousand marks; and, if I had said three hundred thousand, I should not exceed the truth: I am obliged to pay my son, prince Edward, fifteen thousand marks a year: I have not a farthing; and I must have money, from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means.' He then delivered over the Jews to the earl of Cornwall, that those whom the one brother had flayed the other might embowel, to make use of the words of the historian. King John, his father, once demanded ten thousand marks from a Jew of Bristol; and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he should comply. The Jew lost seven

Interest limited to forty-eight per cent.

The Jews the sole proprietors of money.

Monstrous extortions practised on the Jews.

A Jew tortured.

teeth, and then paid the sum required of him. One tallage laid upon the Jews in 1243 amounted to sixty thousand marks; a sum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the crown.

To give a better pretence for extortions, the absurd accusation, which has been at different times advanced against that nation, was revived in England, that they had crucified a child in derision of the sufferings of Christ. Eighteen of them were hanged at once for this crime; though it is nowise credible that even the oppressions under which they laboured, would ever have pushed them to be guilty of that dangerous enormity.* But it is natural to imagine that a race, exposed to such insults and indignities, and who had so uncertain an enjoyment of their riches, would carry usury to the utmost extremity, and make themselves some compensation for their continual perils.

Though these acts of violence against the Jews proceeded much from bigotry, they were still more derived from avidity and rapine. So far from desiring in that age to convert them, it was enacted by law in France that, if any Jew embraced Christianity, he forfeited all his goods to the king or his superior lord. These plunderers were careful, lest the profits accruing from their dominion over that unhappy race should be diminished by their conversion.

Commerce must be in a wretched condition where interest was so high, and where the sole proprietors of money employed it in usury only, and were exposed to such extortion. But the bad police of the country was another obstacle to improvements; and rendered all communication dangerous, and all property precarious. The chronicle of Dunstable says that men were never secure in their

houses, and that whole villages were often plundered by bands of robbers, though no civil wars at that time prevailed in the kingdom. In 1249, some years before the insurrection of the barons, two merchants of Brabant came to the king at Winchester, and told him that they had been spoiled of all their goods by certain robbers, whom they knew, because they saw their faces every day in his court; that like practices prevailed all over England, and travellers were continually exposed to the danger of being robbed, bound, wounded, and murdered; that these crimes escaped with impunity, because the ministers of justice themselves were in a confederacy with the robbers; and that they, for their part, instead of bringing matters to a fruitless trial by law, were willing, though merchants, to decide their cause with the robbers by arms and a duel. The king ordered a jury to be enclosed, and to try the robbers. The jury, though consisting of twelve men of property in Hampshire, were found to be also in a confederacy with the felons, and acquitted them. Henry, in a rage, committed the jury to prison, threatened them with severe punishment, and ordered a new jury to be enclosed; who, dreading the fate of their fellows, at last found a verdict against the criminals. Many of the king's own household were discovered to have participated in the guilt; and they said, for their excuse, that they received no wages from him, and were obliged to rob for a maintenance. 'Knights and esquires,' says the Dictum of Kenilworth, 'who were robbers, if they have no land, shall pay the half of their goods, and find sufficient security to keep henceforth the peace of the kingdom.' Such were the manners of the times!

One can the less repine, during the

* The only ground on which the oppressor might really suspect the Jew of such malevolence, was out of consciousness that it is in human nature for those who are wantonly tortured and oppressed, to think for revenge. In the forcible language of the modern vindicator of his brethren, Mr. D. Salomons, "The Israelite, degraded because he was oppressed, and despised because he was degraded; the oppressor

thought he would not scruple to commit every possible crime. It would, indeed, seem, as the same author ingeniously but fairly argues, as if the turpitude of Judas were alone remembered, while the virtue of the remaining disciples, equally Hebrew with the fallen one, was entirely overlooked."—*Life and times of the Good Lord Cobham*.—Ed.

Whole villages plundered by thieves.

Robbers at court.

Ministers of justice in a confederacy with robbers.

The king's household knights and esquires as robbers.

Crimes falsely imputed to the Hebrew nation.

Jews in France forbidden to embrace Christianity.

Commerce in a wretched state.

prevalence of such manners, at the frauds and forgeries of the clergy; as it gives less disturbance to society to take men's money from them with their own consent, though by deceits and lies, than to ravish it by open violence. During this reign the papal power was at its summit, and was even beginning insensibly to decline, by reason of the immeasurable avarice and extortions of the court of Rome, which disgusted the clergy as well as laity in every kingdom of Europe. England itself, though sunk in the deepest abyss of ignorance and superstition, had seriously entertained thoughts of shaking off the papal yoke; and the Roman pontiff was obliged to think of new expedients for rivetting it faster upon the Christian world. For this purpose Gregory IX. published his decretals; which are a collection of forgeries, favourable to the court of Rome, and consist of the supposed decrees of popes in the first centuries. But these forgeries are so gross, and confound so palpably all language, history, chronology, and antiquities, that even that church, which is not startled at the most monstrous contradictions, has been obliged to abandon them to the critics. But in the dark period of the thirteenth century they passed for authentic: and men, entangled in the mazes of this false literature, had nothing wherewithal to defend themselves but some small remains of common sense, which passed for profaneness and impiety; and the indelible regard to self-interest, which, as it was the sole motive in the priests for framing these impostures, served also to protect the laity against them.

Another expedient, devised by the church of Rome in this period for securing her power, was the institution of new religious orders, chiefly the Dominicans and Franciscans; who proceeded with all the zeal and success that attend novelties; were better qualified to gain the populace than the old orders, now become rich and indolent; maintained a perpetual rivalry

with each other in promoting their gainful superstitions; and acquired a great dominion over the minds, and consequently over the purses, of men, by pretending a desire of poverty and a contempt for riches. The quarrels which arose between these orders, lying still under the control of the sovereign pontiff, never disturbed the peace of the church, and served only as a spur to their industry in promoting the common cause; and, though the Dominicans lost some popularity by their denial of the immaculate conception, they counterbalanced this disadvantage by acquiring more solid establishments, by gaining the confidence of kings and princes, and by exercising the jurisdiction assigned them of ultimate judges and punishers of heresy. Thus the several orders of monks became a kind of regular troops or garrisons of the Romish church; and, though the temporal interests of society, still more the cause of true piety, were hurt by their various devices to captivate the populace, they proved the chief supports of that mighty fabric of superstition, and, till the revival of true learning, secured it from any dangerous invasion.

The trial by ordeal was abolished in this reign by order of the council; a faint mark of improvement in the age.

Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcastle, in which he gave the inhabitants a license to dig coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

We learn from Madox that this king gave at one time one hundred shillings to master Henry, his poet: also the same year he orders this poet ten pounds.

It appears from Selden that, in the forty-seventh of this reign, a hundred and fifty temporal, and fifty spiritual, barons were summoned to perform the service due by their tenures. In the thirty-fifth of the subsequent reign eighty-six temporal barons, twenty bishops, and forty-eight abbots, were summoned to a parliament convened at Carlisle.*

* The great fame of Henry for his piety rests perhaps on his having rebuilt Westminster Abbey, and placing there the bones of Edward the Confessor in a golden shrine. In 1247 he received as a present from the Knights Templars, a portion of the Redeem-

er's blood, shed at Mount Calvary, the genuineness of it being vouched for by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It was carried to Westminster on the 13th of October (the anniversary of St. Edward's translation) in that year with great solemnity by the king himself,

The papal power at its summit.

Decretals of Gregory IX.

Plans forgeries

They pass with the people generally.

The Dominicans and Franciscans instituted.

Discontent between the new orders

Avowed disavowal of the Dominicans

Trial by ordeal abolished.

The digging of coal licensed

Number of barons in parliament.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD I.

1272—1307.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE KING—
CONQUEST OF WALES—AFFAIRS OF
SCOTLAND—COMPETITORS FOR THE
CROWN OF SCOTLAND—REFERENCE TO
EDWARD AND HOMAGE—AWARD OF
EDWARD IN FAVOUR OF BALIOL—WAR
WITH FRANCE—DIGRESSION CONCERN-
ING THE CONSTITUTION OF PARLIA-
MENT—SCOTLAND SUBDUED—WAR
WITH FRANCE—DISSENSIONS WITH
THE CLERGY—ARBITRARY MEASURES—
DISSENSIONS WITH THE BARONS—PEACE
WITH FRANCE—REVOLT OF SCOTLAND—
BATTLE OF FALKIRK—SCOTLAND AGAIN
SUBDUED—AGAIN REVOLTS AND IS
SUBDUED—ROBERT BRUCE—THIRD RE-
VOLT OF SCOTLAND—DEATH AND CHA-
RACTER OF THE KING—MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

THE English were as yet so little inured to obedience under a regular government, that the death of almost every king since the conquest had been attended with disorders; and the council reflecting on the recent civil wars, and on the animosities which naturally remain after these great convulsions, had reason to apprehend dangerous consequences from the absence of the son and successor of Henry. They therefore hastened to proclaim prince Edward, to swear allegiance to him, and to summon the states of the kingdom, to provide for the public peace in this important conjuncture. Walter Giffard archbishop of York, the earl of Cornwall, son of Richard king of the Romans, and the earl of Gloucester, were appointed guar-

who walked in procession from St. Paul's Church to the Abbey, holding the vessel up containing the sacred blood above his head, his arms being supported by two priests, who walked on each side.—ED.

* The challenge was from the count of Chalons; and the scene which it produced, as described by ancient historians, is too remarkable to be omitted. At the place of meeting he appeared with a thousand armed attendants; but the count brought with him about double that number; and each doubting the good faith of the other, a bloody conflict ensued. The count was renowned for personal

dians of the realm; and proceeded peaceably to the exercise of their authority. The high character acquired by Edward during the late commotions, his military genius, his success in subduing the rebels, his moderation in settling the kingdom, had procured him great esteem, mixed with affection, among all orders of men; and no one could reasonably entertain hopes of making any advantage of his absence. The earl of Gloucester himself, whose great power and turbulent spirit had excited most jealousy, was forward to give proofs of his allegiance; and the other malcontents, being destitute of a leader, were obliged to remain in submission to the government.

Prince Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the holy land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father; and he discovered a deep concern on the occasion. At the same time he learned the death of an infant son, John, whom his princess, Eleanor of Castile, had borne him at Acre in Palestine. And, as he appeared much less affected with that misfortune, the king of Sicily expressed surprise at this difference of sentiment; but was told by Edward that the death of a son was a loss which he might hope to repair: the death of a father was a loss irreparable.

Edward proceeded homeward; but as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent near a year in France before he made his appearance in England. In his passage by Chalons in Burgundy he was challenged by the prince of the country to a tournament which he was preparing; and, as Edward excelled in those martial and dangerous exercises, the true image of war, he declined not the opportunity of acquiring honour in that great assembly of the neighbouring nobles.*

strength: he aspired to the glory of un-horsing the English king; and challenging him with his lance, he clasped Edward round the neck, and strove to drag him from his saddle. He greatly miscalculated his power, for the king not only withstood the rude assault, but threw the count with such violence as to stun and disable him; and when lifted again on his horse, he was forced to ask for quarter. So exasperated was Edward, that, after this, he repeatedly struck the vanquished count, and at last disdainfully rejected his sword; and he ordered him to surrender it to a common soldier.—ED.

No opposi-
tion made
to the gov-
ernment
of Edward.

Edward
while in
Sicily re-
ceives news
of the death
of Henry.

He re-
turns by
the way of
France.

Prince
Edward
proclaimed
king while
absent.

Guardians
of the
realm ap-
pointed.

He takes
part in a
parliament
which be-
comes a
calamity.

Edward and his retinue were so successful in the jousts, that the French knights, provoked at their superiority, made a serious attack upon them, which was repulsed; and much blood was idly shed. This encounter received the name of the petty battle of Chalons.

Edward is
crowned at
Westmin-
ster.

Edward went from Chalons to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France. Thence he returned to Guienne, and settled that province, which was in some confusion. He made his journey to London through France; in his passage he accommodated at Montreuil a difference with Margaret countess of Flanders, heiress of that territory. He was received with joyful acclamations by his people, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster, on the nineteenth of August, 1274, by Robert archbishop of Canterbury.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE KING: 1274.

His policy
generous
and pru-
dent.

THE king immediately applied himself to the re-establishment of his kingdom, and to the correcting of those disorders which the civil commotions and the loose administration of his father had introduced into every part of government. The plan of his policy was equally generous and prudent. He considered the great barons both as the immediate rivals of the crown, and oppressors of the people; and he proposed, by an exact distribution of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and to diminish the arbitrary power of the great. Making it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except on extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to them by the Great Charter, he acquired a right to insist upon their observance of the same charter towards their inferiors. Besides enacting several useful statutes, in a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, he took care to inspect the conduct of all his magistrates and judges; to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt; to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice; to extirpate all bands and confederacies of robbers; and to repress those

The king
compelled
the barons
to observe
the Charter.

He repress-
ed outrage.

more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. But, amidst the excellent institutions and public spirited plans of Edward, there still appears somewhat both of the severity of his personal character, and of the prejudices of the times.

Severity of
his personal
character.

As the various kinds of malefactors, the murderers, robbers, incendiaries, ravishers, and plunderers, had become so numerous and powerful, that the ordinary ministers of justice, especially in the western counties, were afraid to execute the laws, the king found it necessary to provide an extraordinary remedy for the evil; and he erected a new tribunal, which would have been deemed, in times of more regular liberty, a great stretch of arbitrary power. It consisted of commissioners, who were empowered to inquire into disorders and crimes of all kinds, and to inflict the proper punishments upon them. The officers charged with this unusual commission made their circuits throughout the counties of England most infested with this evil, and carried terror into all those parts of the kingdom. In their zeal to punish crimes, they did not sufficiently distinguish between the innocent and guilty; the smallest suspicion became a ground of accusation and trial; the slightest evidence was received against criminals; prisons were crowded with malefactors, real or pretended; severe fines were levied for small offences; and the king found it necessary to stop the course of so great rigour; and, after terrifying and dissipating by this tribunal, the disorderly, he prudently annulled the commission, and never afterwards renewed it.

He erects
a new tribu-
nal.

The new
tribunal of-
fends by
its severity.

Among the various disorders to which the kingdom was subject, no one was more complained of than the adulteration of the coin; and, as this crime required more art than the English of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their iniquities, were possessed of, the imputation fell upon the Jews. Edward also seems to have indulged a strong prepossession against that nation; and, this ill judged zeal for Christianity being naturally augmented by an expedition to the

Adultera-
tion of the
coin is very
general.

Dreadful persecution of the Jews.

Edward resolves to expel the Jews from the kingdom.

Many of the Jews are murdered by the people.

holy land, he let loose the whole rigour of his justice against that unhappy people. Two hundred and eighty of them were hanged for this crime in London alone, besides those who suffered in other parts of the kingdom. The houses and lands (for the Jews had of late ventured to make purchases of that kind), as well as the goods, of multitudes were confiscated: and the king, lest it should be suspected that the riches of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered a moiety of the money raised by these confiscations to be bestowed upon such as were converted to Christianity. But resentment was more prevalent with them than any temptation from their poverty; and very few of them could be induced by interest to embrace the religion of their persecutors. The miseries of this people did not here terminate. Though the arbitrary tallages and exactions levied upon them had yielded a considerable revenue to the crown, Edward resolved to purge the kingdom entirely of that hated race, and to seize to himself their whole property as the reward of his labour. He left them only money sufficient to bear their charges into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them. But the inhabitants of the cinque ports, imitating the bigotry and avidity of their sovereign, despoiled most of them of this small pittance, and even threw many of them into the sea: a crime for which the king, who was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted a capital punishment upon them. No less than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom. The practice of usury, as it was then called, was thenceforth exercised by the English themselves upon their fellow citizens, or by Lombards and other foreigners. It is very much to be questioned whether the dealings of these new usurers were equally open and unexceptionable with those of the old. By a law of Richard it was enacted that three copies should be made of every bond given to a Jew; one to be put in the hands of a public magistrate, another into those of a man of credit, and a third

to remain with the Jew himself. But, as the canon law, seconded by the municipal, permitted no Christian to take interest, all transactions of this kind must, after the banishment of the Jews, have become more clandestine; and the lender of consequence be paid both for the use of his money, and for the infamy and danger which he incurred by lending it.

The great poverty of the crown, though no excuse, was probably the cause of this egregious tyranny; but Edward also practised more honourable means for remedying that evil. He employed a strict frugality in the management and distribution of his revenue: he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all moveables; the pope to grant him the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years; and the merchants to consent to a perpetual imposition of half a mark on every sack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred skins. He also issued commissions to inquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; into the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commissioners, in the execution of their office, began to carry matters too far against the nobility, and to question titles which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. Earl Warrenne, who had done such eminent service in the late reign, being required to shew his titles, drew his sword: and subjoined that William the bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone; his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise; and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family. The king, sensible of the danger, desisted from making farther inquiries of this nature.

CONQUEST OF WALES. 1277.

BUT the active spirit of Edward could not long remain without employment. He soon after undertook an enterprise more prudent for himself, and more advantageous to his people. Lewellyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the Mount-

King Richard's laws with respect to bonds.

Frugality of king Edward.

He commands extensive inquiries.

Earl Warrenne's title to his land, his sword.

Edward prepares for hostilities with Lewellyn, prince of Wales.



fort faction; had entered into all their conspiracies against the crown; had frequently fought on their side; and till the battle of Evesham, so fatal to that party, had employed every expedient to depress the royal cause, and to promote the success of the barons. In the general accommodation made with the vanquished, Lewellyn had also obtained his pardon; but, as he was the most powerful, and therefore the most obnoxious, vassal of the crown, he had reason to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch. He determined to provide for his security by maintaining a secret correspondence with his former associates; and he even made his addresses to a daughter of the earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from beyond sea: but, being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increasing the mutual jealousy between Edward and Lewellyn, the latter, when required to come to England and do homage to the new king, scrupled to put himself in the hands of an enemy; desired a safe-conduct from Edward; insisted upon having the king's son, and other noblemen, delivered to him as hostages; and demanded that his consort should previously be set at liberty. The king was not displeased with this occasion of exercising his authority, and subduing entirely the principality of Wales. He refused all Lewellyn's demands, except that of a safe-conduct; sent him repeated summonses to perform the duty of a vassal; levied an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament; and marched out with certain assurance of success against the enemy. Besides the great disproportion of force between the kingdom and the principality, the circumstances of the two states were entirely reversed; and the same intestine dissensions, which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Lewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward; and they seconded his attempts

to enslave their native country. The Welsh prince had no resource but in the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had defended his forefathers against all attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors: and he retired among the hills of Snowdun, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But Edward entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and, having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. He here avoided the putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independence, and inflamed with animosity against its hereditary enemies; and trusted to famine. The rude and simple manners of the natives exposed them to certain ruin when the conquest of the country was steadily pursued, and prudently planned, by Edward. Destitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigours of famine; and Lewellyn was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the victor. He bound himself to pay to Edward fifty thousand pounds, as a reparation of damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all the other barons of Wales, except four near Snowdun, to swear fealty to the same crown; to relinquish the country between Cheshire and the river Conway; to settle on his brother Roderic a thousand marks a year, and on David five hundred; and to deliver ten hostages as security for his future submission.

Edward, on the performance of the other articles, remitted to the prince of Wales the payment of the fifty thousand pounds stipulated by treaty, and which it is probable the poverty of the country made it impossible for him to levy. But, notwithstanding this indulgence, complaints soon arose on the side of the vanquished. The English, insolent on their bloodless victory, oppressed the inhabitants of the districts yielded to them; the lords marchers committed with impunity all kinds of violence on their Welsh neighbours; new and more severe terms were imposed

Lewellyn is pardoned.

Edward advances into Wales.

Lewellyn omits to render homage to the new king.

Lewellyn is compelled to surrender.

Edward marches against him.

He submits to all the demands of Edward.

The brothers of Lewellyn, in revenge of Edward's treachery.

The Welsh complain of the English.

Their indignation is raised by insults.

They again fly to arms.

Llewellyn is slain.

Prince David is taken and punished as a traitor.

on Llewellyn himself; and Edward, when the prince attended him at Worcester, exacted a promise that he would retain no person in his principality who should be obnoxious to the English monarchy. There were other personal insults which raised the indignation of the Welsh, and made them determine rather to encounter a force, which they had already experienced to be so much superior, than to bear oppression from the haughty victors. Prince David, seized with the national spirit, made peace with his brother, and promised to concur in the defence of public liberty. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage over Luke de Tany, one of Edward's captains, who had passed the Menau with a detachment: but Llewellyn, being surprised by Mortimer, was defeated and slain in an action, and two thousand of his followers were put to the sword.* David, who succeeded him, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English; and, being chased from hill to hill, and hunted from one retreat to another, was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and, bringing him to a formal trial before all the peers of England, ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for defending by arms the liberties of his native country, together with his own hereditary authority. All the Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; the laws of England, with the sheriffs and other ministers of justice, were established in that principality; and, though it was long before national antipathies were extinguished, and a thorough union attained, yet this important conquest, which it had required eight hundred years fully to

effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, completed by the English.

The king, sensible that nothing kept alive the ideas of military valour and of ancient glory so much as the traditional poetry of the people, which, assisted by music and festivals, made deep impression on the minds of the youth, gathered together all the Welsh, bards and, from a barbarous though not absurd policy, ordered them to be put to death.†

There prevails a vulgar story, which as it well suits the capacity of the monkish writers, is carefully recorded by them; that Edward, assembling the Welsh, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language. On their acclamations of joy, and promise of obedience, he invested in the principality his second son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Carnarvon. The death of his eldest son Alfonso soon after made young Edward heir of the monarchy; the principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

The settlement of Wales appeared so complete to Edward, that in less than two years after he went abroad, to make peace between Alfonso king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father Philip the Hardy on the throne of France. The difference between these two princes had arisen about the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope, after his hopes from England had failed him, had bestowed on Charles, brother to St. Lewis, and which was claimed by Peter king of Arragon, father to Alfonso. Edward had powers from both princes to settle the terms of peace, and he succeeded. He stayed abroad above three years; and on his return found many disorders to have prevailed, both from open violence and from the corruption of justice.

Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of

* A prophecy of Merlin had flattered Llewellyn that he "would shortly be crowned with a diamond of Brute." On his fall, Edward, in derision of the prediction, caused his head to be struck off, crowned with bay, and set up in the tower of London.—ED.

† It has been denied that ever such measures took place, on the authority of the Welsh triads, which have been translated into English since Hume wrote.—ED.

The Welsh bards are put to death.

Edward's second son declared Prince of Wales.

The king acts as mediator between Alfonso of Arragon and Philip the fair.

Many disorders prevail in England.

some note, had assembled several of his associates at Boston in Lincolnshire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an exercise practised by the gentry only; but in reality with the view of plundering the rich fair of Boston, and robbing the merchants. To facilitate his purpose, he privately set fire to the town; and, while the inhabitants were employed in quenching the flames, the conspirators broke into the booths, and carried off the goods. Chamberlain himself was detected and hanged; but maintained so steadily the point of honour to his accomplices, that he could not be prevailed on to discover any of them. Many other instances of robbery and violence broke out in all parts of England, though the singular circumstances attending this conspiracy have made it alone be particularly recorded by historians.

But the corruption of the judges, by which the fountains of justice were poisoned, seemed of still more dangerous consequence. Edward summoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; where all of them, except two who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, were fined and deposed. The amount of the fines levied upon them is alone sufficient proof of their guilt, being above one hundred thousand marks; an immense sum in those days, and sufficient to defray the charges of an expensive war between two great kingdoms. The king made all the new judges swear that they would take no bribes; but his deposing and fining the old ones was the more effectual remedy.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. 1289.

THOUGH the government of Scotland had been continually exposed to those factions and convulsions which are incident to all barbarous, and to many civilized, nations; and though the successions of their kings, the only part of their history which deserves any credit, had often been disordered by irregularities and usurpations; the true heir of the royal family had still in the end prevailed: and Alexander III. who had espoused the sister of Edward, probably inherited, after a period of about eight hundred years, and through a suc-

cession of males, the sceptre of all the Scottish princes who had governed the nation since its first establishment. He died in 1286 by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendant, except Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called the maid of Norway, though a female, and an infant, and a foreigner, yet, being the lawful heir of the kingdom, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognised successor by the states of Scotland; and, on Alexander's death, the dispositions, which had been previously made against that event, appeared so just and prudent, that no disorders, as might naturally be apprehended, ensued in the kingdom. Margaret was acknowledged queen of Scotland; five guardians, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, steward of Scotland, entered peaceably upon the administration; and the infant princess, under the protection of Edward her great uncle, and Eric, her father, who exerted themselves on this occasion, seemed firmly seated on the throne of Scotland. The English monarch was naturally led to build mighty projects on this incident; and, having lately by force of arms brought Wales under subjection, he attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son Edward, to unite the whole island into one monarchy, and thereby to give it security both against domestic convulsions and sovereign invasions. The amity which had of late prevailed between the two nations, and which, even in former times, had never been interrupted by any violent wars or injuries, facilitated extremely the execution of this project, so favourable to the happiness of and grandeur of both kingdoms; and the states of Scotland readily gave their assent to the English proposals, and even agreed that their young sovereign should be educated in the court of Edward. They took care to stipulate very equitable conditions, ere they intrusted themselves into the hands of so great and so ambitious a monarch. It was agreed that they should enjoy all their ancient

Alexander III. is killed by a fall from his horse.

His daughter Margaret is acknowledged queen of Scotland.

A marriage between Margaret and his son Edward.

An amicable project is formed to contract England and Scotland.

Parliaments always to be held in Scotland.

Independence of the Scottish crown.

Margaret of Norway dies.

A disputed succession

laws, liberties, and customs ; that in case young Edward and Margaret should die without issue, the crown of Scotland should revert to the next heir, and should be inherited by him free and independent ; that the military tenants of the crown should never be obliged to go out of Scotland, in order to do homage to the sovereign of the united kingdoms, nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to make elections ; that the parliaments summoned for Scottish affairs should always be held within the bounds of that kingdom ; and that Edward should bind himself under the penalty of one hundred thousand marks, payable to the pope for the use of the holy wars, to observe all these articles. It is not easy to conceive that two nations could have treated more on a footing of equality than Scotland and England maintained during the whole course of this transaction. And, though Edward gave his assent to the article concerning the future independency of the Scottish crown, with a saving of his former rights, this reserve gave no alarm to the nobility of Scotland ; both because these rights, having hitherto been little heard of, had occasioned no disturbance, and because the Scots had so near a prospect of seeing them entirely absorbed in the rights of their sovereignty.

COMPETITION FOR THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND. 1291.

BUT this project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland, and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. Though disorders were for the present obviated by the authority of the regency, the succession itself of the crown was now become an object of dispute ; and the regents could not expect that a controversy, which is not usually decided by reason and argument alone, would be peaceably settled amidst so many powerful pretenders. The posterity of William king of Scotland, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II., being all extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway, the right to the crown

devolved on the issue of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to William ; whose male line being also extinct, left the succession open to the posterity of his daughters. The earl of Huntingdon had three daughters ; Margaret, married to Alan lord of Galloway ; Isabella, wife of Robert Bruce or Bruce, lord of Annandale ; and Adama, who espoused Henry lord Hastings. Margaret, the eldest of the sisters, left one daughter, Devergilda, married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name, one of the present competitors for the crown ; Isabella, the second, bore a son, Robert Bruce, who was now alive, and who also insisted on his claim ; Adama, the third, left a son, John Hastings, who pretended that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was divisible among the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, and that he, in right of his mother, had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against Hastings in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible ; but each of them, supported by plausible reasons, asserted the preference of his own title. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch ; Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock. If the principle of representation was regarded, the former had the better claim ; if propinquity was considered, the latter was entitled to the preference. All the nobility had taken part on one side or the other ; the people followed implicitly their leaders. The two claimants had numerous retainers in Scotland. And it is no wonder that, among a rude people, more accustomed to arms than inured to laws, a controversy of this nature should threaten the state with the most fatal convulsions.

REFERENCE TO EDWARD, AND HOMAGE.

EACH century has its peculiar mode in conducting business ; and men, guided more by custom than by reason, follow, without inquiry, the manners which are prevalent in their own time. The practice of that age, in controversies between states and princes, seems to have been to choose a sovereign prince as an equal arbitrator, by whom the question was decided. It was thus that the English king and barons,

Three pretenders to the crown.

Baliol and Bruce unite against Hastings the third aspirant.

Parties formed in favour of the several claimants.

Reference to foreign princes the custom of the age.

in the preceding reign, had endeavoured to compose their dissensions by a reference to the king of France; and the celebrated integrity of that monarch had prevented all the bad effects which might naturally have been dreaded from so perilous an expedient. It was thus that the kings of France and Arragon, and afterwards other princes, had submitted their controversies to Edward's judgment; and the remoteness of their states, the great power of the princes, and the little interest which he had on either side, had induced him to acquit himself with honour in his decisions. The parliament of Scotland, therefore, threatened with a furious civil war, and allured by the great reputation of the English monarch, as well as by the present amicable correspondence between the kingdoms, agreed in making a reference to Edward; and Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, with other deputies, was sent to notify to him their resolution, and to claim his good offices. His inclination, they flattered themselves, led him to prevent their dissensions, and to interpose with a power which none of the competitors would dare to withstand. When this expedient was proposed by one party, the other deemed it dangerous to object to it; and no one reflected on the ambitious character of Edward, and the almost certain ruin which must attend a small state, divided by faction, when it thus implicitly submits itself to the will of so powerful and encroaching a neighbour.

The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist. He purposed to lay hold of the present favourable opportunity to revive his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland; a claim which had hitherto lain in the deepest obscurity, and which, if ever it had been an object of attention, would have effectually prevented the Scottish barons from choosing him for an umpire. He well knew that, if this pretension were once submitted to, as it seemed difficult, in the present situation of Scotland, to oppose it, the absolute sovereignty of that kingdom (which had been the case with Wales) would soon follow; and that one great vassal, cooped up in an island with his

liege lord, without resource from foreign powers, could not long maintain his dominions against the efforts of a mighty kingdom, assisted by all the cavils which the feudal law afforded his superior against him. In pursuit of this great object, very advantageous to England, perhaps in the end no less beneficial to Scotland, but extremely unjust and iniquitous in itself, Edward busied himself in searching for proofs of his pretended superiority: and, instead of looking into his own archives; which, if his claim had been real, must have afforded him numerous records of the homages done by the Scottish princes; he made all the monasteries be ransacked for old chronicles and histories written by Englishmen, and he collected all the passages which seemed anywise to favour his pretensions. Yet even in this method of proceeding, which must have discovered to himself the injustice of his claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the elder, and continued them through all the subsequent Saxon and Norman times; but produced nothing to his purpose. The whole amount of his authorities during the Saxon period, when stripped of the bombast and inaccurate style of the monkish historians, is, that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English; had received peace on disadvantageous terms; had made submissions to the English monarch; and had even perhaps fallen into some dependance on a power they had not at that time sufficient force to resist. His authorities from the Norman period were, if possible, still less conclusive. The historians indeed make frequent mention of homage done by the northern potentate; but no one of them says that it was done for his kingdom; and several of them declare, in express terms, that it was relative only to the fiefs which he enjoyed south of the Tweed, in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch for the fiefs which he inherited in France. And to such scandalous shifts was Edward reduced, that he quotes a passage from Hoveden, where it is asserted that a Scottish king had done homage to England;

He looks for records of long-
lasted supe-
riority.

The search
is unsuccess-
ful.

The kings
of Scotland
had done no
homage for
their king-
dom.

Scandalous
shifts
adopted by
Edward.

but he purposely omits the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that this prince did homage for the lands which he held in England.

When William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner in the battle of Alnwick, he was obliged, for the recovery of his liberty, to swear fealty to the victor for his crown itself. The deed was performed according to all the rites of the feudal law; the record was preserved in the English archives, and is mentioned by all the historians; but, as it is the only one of the kind, and as historians speak of this superiority as a great acquisition gained by the fortunate arms of Henry II., there can remain no doubt that the kingdom of Scotland was, in all former periods, entirely free and independent. Its subjection continued a very few years. King Richard, desirous before his departure for the holy land, to conciliate the friendship of William, renounced that homage which, he says in express terms, had been extorted by his father; and he only retained the usual homage which had been done by the Scottish princes for the lands which they held in England.

But, though this transaction rendered the independence of Scotland still more unquestionable than if no fealty had ever been sworn to the English crown, the Scottish kings, apprized of the point aimed at by their powerful neighbours, seem to have retained some jealousy on that head; and, in doing homage, to have anxiously obviated all such pretensions. When William in 1200 did homage to John at Lincoln, he was careful to insert a salvo for his royal dignity: when Alexander III. sent assistance to his father-in-law Henry III. during the wars of the barons, he previously procured an acknowledgment that this aid was granted only from friendship, not from any right claimed by the English monarch: and, when the same prince was invited to assist at the coronation of this very Edward, he declined attendance till he received a like acknowledgment.*

But, as all these reasons, (and stronger could not be produced) were but a feeble

rampart against the power of the sword, Edward, carrying with him a great army, which was to enforce his proofs, advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the castle of Norham, on the southern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine that cause which had been referred to his arbitration. But, though this deference seemed due to so great a monarch, and was no more than what his father and the English barons had, in similar circumstances, paid to Lewis IX., the king, careful not to give umbrage, and determined never to produce his claim till it should be too late to think of opposition, sent the Scottish barons an acknowledgment that, though at that time they passed the frontiers, this step should never be drawn into precedent, or afford the English kings a pretence for exacting a like submission in any future transaction. When the whole Scottish nation had thus unwarily put themselves in his power, Edward opened the conferences at Norham.† He informed the parliament, by the mouth of Roger le Brabançon, his chief justiciary, that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to their crown; that he was determined to do strict justice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this superiority, which he pretended to be unquestionable, and he required of them an acknowledgment of it; a demand which was superfluous if the fact were already known and avowed. The Scottish parliament was astonished at so new a pretension, and answered only by their silence. But the king, in order to maintain the appearance of free and regular proceedings, desired them to remove into their own country, to deliberate upon his claim, to examine his proofs, and to inform him of their resolution; and he appointed a plain at Upsettleton, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for that purpose.

Edward enters Scotland with an army.

Conferences are opened at Norham.

Edward produces his proofs of sovereignty.

They are ordered to be taken into consideration at Upsettleton.

King William when a prisoner had done homage to Henry II.

The right to claim homage from Scotland was renounced by Richard I.

The Scottish kings jealous of the pretensions of England.

They require acknowledgments of their independence.

* See note K at the end of the volume.

† May 10th, 1291.—Ed.

† See note L at the end of the volume.

The Scottish parliament cannot defend the independence of their country.

Resistance to Edward seems worse than useless.

Edward gives cause for consent.

None of the claimants.

Some of the claimants were illegitimate children.

Edward's superiority is acknowledged by all the claimants.

Commissioners appointed to investigate the claims.

Edward claims to have the fortresses of Scotland placed in his hands.

When the Scottish barons assembled in this place,* though moved with indignation at the injustice of this unexpected claim, and at the fraud with which it had been conducted, they found themselves betrayed into a situation, in which it was impossible for them to make any defence for the ancient liberty and independence of their country. The king of England, a martial and politic prince, at the head of a powerful army, was only separated from them by a river fordable in many places. Though by a sudden flight some of them might make their escape, what hopes could they entertain of securing the kingdom against his future enterprises? Without a head; without union; attached all of them to different competitors, whose title they had rashly submitted to the decision of this foreign usurper, and who were thereby reduced to an absolute dependance upon him; they could only expect by resistance to entail on themselves and their posterity a more grievous and more destructive servitude. Yet, even in this desperate state of their affairs, the Scottish barons (as we learn from Walsingham, one of the best historians of that period) had the courage to reply to that, till they had a king, they could take no resolution on so momentous a point. The journal of king Edward says that they made no answer; that is, perhaps, no particular answer or objection to Edward's claim. And by this solution it is possible to reconcile the journal with the historian. The king, therefore, interpreting their silence as consent, addressed himself to the several competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence required their acknowledgment of his superiority.

It is evident, from the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, that there could only be two questions about the succession; that between Baliol and Bruce on the one hand, and lord Hastings on the other, concerning the partition of the crown; and that between Baliol and Bruce themselves concerning the preference of their respective titles, supposing the kingdom indivisible. Yet there appeared on this

occasion no less than nine claimants besides; John Comyn, or Cummin, lord of Badenoch, Florence earl of Holland, Patrick Dunbar earl of March, William de Vescey, Robert de Pynkeni, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Galtely, Roger de Mandeville, Robert de Ross; not to mention the king of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret. Some of these competitors were descended from more remote branches of the royal family; others were even sprung from illegitimate children; and, as none of them had the least pretence of right, it is natural to conjecture that Edward had secretly encouraged them to appear in the list of claimants, that he might sow the more division among the Scottish nobility, and be able to choose, among a great number, the most obsequious candidate.

But he found them all equally obsequious on this occasion. Robert Bruce was the first that acknowledged Edward's right of superiority over Scotland: and he had so far foreseen the king's pretensions, that even in his petition, where he set forth his claim to the crown, he had applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom; a step, which was not taken by any of the other competitors. They all, however, with seeming willingness, made a like acknowledgment when required; though Baliol, lest he should give offence to the Scottish nation, had taken care to be absent during the first days; and he was the last that recognised the king's title. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in this great controversy. He gave orders that Baliol, and such of the competitors as adhered to him, should choose forty commissioners; Bruce and his adherents forty more; to these the king added twenty-four Englishmen. He ordered these hundred and four commissioners to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make their report to him; and he promised in the ensuing year to give his determination. Meanwhile he pretended that it was requisite to have all the fortresses of Scotland delivered into his hands, in order to enable

* June 26, 1291. The meeting was on a plain called Holywell Hough, near Upsettleton.—Ed.

The king's demand is complied with.

Fealty sworn to Edward.

Death of Queen Eleanor.

Edward imprisons and fines the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford.

him, without opposition, to put the true heir in possession of the crown; and this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by the states and by the claimants. The governors also of all the castles immediately resigned their command, except Umfreville earl of Angus; who refused, without a formal and particular acquittal from the parliament and the several claimants, to surrender his fortresses to so domineering an arbiter, who had given to Scotland so many just reasons of suspicion. Before this assembly broke up, which had fixed such a mark of dishonour on the nation, all the prelates and barons there present swore fealty to Edward; and that prince appointed commissioners to receive a like oath from all the other barons and persons of distinction in Scotland.

The king, having finally made, as he imagined, this important acquisition, left the commissioners to sit at Berwick, and examine the titles of the several competitors who claimed the precarious crown, which Edward was willing for some time to allow the lawful heir to enjoy. He went southwards, to assist at the funeral of his mother queen Eleanor, who died about this time, and to compose some differences which had arisen among the principal nobility. Gilbert earl of Gloucester, the greatest baron of the kingdom, had espoused the king's daughter; and, being elated by that alliance, and still more by his own power, he permitted his bailiffs and vassals to commit violence on the lands of Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, who retaliated the injury by like violence. But this was not a reign in which such illegal proceedings could pass with impunity. Edward procured a sentence against the two earls, committed them both to prison, and would not restore them to their liberty till he exacted a fine of one thousand marks from Hereford, and one of ten thousand from his son-in-law.

AWARD IN FAVOUR OF BALIOL.

1292.

DURING this interval, the titles of John Baliol and of Robert Bruce, whose claims appeared to be the best founded among the

competitors for the crown of Scotland, were the subject of general debate among the commissioners. Edward, to give greater authority to his intended decision, proposed this general question both to the commissioners and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe; whether a person descended from the elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable, in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This was the true state of the case; and the principle of representation had now gained such ground everywhere, that an uniform answer was returned to the king in the affirmative. He therefore pronounced in favour of Baliol; and, when Bruce joined afterwards lord Hastings, and claimed a third of the kingdom, which he now pretended to be divisible, Edward, though his interest seemed more to require the partition, again pronounced in favour of Baliol. That competitor, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, was put in possession of the kingdom; all his fortresses were restored to him; and the conduct of Edward, both in the deliberate solemnity of the proceedings, and in the justice of the award, was so far unexceptionable.

Had the king entertained no other view than that of establishing his superiority over Scotland, though the iniquity of that claim was apparent, and was aggravated by the most egregious breach of trust, he might have fixed his pretensions, and have left that important acquisition to his posterity: but he immediately proceeded in such a manner as made it evident that he aimed also at the absolute sovereignty. Instead of exerting his rights of superiority with moderation, he encouraged all appeals to England; required king John himself, by six different summonses on trivial occasions, to come to London, refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. These humiliating demands were hitherto quite unknown to a king of Scotland; they are, however, the necessary consequence of vassalage by the feudal law; and, as

Great question of succession.

Edward decides in favour of Baliol's claim.

Baliol is put in possession of the kingdom.

Edward requires his appearance before the parliament in London.

there was no preceding instance of such treatment submitted to by a prince of that country, Edward must, from that circumstance alone, had there remained any doubt, have been himself convinced that his claim was altogether an usurpation.* But his intention plainly was to enrage Baliol by these indignities, to engage him in rebellion, and to assume the dominion of the state, as the punishment of his treason and folly. Accordingly Baliol, though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, returned into Scotland highly provoked, and determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberty; and the war, which soon after broke out between France and England, gave him a favourable opportunity of executing his purpose.

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1293.

THE violence, robberies, and disorders, to which that age was subject, were not confined to the licentious barons and their retainers at land: the sea was equally infested with piracy: the feeble execution of the laws had given license to all orders of men: and a general appetite for rapine and revenge, supported by a false point of honour, infected the merchants and mariners; and it pushed them, on any provocation, to seek redress by immediate retaliation upon the aggressors. A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne; and, both of them having occasion for water, they sent their boats to land, and the several crews came at the same time to the same spring. There ensued a quarrel for the preference. A Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who, grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground: and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was slain. This scuffle between two seamen soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king: Philip, without inquiring into the fact, without demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. The Normans needed but this hint to pro-

ceed to immediate violence. They seized an English ship in the channel; and, hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew on the yard-arm, in presence of their companions, dismissed the vessel; and bade the mariners inform their countrymen that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury was resented by the mariners of the cinque ports; who, without carrying any complaint to the king, or waiting for redress, retaliated, by committing like barbarities on all French vessels without distinction. The French, provoked by their losses, preyed on the ships of all Edward's subjects, whether English or Gascon. The sea became a scene of piracy between the nations. The sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators; the English made private associations with the Irish and Dutch seamen; the French with the Flemish and Genoese; and the animosities on both sides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities; and in their passage captured all the English ships which they met with; hanged the seamen, and seized the goods. The inhabitants of the English seaports, informed of the incident, fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, stronger and better manned than the others; and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, they put them to rout; and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loss of the French amounted to fifteen thousand men: which is accounted for by this circumstance, that the Norman fleet was employed in transporting a considerable body of soldiers from the south.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. On Philip's sending an envoy to demand reparation, the king dispatched the bishop of London to the French court. He first said that the English courts of justice were open to all men; and if any Frenchman were injured, he might seek reparation by course of law. He next offered to adjust the matter by private arbiters, or by a

* See note M at the end of the volume.

King Edward is invited to Paris.

Edmond, Edward's mother, succeeds to France.

Seizin and possession of Guienne is claimed.

The point is yielded by Edward.

personal interview with the king of France, or by a reference either to the pope or the college of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties. The French refused all these expedients; the vessels and the goods of merchants were confiscated on both sides; depredations were continued by the Gascons on the western coast of France, as well as by the English in the channel; Philip cited the king, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; and Edward, apprehensive of danger to that province, sent John St. John, an experienced soldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Guienne in a posture of defence.

That he might, however, prevent a final rupture between the nations, the king dispatched his brother, Edmond earl of Lancaster, to Paris; and, as this prince had espoused the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane queen of France, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accommodate the difference. Jane pretended to interpose with her good offices; Mary, the queen dowager, feigned the same amicable disposition: and these two princesses told Edmond that the circumstance the most difficult to adjust was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne; but, if Edward would once consent to give him seizin and possession of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all the other injuries. The king was consulted on the occasion; and, as he then found himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite passion for subduing that nation, allowed himself to be deceived by so gross an artifice. He sent his brother orders to sign the treaty with the two queens; Philip solemnly promised to execute his part of it; and the king's citation to appear in the court of France was accordingly recalled. But the French monarch was no sooner put in possession of Guienne, than the citation was renewed;

Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown.

Edward, fallen into a like snare with that which he himself had spread for the Scots, was enraged; and the more so as he was justly ashamed of being so egregiously overreached by the court of France. Sensible of the extreme difficulties which he should encounter in the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, he endeavoured to compensate that loss by forming alliances with several princes, who he projected should attack France on all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. Adolphus de Nassau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpose; as did also Amadæus count of Savoy, the archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Gueldre and Luxembourg, the duke of Brabant and count of Barre, who had married his two daughters Margaret and Eleanor. But these alliances were extremely burdensome, and proved in the issue entirely ineffectual. More impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which he completed by emptying the jails of many thousand thieves and robbers. So low had the profession of arms fallen, and so much had it degenerated from the estimation in which it stood during the vigour of the feudal system.

The king himself was detained in England, first by contrary winds; then by his apprehensions of a Scottish invasion; and by a rebellion of the Welsh, whom he brought again under subjection. The army which he sent to Guienne was commanded by his nephew John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, and under him by St. John, Tibetot, de Vere, and other officers of reputation; who made themselves masters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Redle, St. Severe, and other places; which straitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by sea and land. The favour which the Gascon nobility bore to the English government facilitated these conquests, and seemed to promise still greater successes: but this advantage was soon lost by the misconduct

A treacherous advantage taken by Philip.

Edward forms an alliance against France.

An army of robbers.

A Welsh rebellion suppressed.

Bayonne and other places are taken by the English.

of some of the officers. Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, who commanded the French armies, having laid siege to Podensac, a small fortress near Reole, obliged Giffard the governor to capitulate; and the articles, though favourable to the English, left all the Gascons prisoners at discretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels. A policy by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the English. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond commanded; and, as the place seemed not tenable, the English general drew his troops to the water side, with an intention of embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gascons fell upon his rear, and at the same time opened their gates to the French; who, besides making themselves masters of the place, took many prisoners of distinction. St. Severe was more vigorously defended by Hugh de Vere, son of the earl of Oxford; but was at last obliged to capitulate. The French king, not content with these successes, threatened England with an invasion; and, by a sudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover, but were obliged soon after to retire. And, in order to make a greater diversion of the English force, and engage Edward in dangerous wars; he formed a secret alliance with John Baliol king of Scotland; the commencement of that strict union which, during so many centuries, was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations. John confirmed this alliance, by stipulating a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Charles de Valois.

CONSTITUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

THE expenses attending these multiplied wars of Edward, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place, obliged him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils, and laid the foundations of important changes in the government.

Though nothing could be worse calcu-

lated for cultivating the arts of peace, or maintaining peace itself, than the long subordination of vassalage from the king to the meanest gentleman, and the consequent slavery of the lower people; evils inseparable from the feudal system; that system was never able to fix the state in a proper warlike posture, or give it the full exertion of its power for defence, and still less for offence, against a public enemy. The military tenants, unacquainted with obedience, unexperienced in war, held a rank in the troops by their birth, not by their merits or services; composed a disorderly, and consequently a feeble, army; and, during the few days which they were obliged by their tenures to remain in the field, were often more formidable to their own prince than to foreign powers. The sovereigns came gradually to disuse this cumbersome and dangerous machine, so apt to recoil upon the hand which held it; and, exchanging the military service for pecuniary supplies, enlisted forces by means of a contract with particular officers (such as those the Italians denominate 'condottieri,') whom they dismissed at the end of the war. The barons and knights themselves often entered into these engagements with the prince; and were enabled to fill their bands, both by the authority which they possessed over their vassals and tenants, and from the great numbers of loose disorderly people whom they found who willingly embraced an opportunity of gratifying their appetite for war and rapine.

Meanwhile the old Gothic fabric, being neglected, went gradually to decay. Though the Conqueror had divided all the lands of England into sixty thousand knights' fees, the number of these was insensibly diminished by various artifices; and the king at last found that he could assemble a small part only of the ancient force of the kingdom. It was a usual expedient for men, who held of the king or great barons by military tenure, to transfer their land to the church, and receive it back by another tenure, called 'frankalmoigne,' by which they were not bound to perform any service. A law was made against this practice; but the abuse had probably gone

far before it was attended to, and probably was not entirely corrected by the new statute, which, like most laws of that age, we may conjecture to have been but feebly executed by the magistrate against the perpetual interest of so many individuals. The constable and mareschal, when they mustered the armies, often in a hurry, and for want of better information, received the service of a baron for fewer knight's fees than were due by him; and one precedent of this kind was held good against the king, and became ever after a reason for diminishing the service. The rolls of knights' fees were inaccurately kept; no care was taken to correct them before the armies were summoned into the field; it was then too late to think of examining records and charters; and the service was accepted on the footing which the vassal himself was pleased to acknowledge, after all the various subdivisions and conjunctions of property had thrown an obscurity on the nature and extent of his tenure. It is easy to judge of the intricacies which would attend disputes of this kind with individuals, when even the number of military fees belonging to the church, whose property was fixed and unalienable, became the subject of controversy; and we find, in particular, that, when the bishop of Durham was charged with seventy knights' fees, for the aid levied on occasion of the marriage of Henry II.'s daughter to the duke of Saxony, the prelate acknowledged ten, and disowned the other sixty. It is not known in what manner this difference was terminated; but, had the question been concerning an armament to defend the kingdom, the bishop's service would probably have been received without opposition for ten fees; and this rate must also have fixed all his future payments. Pecuniary scutages, therefore, diminished as much as military services; other methods of filling the exchequer, as well as the armies, must be devised; new situations produced new laws and institutions; and the great alterations in the finances and military power of the crown, as well as in private property, were the source of equal innovations in every part of the legislature or civil government.

The exorbitant estates, conferred by the Norman on his barons and chieftains, remained not long entire. The landed property was gradually shared out into more hands; and those immense baronies were divided, either by provisions to younger children, by partitions among co-heirs, by sale, or by escheating to the king, who gratified a great number of his courtiers by dealing them out in smaller portions. Such moderate estates, as they required economy, and confined the proprietors to live at home, were better calculated for duration; and the order of knights and small barons began to form a very respectable rank or order in the state. As they were all immediate vassals of the crown by military tenure, they were, by the principles of the feudal law, equally entitled with the greatest barons to a seat in the national or general councils; and this right, though regarded as a privilege which the owners would not entirely relinquish, was also considered as a burden, which they desired to be subjected to on extraordinary occasions only. Hence it was provided, in the charter of king John, that, while the great barons were summoned to the national council by a particular writ, the small barons, under which appellation the knights were also comprehended, should only be called by a general summons of the sheriff. The distinction between great and small barons, like that between rich and poor, was not exactly defined; but, agreeably to the inaccurate genius of that age, and to the simplicity of ancient government, was left very much to be determined by the discretion of the king and his ministers. It was usual for the prince to require, by a particular summons, the attendance of a baron in one parliament, and to neglect him in future parliaments; nor was this ever complained of as an injury. He attended when required; he was better pleased, on other occasions, to be exempted from the burden; and, as he was acknowledged to be of the same order with the greatest barons, it gave them no surprise to see him take his seat in the great council, whether he appeared of his own accord, or by a particular summons from the king. The barons

Estates given to the Norman barons are divided.

Smaller landowners become respectable in rank.

They sit in the national councils

The services of particular barons in parliament not always required

He appears of his own accord, or when required.

They are further reduced by other causes

Hurry and confusion prevail when military service is required.

Seventy knights' fees diminished to ten

Pecuniary scutages are diminished.

A law to
abolish
barons from
appearing
in parlia-
ment if not
writed.

The dignity
of an earl
territorial
& official.

The author-
ity here-
tofore.

Sheriffs
formerly
presided over
the county
courts.

Sheriffs
presided in
the lower
courts.

The salary of
the sheriff
was about
twenty
pounds a
year.

Great
changes were
gradually
effected.

by writ, therefore, began gradually to inter-
nix themselves with the barons by tenure ;
and, as Camden tells us, from an ancient
manuscript now lost, that after the battle
of Evesham a positive law was enacted,
prohibiting every baron from appearing in
parliament who was not invited thither by
a particular summons, the whole baronage
of England held thenceforward their seat
by writ, and this important privilege of
their tenures was in effect abolished. Only,
where writs had been regularly continued
for some time in one great family, the
omission of them would have been regarded
as an affront, and even as an injury.*

A like alteration gradually took place
in the order of earls, who were the highest
rank of barons. The dignity of an earl,
like that of a baron, was anciently territorial
and official ; he exercised jurisdiction
within his county ; he levied the third of
the fines to his own profit ; he was at
once a civil and a military magistrate ;
and, though his authority, from the time
of the Norman conquest, was hereditary
in England, the title was so much con-
nected with the office that, where the king
intended to create a new earl, he had no
other expedient than to erect a certain
territory into a county or earldom, and to
bestow it upon the person and his family.
But, as the sheriffs, who were the vicege-

rents of the earls, were named by the king,
and removable at pleasure, he found them
more dependent upon him ; and endea-
voured to throw the whole authority and
jurisdiction of the office into their hands.
This magistrate was at the head of the
finances, and levied all the king's rents
within the county ; he assessed at pleasure
the tallages of the inhabitants in royal
demesne ; he had usually committed to
him the management of wards, and often
of escheats ; he presided in the lower
courts of judicature ; and thus, though
inferior to the earl in dignity, he was soon
considered, by this union of the judicial
and fiscal powers, and by the confidence
reposed in him by the king, as much
superior to him in authority. It became
usual, in creating an earl, to give him a
fixed salary, commonly about twenty
pounds a year, in lieu of his third of the
fines. The diminution of his power kept
pace with the retrenchment of his profit ;
and the dignity of earl, instead of being
territorial and official, dwindled into per-
sonal and titular. Such were the mighty
alterations which already had fully taken
place, or were gradually advancing, in the
house of peers ; that is, in the parliament ;
for there seems anciently to have been no
other house.

But, though the introduction of barons by

* The Committee have found assemblies-convened
during this period (they are speaking of the pre-
ceding reign,) of above one hundred and thirty years
under various denominations. The Latin language
was generally the language used in all important doc-
uments in those times, and histories were then com-
monly written in the same language ; and it appears
from such documents, as well as from history, that
the Kings of England, after the conquest, convened
assemblies, some of which were denominated by the
word "Concilium" simply ; others by the words
"Magnum Concilium," and others again by the
words "Commune Concilium" or "Commune Concil-
ium Regni ;" and it is probable that sometimes the
appellation of "Concilium" alone, or of "Magnum
Concilium," was given to that assembly which would
possibly have been more correctly denominated by
the words "Commune Concilium," or "Commune
Concilium Regni." All these councils seem to have
been generally convened at the times when the king
held his ordinary supreme court of justice ; and the
appellation of "Curia" was sometimes given to these
councils, as well as to the assemblage convened at
the same time for the purposes of royal hospitality
and dignity, and for the administration of justice.

At a subsequent period extraordinary aids are some-
times described as granted "Curialiter;" importing,
probably, that the grants were made by an assembly
convened for the purpose of the king's great court,
and that the aid was there regularly granted.
The impression made on the minds of the Com-
mittee, by a view of all the documents which they
have found, is, that the Conqueror and many of his
successors convened at different times assemblies dif-
ferently constituted, corresponding with the three
different appellations of "Concilium" simply, "Mag-
num Concilium," and "Commune Concilium."
They had their ordinary council, consisting of
persons selected by them as their confidential ad-
visers, to whom the appellation of "Concilium"
simply most properly belonged. They occasionally
required for extraordinary purposes the assistance of
a larger body, comprising the principal persons of
rank and property in the country ; and to this as-
sembly the appellation of "Magnum Concilium" was
properly applied. For more general purposes they
convened a still larger number of persons, to whom
the appellation of "Commune Concilium Regni"
was distinctly given.—*Report of the Lords Committees
respecting the peerage in 1821.*—Ed.

writ, and of titular earls, had given some increase to royal authority, there were other causes which counterbalanced those innovations, and tended in a higher degree to diminish the power of the sovereign. The disuse, into which the feudal militia had in a great measure fallen, made the barons almost forget their dependance on the crown; by the diminution of the number of knight's fees, the king had no reasonable compensation when he levied scutages, and exchanged their service for money; the alienations of the crown lands had reduced him to poverty; and, above all, the concession of the Great Charter had set bounds to royal power, and had rendered it more difficult and dangerous for the prince to exert any extraordinary act of arbitrary authority. In this situation it was natural for the king to court the friendship of the lesser barons and knights, who, being exposed to oppression from their powerful neighbours, sought a legal protection under the shadow of the throne. He desired, therefore, to have their presence in parliament, where they served to control the turbulent resolutions of the great. To exact a regular attendance of the whole body would have produced confusion, and would have imposed too heavy a burden upon them: to summon only a few, though it was practised, and had a good effect, served not entirely the king's purpose; because these members had no farther authority than attended their personal character, and were eclipsed by the more powerful nobility: he therefore dispensed with the attendance of most of the lesser barons in parliament; and, in return for this indulgence (for such it was then esteemed), required them to choose in each county a certain number of their own body, whose charges they bore, and who, having gained the confidence, carried with them of course the authority of the whole order. This expedient had been practised at different times in the reign of Henry III. and regularly during that of the present king. The numbers sent up by each county varied at the will of the prince; they took their seat among the other peers, because by their tenure they belonged to that order; the introducing of them into that

house scarcely appeared an innovation; and, though it was easily in the king's power, by varying their number, to command the resolutions of the whole parliament, this circumstance was little attended to in an age when force was more prevalent than laws, and when a resolution, though taken by the majority of a legal assembly, could not be executed if it opposed the will of the more powerful minority.

But there were other important consequences, which followed the diminution and consequent disuse of the ancient feudal militia. The king's expense, in levying and maintaining a military force for every enterprise, was increased beyond what his narrow revenues were able to bear. As the scutages of his military tenants, which were accepted in lieu of their personal service, had fallen to nothing, there were no means of supply but from voluntary aids granted him by the parliament and clergy, or from the tallages which he might levy upon the towns and inhabitants in royal demesne. In the preceding year Edward had been obliged to exact no less than the sixth of all moveables from the laity, and a moiety of all ecclesiastical benefices, for his expedition into Poitou, and the suppression of the Welsh: and this distressful situation made him think of a new device, and summon the representatives of all the boroughs to parliament. This period, which is the twenty-third of his reign, seems to be the real and true epoch of the house of commons, and the faint dawn of popular government in England. For the representatives of the counties were only deputies from the smaller barons and lesser nobility: and the former precedent of representatives from the boroughs, who were summoned by the earl of Leicester, was regarded as the act of a violent usurpation; and, if such a measure had not become necessary on other accounts, that precedent was more likely to blast than give credit to it.

During the course of several years the kings of England, in imitation of other princes, had embraced the salutary policy of encouraging the lower and more industrious orders of the state; whom they

The county representatives sat with the peers.

Failure of the king's revenue.

Heavy exactions.

The House of Commons formed.

The lower orders are encouraged.

Consequences of the disuse of the feudal militia.

The king courts the lesser barons and knights.

The attendance of the whole inconvenient.

The king allows them to choose representatives.

They are found well disposed.

Privileges granted to citizens.

The king retained ordinary power.

The exercise of it found difficult.

found well disposed to obey the laws, and whose ingenuity furnished commodities requisite for the ornament of peace and support of war. Though the inhabitants of the country were still left at the disposal of their imperious lords, many attempts were made to give more liberty to citizens. Boroughs were erected by royal patent within the demesne lands; liberty of trade was conferred upon them; the inhabitants were allowed to farm at a fixed rent their own tolls and customs; they were permitted to elect their magistrates; justice was administered by these magistrates, without obliging them to attend the sheriff or county court; and some shadow of independence, by means of these privileges, was gradually acquired by the people. The king, however, retained still the power of levying tallages or taxes upon them at pleasure,* and, though their poverty, and the customs of the age, made these demands neither frequent nor exorbitant, such unlimited authority was a sensible check upon commerce, and was utterly incompatible with all the principles of a free government. But, when the multiplied necessities of the crown produced a greater avidity for supply, the king, whose prerogative entitled him to exact it, found that he had not power sufficient to enforce his edicts, and that it was necessary, before he imposed taxes, to smooth the way for his demand, and to obtain the previous consent of the boroughs, by solicitations, remonstrances, and authority. Edward became sensible that the most expeditious way of obtaining supply was to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs, to lay before them the necessities of the state, to discuss the matter in their presence, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. For this reason he issued writs to the sheriffs, en-

joining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county; and these provided with sufficient powers from their community to consent, in their name, to what he and his council should require of them. 'As it is a most equitable rule,' says he, in his preamble to this writ, 'that what concerns all should be approved of by all; and common dangers be repelled by united efforts.'† A noble principle; which may seem to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and which laid the foundation of a free and equitable government.

After the election of these deputies by the aldermen and common council, they gave sureties for their attendance before the king and parliament. Their charges were respectively borne by the borough which sent them. And they had so little idea of appearing as legislators, a character extremely wide of their low rank and condition, that no intelligence could be more disagreeable to any borough than to find that they must elect, or to any individual than that he was elected, to a trust from which no profit or honour could possibly be derived. They sat apart both from the barons and knights, who disdained to mix with such mean personages. After they had given their consent to the taxes required, their business being then finished, they separated, even though the parliament continued to sit. And, as they all consisted of men who were real burgesses of the place from which they were sent, the sheriff, when he found no person of abilities or wealth sufficient for the office, often used the freedom of omitting particular boroughs in his returns; and, as he received the thanks of the people for this indulgence, he gave no displeasure to the court, who levied on all the boroughs, without distinction, the tax agreed to by the majority of deputies.‡

All the deputies of each county were sent to parliament.

Representation in parliament was not a principle.

Its duties are at first bound up with the king.

Burgesses in parliament viewed with contempt.

Boroughs are often omitted in the sheriff's returns.

* The king had not only the power of talliating the inhabitants within his own demesnes, but that of granting to particular barons the power of talliating the inhabitants within theirs.

† The writs of the parliament immediately preceding remain: and the return of knights is there required, but not a word of the boroughs; a demonstration that this was the very year in which they commenced. In the year immediately preceding, the taxes were levied by a seeming free con-

sent of each particular borough, beginning with London.

‡ There is even an instance in the reign of Edward III. when the king named all the deputies. If he fairly named the most considerable and creditable burgesses, little exception would be taken, as their business was not to check the king, but to reason with him, and consent to his demands. It was not till the reign of Richard II. that the sheriffs were deprived of the power of omitting boroughs at pleasure.

Redress of
grievances
claimed in
return for
supplies
voted.

Laws are
made by the
judges and
the crown
without the
peers.

Their assent
is even-
tually made
indispensa-
ble.

The union of the representatives from the boroughs gave gradually more weight to the whole order; and it became customary for them, in return for the supplies, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of any particular grievance. The more the king's demands multiplied, the faster these petitions increased; and the prince found it difficult to refuse men whose grants had supported his throne, and to whose assistance he might be again obliged to have recourse. The commons, however, were still much below the rank of legislators.* Their petitions, though they received a verbal assent from the throne, were only the rudiments of laws; the judges were afterwards intrusted with the power of putting them into form; and the king, by adding to them the sanction of his authority, and that sometimes without the assent of the nobles, bestowed validity upon them. The age did not refine so much as to perceive the danger of these irregularities. No man was displeased that the sovereign, at the desire of any class of men, should issue an order which appeared only to concern that class; and his predecessors were so near possessing the whole legislative power, that he gave no disgust by assuming it in this seemingly inoffensive manner. But time and farther experience gradually corrected these abuses. It was found that no laws could be fixed for one order of men without affecting the whole; and that the force and efficacy of laws depended entirely on the terms employed in wording them. The house of peers, therefore, with reason expected that their assent should be expressly granted to all public ordinances:† and in the reign of Henry V. the commons required that no laws should be framed merely upon their petitions, unless the statutes were worded by themselves, and had passed their house in the form of a bill.

But, as the same causes which had pro-

* See Note N, at the end of the volume.

† In those instances found in Cotton's Abridgment, where the king appears to answer of himself the petitions of the commons, he probably exerted no more than that power which was long inherent in the crown, of regulating matters by royal edicts or proclamations: but no durable or general statute

duced a partition of property continued still to operate, the number of knights and lesser barons, or what the English call the gentry, perpetually increased; and they sunk into a rank still more inferior to the great nobility. The equality of tenure was lost in the great inferiority of power and property; and the house of representatives from the counties was gradually separated from that of the peers, and formed a distinct order in the state. The growth of commerce meanwhile augmented the private wealth and consideration of the burgesses; the frequent demands of the crown increased their public importance; and, as they resembled the knights of shires in one material circumstance, that of representing particular bodies of men, it no longer appeared unsuitable to unite them together in the same house, and to confound their rights and privileges.‡ Thus the third estate reached at last its present form; and, as the country gentlemen made thenceforwards no scruple of appearing as deputies from the boroughs, the distinction between the members was entirely lost, and the lower house acquired thence a great accession of weight and importance in the kingdom. Still, the office of this estate was very different from that which it has since exercised with so much advantage to the public. Instead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him as the great fountain of law and justice, and to support him against the power of the aristocracy; the king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men so useful and so little dangerous: the peers also were obliged to pay them some consideration: and by this means the third estate, formerly so abject, rose by slow degrees to their present importance, and in their progress made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants of liberty and equality, flourish in the kingdom. ||

seems ever to have been made by the king from the the petition of the commons alone, without the assent of the peers. It is more likely, that the peers alone, without the commons, would enact statutes.

‡ See note O, at the end of the volume.

|| See note P, at the end of the volume.

The num-
bers of the
gentry in-
crease.

Growing
importance
of the bur-
gesses.

The third
estate or
commons
reaches
its present
form.

It supported
the king
against the
aristocracy.

What sufficiently proves that the commencement of the house of burgesses, who are the true commons, was not an affair of chance, is, that Edward at the very same time summoned deputies from the inferior clergy, the first that ever met in England; and he required them to impose taxes on their constituents for the public service. Formerly the ecclesiastical benefices bore no part of the burdens of the state. The pope indeed of late had often levied impositions upon them; he had sometimes granted this power to the sovereign. The king had in the preceding year exacted, by menaces and violence, a very grievous tax of half the revenues of the clergy; but, as this precedent was dangerous, and could not easily be repeated, Edward found it more prudent to assemble a lower house of convocation, to lay before them his necessities, and to ask some supply. But on this occasion he met with difficulties. Whether that the clergy thought themselves the most independent body in the kingdom, or were disgusted by the former exorbitant impositions, they absolutely refused their assent to the king's demand of a fifth of their moveables; and it was not till a second meeting that, on their persisting in this refusal, he was willing to accept of a tenth. The barons and knights granted him an eleventh; the burgesses a seventh. But the clergy still scrupled to meet on the king's writ, lest they should seem to acknowledge the authority of the temporal power: and this compromise was at last fallen upon, that the king should issue his writ to the archbishop; and that the archbishop should, in consequence of it, summon the clergy; who, as they then appeared to obey their spiritual superior, no longer hesitated to meet in convocation. This expedient, however, was the cause why the ecclesiastics were separated into two houses of convocation under their several archbishops, and formed not one estate, as in other countries of Europe; which was at first the king's intention. We now return to the course of our narration.

SCOTLAND SUBDUED. 1296.

EDWARD, conscious of the disgust which

he had given to the king of Scots; informed of the dispositions of that people; and expecting the most violent effects of their resentment, which he knew he had merited; employed the supplies granted him in making preparations against the hostilities of his northern neighbour. When in this situation, he received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip; and, though uneasy at this concurrence of a French and Scottish war, he resolved not to encourage his enemies by a pusillanimous behaviour. He summoned John to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him a supply of forces against an invasion from France, with which he was then threatened: he next required that the fortresses of Berwick, Jedborough, and Roxborough, should be put into his hands as a security during the war: he cited John to appear in an English parliament to be held at Newcastle: and when none of these successive demands were complied with, he marched northward with thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, to chastise his rebellious vassal. The Scottish nation, who had little reliance on the abilities of their prince, assigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whose hands the sovereignty was really lodged, and who put the country in the best posture of which the present distractions would admit. A great army, composed of forty thousand infantry, though supported only by five hundred cavalry, advanced to the frontiers; and, after a fruitless attempt upon Carlisle, marched eastwards to defend those provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. But some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles, Robert Bruce the father and son, the earls of March and Angus, endeavoured here to ingratiate themselves with Edward by an early submission; and the king, encouraged by this, led his army into the enemy's country, and crossed the Tweed without opposition at Coldstream. He then received a message from John, by which that prince, having now procured for himself and his nation pope Celestine's dispensation from former oaths, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and set Edward at

Baliol denies him.

Edward causes siege to be laid to Dunbar.

The Scottish army is defeated.

The Scottish fortresses are surrendered.

defiance.* This bravado was but ill supported by the military operations of the Scots. Berwick was already taken by assault.† Sir William Douglas, the governor, was made prisoner; above seven thousand of the garrison were put to the sword; and Edward, elated by this great advantage, dispatched earl Warrenne, with twelve thousand men, to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.

The Scots, sensible of the importance of this place, which, if taken, laid their whole country open to the enemy, advanced with their main army, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Marre, to relieve it. Warrenne, not dismayed at the great superiority of their number, marched out to give them battle. He attacked them, and, as undisciplined troops, when numerous, are but the more exposed to a panic upon any alarm, he soon threw them into confusion, and chased them off the field with great slaughter. The loss of the Scots is said to have amounted to twenty thousand men. The castle of Dunbar, with all its garrison, surrendered next day to Edward; who, after the battle, had brought up the main body of the English, and who now proceeded with an assured confidence of success. The castle of Roxborough was yielded by James, steward of Scotland; and that nobleman, from whom is descended the royal family of Stuart, was again obliged to swear fealty to Edward. After a feeble resistance, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates. All the southern parts were instantly subdued by the English:

* The puppet-king declared himself. "grievously offended at the undutiful conduct of Edward to his liege lord the French king." This was set forth in the treaty by which he bound himself, at his own charge, to assist France with his whole power.—Ed.

† On this occasion, the grand features of Edward's character and courage were conspicuous. He, on his horse Bayard, was the first to leap the dyke that defended the town; but when the place was carried, and resistance at an end, he sullied his fame by sanctioning a frightful massacre, which spared neither sex nor age, as if it were his object not to vanquish or chastise, but to extirpate. He had, however, the merit of putting an end to it at last, according to Wyntown. Seeing a woman slain, and her bairn

and, to enable them the better to reduce the northern, Edward sent for a strong reinforcement of Welsh and Irish; who, being accustomed to a desultory kind of war, were the best fitted to pursue the fugitive Scots into the recesses of their lakes and mountains. But the spirit of the nation was already broken; and the feeble and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, abandoned all those resources which his people might yet have possessed in this extremity. He hastened to make his submissions to Edward; he expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch.‡ Edward marched northwards to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy: no Scotchman approached him but to pay him submission and do him homage: even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, endeavoured to prevent the devastation of their country, by giving him early proofs of obedience: and Edward, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned with his army. There was a stone, to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration; all their kings were seated on it when they received the rite of inauguration. An ancient tradition assured them that, wherever this stone was placed, their nation should always govern; and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy, and their ultimate resource. Edward got possession of it; and carried

Scotland overrun by the English, Welsh, and Irish.

Baliol resigns his crown to Edward

A stone on which the Scottish kings were seated

Edward carries the regal stone to England

fall from her side, which was likewise slain, he was moved by the abhorrent spectacle.

"Lasses, Lasses," then cryd he;
"Love off, leve off," that word said be.

It was probably in resentment of the barbarous slaughter, that, six days afterwards, on the 5th of April, Baliol sent to him a formal renunciation of his allegiance and fealty. This did not fail to provoke Edward, who, denouncing the Scottish king as a fool and a traitor, declared, that as he had refused to come to him, he would condescend to wait on Baliol. The threat he did not fail to make good.—Ed.

‡ Edward did not spare, on this occasion, his humbled foe. He required him to appear before the bishop of Durham, and some of his barons, bearing a white rod; to confess all his offences, acknowledge



it to England.* He gave orders to destroy the records, and all those monuments of antiquity, which might preserve the memory of the independence of the kingdom, and refute the English claims of superiority. The Scots pretend that he also destroyed all the annals preserved in their convents. But it is not probable that a nation so rude and unpolished should be possessed of any history which deserves much to be regretted. The great seal of Baliol was broken; and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where he died in a private station. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland; Englishmen were intrusted with the chief offices; and Edward, flattering himself that the numerous acts of fraud and violence, which he had practised against Scotland, had terminated in the final reduction of that kingdom, returned with his victorious army into England.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

AN attempt, which he made about the same time, for the recovery of Guienne, was not equally successful. He sent thither an army of seven thousand men, under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaster. That prince gained at first some advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was soon after seized with a distemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who was not able to perform any thing considerable during the rest of the campaign.

But the active spirit of Edward, while his conquests brought such considerable accessions to the English monarchy, could not be satisfied so long as Guienne, the ancient patrimony of his family, was wrested from him by the dishonest artifices of the

French monarch. Finding that the distance of that province rendered all his efforts against it feeble, he purposed to attack France where she appeared more vulnerable: and with this view he married his daughter Elizabeth to John earl of Holland; and contracted an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders; stipulated to pay him the sum of seventy-five thousand pounds; and projected an invasion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy. He hoped that, when he himself, at the head of the English, Flemish, and Dutch, armies, reinforced by his German allies, to whom he had promised or remitted considerable sums, should enter France, and threaten the capital itself, Philip would be obliged to purchase peace by the restitution of Guienne. But to set this great machine in movement, considerable supplies were requisite from the parliament; and Edward, without much difficulty, obtained from the barons and knights a new grant of a twelfth of all their moveables, and from the boroughs that of an eighth. The great power of the king over the latter enabled him to throw the heavier part of the burden on them; and the prejudices which he seems always to have entertained against the church, on account of the former zeal of the clergy for the Mountfort faction, made him resolve to load them with still more considerable impositions, and he required of them a fifth of their moveables. But he here met with an opposition which disconcerted all his measures, and engaged him in enterprises that were dangerous to him, and would have proved fatal to any of his predecessors.

DISSENSIONS WITH THE CLERGY.

BONIFACE VIII. who had succeeded Celestine in the papal throne, was a man of the most enterprising spirit; and, though not endowed with that severity of manners

the justice of the English invasion, and the magnanimity of his conqueror, and finally to resign to him his kingdom.—*Rymer.*—ED.

* This valued object was called the *Lia-faile*, and also the *Clack na cine amhrinn*, or fatal stone. The kings of Scotland, when crowned, seated on the fatal

stone, were accustomed to hear an heraldic bard, attired in a scarlet robe, recite their genealogy from the founder of their dynasty. That ceremony was last performed at the coronation of Alexander III. Westminster Abbey retains the *Lia-faile*.—ED.

Boniface resolved to exalt the spiritual power.

He forbids taxes to be levied on, or paid by, the clergy.

The edict is said to have been procured by Robert de Winchelsey.

The king prohibits the payment of rent to the clergy.

The opposition of the clergy is persisted in.

which commonly accompanies ambition in men of his order, he was determined to carry the authority of the tiara, and his dominion over the temporal power, to as great a height as it had ever attained. Sensible that his immediate predecessors, by oppressing the church in every province of Christendom, had extremely alienated the affections of the clergy, and had afforded the civil magistrate a pretence for laying like impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, he attempted to resume the former station of the sovereign pontiff, and to establish himself as the common protector of the spiritual order. For this purpose he issued a general bull, prohibiting all princes from levying, without his consent, any taxes upon the clergy, and all clergymen from submitting to such impositions; and he threatened both with the penalties of excommunication in case of disobedience. This important edict is said to have been procured by the solicitation of Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury; who intended to employ it as a rampart against the violent extortions which the church had felt from Edward, and the still greater which that prince's multiplied necessities gave them reason to apprehend. When a demand, therefore, was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, (a tax which was probably much more grievous than a fifth of their revenue, as their lands were mostly stocked with their cattle, and cultivated by their villains) the clergy took shelter under the bull of pope Boniface, and pleaded conscience in refusing compliance. The king came not immediately to extremities on this repulse; but after locking up all their granaries and barns, and prohibiting all rent to be paid them, he appointed a new synod to confer with him. The primate, not dismayed, here plainly told him that the clergy owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and their temporal; but their duty bound them to a much stricter attachment to the former than to the latter; they could not comply with his commands (for such, in some measure, the requests of the crown were then deemed) in contradiction to the express prohibition of the sovereign pontiff.

The clergy had seen, in many instances, that Edward paid little regard to those numerous privileges on which they set so high a value. He had formerly seized, in an arbitrary manner, all the money and plate belonging to the churches and convents, and had applied them to the public service; and they could not but expect more violent treatment on this sharp refusal, grounded on such dangerous principles. Instead of applying to the pope for a relaxation of his bull, he resolved immediately to employ the power in his hands; and he told the ecclesiastics that, since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every man justice against them; to do them justice against nobody. The ecclesiastics soon found themselves in the most miserable situation imaginable. They could not remain in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence; if they went abroad they were dismounted, robbed of their horses and clothes, abused by every ruffian; and no redress could be obtained. The primate himself was attacked on the highway; was stripped of his equipage and furniture; and was at last reduced to board himself, with a single servant, in the house of a country clergyman. The king meanwhile remained an indifferent spectator; and, without employing his officers in committing any immediate injury on the priests, he took ample vengeance on them for their obstinate refusal of his demands. Though the archbishop issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who attacked the persons or property of ecclesiastics, it was not regarded; while Edward enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the people become the voluntary instruments of his justice, and inure themselves to throw off that respect for the sacred order, by which they had so long been overawed and governed.

The clergy distrust Edward.

Edward puts the clergy out of the protection of the laws.

They are robbed and insulted with impunity.

The primate is reduced to poverty.

The assailants of the clergy excommunicated, but without effect.

The spirits of the clergy were at last broken by this harsh treatment. Besides that the whole province of York, which lay nearest the danger that still hung over them from the Scots, voluntarily, from the first, voted a fifth of their moveables; the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and some others, made a composition for the secular clergy within their dioceses: and they agreed not to pay the fifth, which would have been an act of disobedience to Boniface's bull, but to deposit a sum equivalent in some church appointed them; whence it was taken by the king's officers. Many particular convents and clergymen made payment of a like sum, and received the king's protection. Those who had not ready money entered into recognizances for the payment. And there was scarcely found one ecclesiastic in the kingdom who seemed willing to suffer, for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom; the most tedious of any; the most mortifying to spiritual pride; and not rewarded by that crown of glory which the church holds up, with such ostentation, to her devoted adherents.

ARBITRARY MEASURES. 1297.

BUT, as the money granted by parliament, though considerable, was not sufficient to supply the king's necessities, and that levied by compositions with the clergy came in slowly, Edward was obliged, for the obtaining of farther supply, to exert his arbitrary power, and to lay an oppressive hand on all orders of men in the kingdom. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and forced them to pay him a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was computed to be above the third of the value. He seized all the rest of the wool, as well as all the leather of the kingdom, and disposed of these commodities for his own benefit. He required the sheriffs of each county to supply him with two thousand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats; which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them. The cattle and other commodities, necessary for supplying his army, were laid hold of with-

out the consent of the owners. And, though he promised to pay afterwards the equivalent of all these goods, men saw but little probability that a prince, who submitted so little to the limitations of the law, could ever be reduced to a strict observance of his engagements. He shewed an equal disregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of his kingdom were held. In order to increase his army, and enable him to support that great effort which he intended to make against France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he held not of the crown, and was not obliged by his tenure to perform any such service.

These acts of violence, notwithstanding the great personal regard generally borne to the king, bred murmurs; and it was not long ere some of the great nobility gave countenance and authority to the complaints. Edward assembled on the sea coast an army, which he purposed to send over to Gascony, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders; and he intended to put these forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, the mareschal of England. But these two powerful earls refused to execute his commands, and affirmed that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, 'Sir earl, by God, you shall either go or hang.' 'By God, sir king,' replied Hereford, 'I will neither go nor hang.' And he immediately departed, with the mareschal, and above thirty other considerable barons.

Upon this opposition the king laid aside the project of an expedition against Guienne, and assembled the forces which he himself purposed to transport into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated in the contest, and elated by impunity, pretending that none of their ancestors had ever served in that country, refused to perform the duty of their office in mustering the army. The king, now finding it ad-

Edward seeks a reconciliation with the church.

He promises to redress all grievances.

Hereford and Norfolk remonstrate.

Their claims for a redress of grievances evaded by Edward.

visible to proceed with moderation, instead of attainting the earls, who possessed their dignities by hereditary right, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Grenville, to act, in that emergence, as constable and mareschal. He endeavoured to reconcile himself with the church; took the primate again into favour; made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he intended to appoint guardian of the kingdom during his absence; and he even assembled a great number of the nobility in Westminster-hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his past conduct. He pleaded the urgent necessities of the crown; his extreme want of money; his engagements from honour as well as interest to support his foreign allies: and he promised, if ever he returned in safety, to redress all their grievances, to restore the execution of the laws, and to make all his subjects compensation. Meanwhile he begged them to judge of him by his future conduct, to remain faithful to his government; or, if he perished in the present war, to preserve their allegiance to his son and successor.

There were, certainly, from the concurrence of discontents among the great, and grievances of the people, materials sufficient in any other period to have kindled a civil war in England: but the vigour and abilities of Edward kept every one in awe; and his dexterity, in stopping on the brink of danger, saved the nation from so great a calamity. The two great earls dared not to break out into open violence; they proceeded no farther than framing a remonstrance, which was delivered to the king at Winchelsea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. They there complained of the violations of the Great Charter and that of forests; the violent seizures of corn, leather, cattle, and, above all, of wool, a commodity which they affirmed to be equal in value to half the lands of the kingdom; the arbitrary imposition of forty shillings a sack on the small quantity of wool allowed to be exported by the merchants; and they claimed an immediate redress of all these grievances. The king told them that the greater part of

his council were now at a distance, and without their advice he could not deliberate on measures of so great importance.

DISSENSIONS WITH THE BARONS.

BUT the constable and mareschal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of Edward's absence, and to obtain an explicit assent to their demands. When summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a great body of cavalry and infantry; and, before they would enter the city, required that the gates should be put into their custody. The primate, who secretly favoured all their pretensions, advised the council to comply; and thus they became masters both of the young prince and of the resolutions of parliament. Their demands, however, were moderate. They only required that the two charters should receive a solemn confirmation; that a clause should be added to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament; and that they themselves, and their adherents, who had refused to attend the king into Flanders, should be pardoned and again received into favour. The prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms; and the charters were sent over to the king in Flanders to be there confirmed by him. Edward felt the utmost reluctance to this measure, which he apprehended would for the future impose such fetters on his conduct, and set limits to his authority. On various pretences he delayed three days giving any answer, when the consequences of his refusal were represented to him, he was at last obliged, after many internal struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as to also the clause that bereaved him of the power, which he had hitherto assumed, of imposing arbitrary taxes upon the people.

That we may finish at once this interesting transaction, we shall briefly mention the subsequent events which relate to it. The constable and marshal, informed of the king's compliance, were satisfied; and not only ceased from disturbing the government, but assisted the regency with their power against the Scots, who had thrown

The two earls make themselves masters of London, in the king's absence.

They demand a confirmation of the charter.

Their claim is forwarded to the king in Flanders.

Edward puts his seal to the charters.

The earls resist the Scots.

off the yoke of England. But, being sensible that the smallest pretence would suffice to make Edward retract these detested laws, (which, though they had often received the sanction both of king and parliament, and had been acknowledged during three reigns, were never yet deemed to have sufficient validity) they insisted that he should again confirm them on his return to England, and should thereby renounce all plea which he might derive from his residing in a foreign country when he formerly affixed his seal to them. It appeared that they judged aright of Edward's character and intentions. He delayed his confirmation as long as possible; and, when the fear of worse consequences obliged him again to comply, he expressly added a salvo for his royal dignity or prerogative, which in effect enervated the whole force of the charters. The two earls and their adherents left the parliament in disgust; and the king was constrained, on a future occasion, to grant to the people, without any subterfuge, a pure and absolute confirmation of those laws which were so much the object of their passionate affection. Even farther securities were then provided for the establishment of national privileges. Three knights were appointed to be chosen in each county, and were invested with the power of punishing, by fine and imprisonment, every violation of the charters. A precaution which, though it was soon disused, as encroaching too much on royal prerogative, proves the attachment which the English bore to liberty, and their well-grounded jealousy of the arbitrary disposition of Edward.

The work, however, was not yet complete. In order to execute the lesser charter, it was requisite, by new perambulations, to set bounds to the royal forests, and to disafforest all lands which former encroachments had comprehended. Edward discovered the same reluctance to comply with this equitable demand; and it was not till after many solicitations and

requests, and even menaces of war and violence, on the part of the barons,* that the perambulations were made, and exact boundaries fixed, by a jury in each county, to the extent of his forests. Had not his ambitious temper raised him so many foreign enemies, and obliged him to have recourse so often to the assistance of his subjects, it is not likely that those concessions could ever have been extorted from him.

But, while the people deemed themselves happy in the secure possession of their privileges, they were surprised, in 1305, to find that Edward had secretly applied to Rome, and had procured from that mercenary court an absolution from all the oaths and engagements, so often reiterated, to observe both the charters. There are some historians so credulous as to imagine that this perilous step was taken by him for no other purpose than to acquire the merit of granting a new confirmation of the charters, as he did soon after; and a confirmation so much the more unquestionable, as it could never after be invalidated by his successors, on pretence of any force which had been imposed upon him. But the whole tenor of his conduct proves him to be little susceptible of such refinements in patriotism; and this very deed, in which he anew confirmed the charters, carries on the face of it a very opposite presumption. Though he ratified the charters in general, he still took advantage of the papal bull so far as to invalidate the late perambulations of the forests; and to reserve to himself the power, in case of favourable incidents, to extend as much as formerly those arbitrary jurisdictions. If the power was not made use of, we can only conclude that the favourable incidents did not offer.

Thus, after the contests of near a whole century, ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter was finally established; and the English nation have the honour of extorting, by their perseverance, this con-

Bounds set to the royal forests.

Edward's application to Rome for an absolution from all his oaths.

The charters were confirmed, but the laws respecting forests put aside.

After a hundred years the great charter is fully established.

* We are told by Tyrrel, from the Chronicle of St. Albans, that the barons, not content with the execution of the charter of forests, demanded of

Edward as high terms as had been imposed on his father by the earl of Leicester: but no other historian mentions this particular.

The great charter is confirmed above thirty times.

Its validity thenceforth never disputed.

The star chamber, and other modes of trial, never regarded as parts of the constitution.

Edward proceeds to Flanders.

cession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes.* It is computed that above thirty confirmations of the charter were at different times required of several kings, and granted by them, in full parliament; a precaution which, while it discovers some ignorance of the true nature of law and government, proves a laudable jealousy of national privileges. We find that, though arbitrary practices often prevailed, and were even able to establish themselves into settled customs, the validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally disputed; and that grant was still regarded as the basis of English government, and the sure rule by which the authority of every custom was to be tried and canvassed. The jurisdiction of the star chamber, martial law, imprisonment by warrants from the privy council, and other practices, though established for several centuries, were scarcely ever allowed to be parts of the constitution. The affection of the nation for liberty still prevailed. The exercise of these powers, after being long the source of secret murmurs, was, in fulness of time, solemnly abolished as illegal, at least as oppressive, by the whole legislative authority.

To return to the period from which this account of the charters has led us. Though the king's impatience to appear in Flanders made him overlook all considerations, either of domestic discontents or of commotions among the Scots, his embarkation had been so long retarded that he lost the proper season for action, and after his arrival made no progress against the enemy. The king of France had broken into the Low Countries; had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; had made himself master of Lisle, St. Omer, Cortrai, and Ypres; and seemed in a situation to take full vengeance on the earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, seconded by an English army of fifty thousand men (for this is the number assigned by historians), was able to stop the career of his victories; and Philip,

finding all the weak resources of his kingdom already exhausted, began to apprehend an invasion of France itself. The king of England, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolph king of the Romans, which he had purchased at a very high price, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which served only to divert his force from more important projects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years, and engaged them to submit to the arbitration of pope Boniface.

PEACE WITH FRANCE. 1298.

BONIFACE was among the last of the sovereign pontiffs that exercised an authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes; and these exorbitant pretensions, which he had been tempted to assume, involved him in so many calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catastrophe, that they have been secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by his successors. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference that Boniface was made judge of the difference by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without seeming to be offended, proceeded to give sentence, in which they both acquiesced. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage; that Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain; but he insisted that the Scots, and their king John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and restored to their liberty. The difference, was compromised. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. The

his hands. The former received a new grant of it; but the office of mareschal was given to Thomas of Brotherton, the king's second son.

* It must, however, be remarked, that the king never forgave the chief actors in this transaction; and he found means afterwards to oblige both the constable and mareschal to resign their offices into

The differences between France and England are submitted to the arbitration of Rome.

Edward and Philip jealous of the claims of the pope.

His decision is approved, and a double matrimonial union determined upon.

The kings of England and France abandon their allies.

prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations. This was the first specimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a smaller power must always expect when it blindly attaches itself to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy people, now engaged in a brave though unequal contest for their liberties, were totally abandoned by the ally, in whom they reposed their final confidence, to the will of an imperious conqueror.

REVOLT OF SCOTLAND.

THOUGH England, was, in its ancient state, very ill qualified for making, and still worse for maintaining, conquests, Scotland was so much inferior in its internal force, and was so ill situated for receiving foreign succours, that it is no wonder Edward, should have cast his eye on so tempting an acquisition. But the instruments he employed to maintain his dominion over the northern kingdom, acted not with the requisite prudence and moderation in reconciling the Scottish nation to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance. Warrenne, retiring into England on account of his bad state of health, left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormesby, who was appointed justiciary of Scotland, and Cressingham, who bore the office of treasurer; and a small military force remained to secure the precarious authority of those ministers. The latter had no other object than the amassing of money by rapine; the former distinguished himself by the rigour of his temper; and both treating the Scots as a conquered people, made them sensible too early of the grievous servitude into which they had

fallen. As Edward required that all the proprietors of land should swear fealty to him, every one who delayed giving this testimony of submission was outlawed and punished without mercy; and the bravest and most generous spirits of the nation were thus exasperated to the highest degree against the English government.

There was one William Wallace, of a small fortune, but descended of an ancient family in the west of Scotland, whose courage prompted him to undertake the desperate attempt of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. This man, whose valorous exploits are the object of just admiration, but have been much exaggerated by the traditions of his countrymen, had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and, on that account, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes, or bad fortune, or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to a like necessity.* He was endowed with gigantic force of body, with heroic courage, with disinterested magnanimity, with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons; and he soon acquired, among those desperate fugitives, that authority to which his virtues so justly entitled him.† Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always successful, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises; and he discovered equal caution in securing his followers, and valour in annoying the enemy. By his knowledge of the country he was enabled to ensure a retreat among the morasses, or forests, or mountains; and, again collecting his dispersed associates, he unexpectedly appeared in another quarter, and put to the sword the unwary English. Every day brought accounts of his great actions, which were received with

* At this period, 1297, Wallace is by some reported to have been only nineteen years of age. Carrick argues, with much plausibility, that he must then have been in his twenty-seventh year.—Ed.

† The personal strength of Wallace, if we may credit the accounts which have come down to us, was most extraordinary. Hector Boëce writes that a widow of one of the lords of Erskine, who had

lived to extreme old age, was visited by James I. in 1430. She was blind, but retained her faculties in all other respects, and remembered both Wallace and Bruce. Of the latter she told the king his strength was so great that he could easily overcome any man of his time; but Wallace excelled him as much as he excelled other men, and in wrestling could have mastered two such opponents as Bruce.—Ed.

General confidence is reposed in him by his countrymen.

The Scots prepare for a great effort in the cause of liberty.

no less favour by his countrymen than terror by the enemy.* His successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen by its tame submission to the English; and, though no nobleman of note ventured as yet to join his party, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune are not alone able to confer.

Wallace resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government; and he concerted the plan of attacking Ormesby of Scone, and of taking vengeance on him for all the violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary fled into England; all the other officers of that nation imitated his example; their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter; many of the principal barons, and among the rest Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced Wallace's party; Robert Bruce secretly promoted the same cause; and the Scots prepared themselves to defend, by an united effort, that liberty which they had so unexpectedly recovered from their possessors.

But Warrenne, collecting an army of forty thousand men in the north of England,

* Pursuing such a course, many of his adventures were most extraordinary. A volume might be filled with traditions of his hair-breadth escapes, and instances of his prowess. It is told of him that, on one occasion, hotly pursued by the English, in consequence of the severe reprisals he had made on them, he saw reason to doubt the fidelity of one of his followers, named Fawdon, and slew him on the spot. Towards evening Sir William and thirteen of his followers, all that were now left him, made good their retreat to the deserted castle of Gask, situated in the middle of a wood. They hastened to put this place in as good a state of defence as its ruinous condition would permit; and, having partaken of a hasty repast, at the desire of their chief sought a few hours repose, whilst he undertook to keep watch by himself. Surrounded by his sleeping companions, with no light but what the expiring embers afforded, the mind of Wallace gradually became tinged with melancholy forebodings. From the apathy of the nobility, and the loss of many brave fellows in the late encounter, he was apprehensive his few remaining companions would consider their undertaking desperate. In this frame of mind he was suddenly aroused by the blowing of horns (these were only used by his partisans) mingled with frightful yells. Two of the party were dispatched to ascertain the cause; but not returning, others were sent out, till Wallace was at last left alone. It was past midnight; the flame that still lingered about the unextinguished faggots

determined to re-establish his authority; and he endeavoured, by the celerity of his armament and of his march, to compensate for his past negligence. He suddenly entered Annandale, and came up with the enemy at Irvine, before their forces were fully collected, and before they had put themselves in a posture of defence. Many of the Scottish nobles here submitted to the English, renewed their oaths of fealty, promised to deliver hostages for their good behaviour, and received a pardon. Others, who had not yet declared themselves, such as the steward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox, joined, though with reluctance, the English army; and waited a favourable opportunity for embracing the cause of their distressed countrymen. But Wallace, whose authority was more fully confirmed by the absence of the great nobles, persevered obstinately in his purpose; and, finding himself unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the situation of that mountainous and barren country. When Warrenne advanced to Stirling he found Wallace encamped at Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth;

An English army enters Annandale, and compels submission from many Scottish nobles.

Others join the English.

Wallace encamps at Cambuskenneth.

at intervals threw a pale and flickering light on the surrounding walls, when Wallace was suddenly startled by the shadow of a human figure. At first it was very indistinct; but soon it became more apparent. At first the lower part of the body only could be distinguished; but gradually the form of a giant-like being, holding a human head in his hand, was seen approaching. While gazing with natural wonder on this unearthly looking object, its hand was raised, and the bloody head, hurled at him, after striking him with great force, fell at his feet. Snatching it up, he discovered, by the light of the moon, the pale features of the "ill-fated Fawdon," and turning towards the place whence it was thrown, he perceived the figure of a man endeavouring to escape his pursuit. Without a moment's hesitation Wallace threw the head at this retreating object, and drawing his sword, hastened in pursuit of the strange intruder. This marvellous affair was treated by some of the old writers as a supernatural visitation. Mr. Carrick supposes the head of Fawdon, when discovered by the English, had been mistaken for that of Wallace, for which a large reward was offered, and that the soldier who had found it ventured to the place where the chief rested, to satisfy himself whether indeed it was his, and disappointment at seeing Wallace alive caused him to throw it away. The fame of Wallace remembered, no moderate cupidity or curiosity would induce an ordinary man to hazard such an investigation.—Ed.

and, being continually urged by the impatient Cressingham, who was actuated both by personal and national animosities against the Scots, he prepared to attack them in that position, which Wallace, no less prudent than courageous, had chosen for his army. In spite of the remonstrances of Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotchman of birth and family, who sincerely adhered to the English, he ordered his army to pass a bridge which lay over the Forth; but he was soon convinced, by fatal experience, of the error of his conduct. Wallace, allowing such numbers of the English to pass as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed, put them to rout, pushed part of them into the river, destroyed the rest by the sword, and gained a complete victory. Among the slain was Cressingham himself; whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots, that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin.* Warrenne, finding the remainder of his army much dismayed, was obliged again to retire into England. The castles of Roxborough and Berwick, ill fortified and feebly defended, fell soon after into the hands of the Scots.

Wallace, universally revered as the deliverer of his country, now received from the hands of his followers the dignity of regent or guardian under the captive Baliol; and finding that the disorders of war, as well as the unfavourable seasons, had produced a famine in Scotland, he urged his army to march into England, to subsist at the expense of the enemy, and to revenge all past injuries. The Scots joyfully attended his call. Wallace, breaking into the northern counties during the winter season, laid every place waste, and, after extending on all sides, without opposition, his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, loaded with spoil, and crowned with glory, into his own country. The disorders which at that time prevailed in England, from the refractory behaviour of the constable and mareschal, made it impossible to collect an army

sufficient to resist the enemy, and exposed the nation to this loss and dishonour.

But Edward, who received in Flanders intelligence of these events, and had already concluded a truce with France, now hastened over to England, in certain hopes, by his activity and valour, not only of wiping off this disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he always regarded as the chief glory and advantage of his reign. He appeased the murmurs of his people by concessions and promises; he restored to the citizens of London the election of their own magistrates, of which they had been bereaved in his father's reign; he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the corn and other goods which had been violently seized, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners; and, making public professions of confirming the charters, he regained the confidence of the discontented nobles. Having, by all these popular arts, rendered himself entirely master of his people, he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army of near a hundred thousand combatants to the northern frontiers.

Nothing could have enabled the Scots to resist but for one season so mighty a power, except an entire union among themselves: but, as they were deprived of their king; whose personal qualities, even when he was present, appeared so contemptible, factions, jealousies, and animosities, unavoidably arose among the great, and distracted all their councils. The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by such eminent services, was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private gentleman raised above them by his rank, and still more by his glory. Wallace, dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine discords, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of his followers who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow any

* This revolting act of ferocity seems, from the M. S. chronicle of Lanercost, to have been countenanced by the heroic Wallace himself, who is reported

to have worn a sword-belt furnished from the remains of Cressingham.—Ed.

The English and Scottish armies prepare for battle.

other leader. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland and Cummin of Badenoch; men of eminent birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to serve in defence of their country. The two Scottish commanders, collecting their several forces, fixed their station at Falkirk, and purposed there to abide the assault of the English. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scottish army placed their pikemen along their front; lined the intervals between the bodies with archers; and, dreading the great superiority of the English in cavalry, endeavoured to secure their front by pallsadoes, tied together by ropes. In this disposition they expected the approach of the enemy.

BATTLE OF FALKIRK: SCOTLAND SUBDUED.

THE king, when he arrived in sight of the Scots, was pleased with the prospect of being able, by one decisive stroke, to determine the fortune of the war; and, dividing his army also into three bodies, he led them to the attack. The English archers, who began to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field; then, pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their entrenchments, threw them in disorder, and rendered the assault of the English pikemen and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter; which the historians, attending more to the exaggerated relations of the populace than to the probability of things, make amount to fifty or sixty thousand men. It is only certain that the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action, nor one which seemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country.

In this general rout of the army Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire; and retiring behind the Carron, he marched leisurely along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Bruce, who had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, but who

served hitherto in the English army, appeared on the opposite banks; and, distinguishing the Scottish chief, as well by his majestic port as by the intrepid activity of his behaviour, called out to him and desired a short conference. He here represented to Wallace the fruitless enterprise in which he was engaged; and endeavoured to bend his inflexible spirit to submission. He insisted on the unequal contest between a weak state, deprived of its head and agitated by intestine discord, and a mighty nation, conducted by the ablest and most martial monarch of the age. If the love of his country were his motive for perseverance, his obstinacy tended only to prolong her misery; if he carried his views to private grandeur and ambition, he might reflect that, even if Edward should withdraw his armies, it appeared from past experience, so many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their families, would never submit to personal merit, whose superiority they were less inclined to regard as an object of admiration than as a reproach and injury to themselves. To these exhortations Wallace replied that, if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was solely because no second or competitor, or (what he rather wished) no leader, had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station; that the blame lay entirely on the nobility, and chiefly on Bruce himself, who, uniting personal merit to dignity of family, had deserted the post which both nature and fortune invited him to assume; that the Scots, possessed of such a head, would, by their unanimity and concord, have surmounted the chief difficulty under which they now laboured, and might hope, notwithstanding the present losses, to oppose successfully all the powers and abilities of Edward; that Heaven itself could not set a more glorious prize before the eyes either of virtue or ambition, than to join in one object the acquisition of royalty with the defence of national independence; he was determined, as far as possible, to prolong not his country's misery but her freedom, and was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate, when they could no other-

Bruce invites him to a conference.

He endeavours to gain Wallace over to the English.

The Scots are defeated at Falkirk with great slaughter.

Wallace reproves Bruce.

In the midst of the rout Wallace's troops remain entire.

He resolves to be faithful to the cause of Scotland.

wise be preserved than by receiving the chains of a haughty victor.* The gallantry of these sentiments, though delivered by an armed enemy, struck the generous mind of Bruce; he repented of his engagements with Edward, and, opening his eyes to the honourable path pointed out to him by Wallace, secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause of his oppressed country.†

The subjection of Scotland, notwithstanding this great victory of Edward, was not yet entirely completed. The English army was obliged to retire for want of provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives. The Scots endeavoured, by applications to foreign courts, to procure to themselves some assistance. The supplications of the Scottish ministers were rejected by Philip, but were successful with the court of Rome. Boniface, pleased with an occasion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to put a stop to his oppressions in Scotland, and displaying all the proofs, such as they had probably been furnished him by the Scots themselves, for the ancient independence of that kingdom. Among other arguments, he mentioned the treaty, conducted by Edward himself, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland; a treaty which would have been absurd, had he been superior lord of the kingdom, and had possessed, by the feudal law, the right of disposing of his ward in marriage. He mentioned several other striking facts, particularly that Alexander, when he did homage to the king, openly and expressly declared, in his presence, that he swore fealty not for his crown, but for the lands which he held in England. And the pope's letter might have passed for a reasonable one had he not subjoined his own claim to be liege lord of Scotland;

a claim which had not once been heard of; but which, with a singular confidence, he asserted to be full, entire, and derived from the most remote antiquity.

The reply, which Edward made to Boniface's letter, contains particulars no less singular and remarkable. He there proves the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel. He supports his position by all the events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans; and after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and heroic victories of king Arthur, he vouchsafes to descend to the time of Edward the elder, with which, in his speech to the states of Scotland, he had chosen to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it to be a fact, 'notorious and confirmed by the records of antiquity,' that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects; had dethroned these vassal kings when unfaithful to them, and had substituted others in their stead. He displays with great pomp the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II., without mentioning the formal abolition of that extorted deed by king Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four barons, assembled in parliament at Lincoln concur in maintaining before the pope, under their seals, the validity of these pretensions. At the same time, they take care to inform Boniface that, though they had justified their cause before him, they did not acknowledge him for their judge; they had

Edward dates his letter from Brutus the Trojan.

He supports his claim to Henry II.

He supports his claim to the pope, and to the barons.

* * Reflect, my lord," said Wallace in conclusion, "those whom you now assist to impose the yoke of slavery on your country, will, their turn served, not deem that conduct praiseworthy in you, which would be called infamous in them. If they succeed in riveting our chains, you will be requited for the share you have taken in the work with merited contempt by the oppressor, and pursued by the maledictions of the oppressed. Pause then, and be assured, that if

you have but the heart to claim the crown, you may win it with glory, and wear it with honour. I could do neither; but come what may, on this I am resolved, to live and die a freeman."—Ed.

† This story is told by all the Scotch writers; though it must be owned, that Trivet and Hemingford, authors of good credit, both agree that Bruce was not at that time in Edward's army.

sworn to maintain all its royal prerogatives, and would never permit the king himself, were he willing, to relinquish its independence.

SCOTLAND AGAIN REVOLTS, AND IS SUBDUED. 1302.

THAT neglect, almost total, of truth and justice, which sovereign states discover in their transactions with each other, is an evil universal and inveterate; is one great source of the misery to which the human race is continually exposed. As few monarchs have lain under stronger temptations to violate the principles of equity than Edward in his transactions with Scotland, so never were they violated with less scruple and reserve; yet his advantages were hitherto precarious; and the Scots, once roused to arms and inured to war, began to appear a formidable enemy, even to this military and ambitious monarch. They chose John Cummin for their regent; and, not content with maintaining their independence in the northern parts, they made incursions into the southern counties, which Edward imagined he had totally subdued. John de Segrave, whom he had left guardian of Scotland, led an army to oppose them; and, lying at Roslin, near Edinburgh, sent out his forces, in three divisions, to provide themselves with forage and subsistence from the neighbourhood. One party was suddenly attacked by the regent and Sir Simon Fraser; and, being unprepared, was routed with great slaughter. The few that escaped, flying to the second division, gave warning of the approach of the enemy; the soldiers ran to their arms, and were immediately led on to take revenge for the death of their countrymen. The Scots, elated with the advantage already obtained, made a vigorous impression upon them; the English, animated with a thirst of vengeance, maintained a stout resistance. The victory was long undecided; but at last declared itself in favour of the former, who broke the English, and chased them to the third division, now advancing with a hasty march to support their distressed companions. Many of the Scots had fallen in the two

first actions, most of them were wounded, and all of them extremely fatigued by the long continuance of the combat; yet were they so transported with success and military rage, that, having suddenly recovered their order, and arming the followers of their camp with the spoils of their slaughtered enemy, they drove with fury upon the ranks of the dismayed English. The favourable moment decided the battle; which the Scots, had they met with a steady resistance, were not long able to maintain. The English were chased off the field. Three victories were thus gained in one day. And the renown of these great exploits, seconded by the favourable dispositions of the people, soon made the regent master of all the fortresses in the south; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of the kingdom.

The king prepared for this enterprise with his usual vigour and abilities. He assembled both a great fleet and a great army; and, entering Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from famine; Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprises: and marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobility, even those of Cummin the regent. The most obstinate resistance was made by the castle of Brechin, defended by Sir Thomas Maule; and the place opened not its gates till the death of the governor, by discouraging the garrison, obliged them to submit to the fate which had overwhelmed the rest of the kingdom. Wallace, though he attended the English army in their march, found but few opportunities of signalizing that valour which had formerly made him so terrible to his enemies.

Edward, having completed his conquest, which employed him during the space of two years, now undertook the more difficult work of settling the country, of establishing a new form of government, and of making his acquisition durable. He seems to have carried matters to extremity against

The English sustain a third defeat.

Edward again invades Scotland.

He receives the submission of the nobility and the regent.

Edward establishes a new form of government.

Truth and justice are neglected by sovereign states.

The Scots rise again.

John Cummin is chosen regent.

The Scots defeat an English force.

A second victory is obtained the same day.

the natives; he abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs; he endeavoured to substitute the English in their place; he entirely raised or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity; such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed; and he hastened, by too precipitate steps, to abolish entirely the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English.

Edward, however, still deemed his favourite conquest exposed to some danger so long as Wallace was alive; and, being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. At last that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen, still to maintain his independency, was betrayed into Edward's hands by Sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment.* The king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have induced him to respect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at some acts of violence committed by Wallace, resolved to overawe the Scots

by an example of severity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London: † to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submissions, or sworn fealty, to England; and to be executed on Tower-hill. ‡ This was the unworthy fate of a hero, who, through many years, had, with signal intrepidity, and perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The Scots, already disgusted at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror, were farther enraged at the cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and all the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chief, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland. The people, inflamed with resentment, were every where disposed to rise against the English government; and it was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

* He was not easily secured. Having retired to a lonely retreat at Robroyston, accompanied by his faithful friend Kerle, and a youth who was related to Monteith, "at the dead hour of midnight," says his modern biographer, "while the two friends lay fast asleep, the youth whose turn it was to watch cautiously removed the bugle from the neck of Wallace, and conveyed it, along with his arms, through an aperture in the wall; then slowly opening the door, two men-at-arms silently entered, and, seizing on Kerle, hurried him from the apartment, and instantly put him to death. Wallace, awakened by the noise, started to his feet, and, missing his weapons, became sensible of his danger; but, grasping a large piece of oak, which had been used for a seat, he struck two of his assailants dead on the spot, and drove the rest headlong before him." Monteith then appeared at the aperture, and urged the folly of resistance, the English having discovered the place of his retreat, and being acquainted with his plans. He represented himself to have been in attendance there only to interpose in his behalf; and assuring him that, if he would consent to go as a prisoner to Dunbarton, he would be permitted to reside in his own castle, under his surveillance. Wallace was at length prevailed upon to submit; but, on the next morning, Monteith did not make his appearance; and the prisoner, heavily fettered, was hurried southward to experience the unrelenting severity of Edward.—Ed.

† The day after his arrival, he was conducted on horseback from the house (in Fenchurch street,) which his brief residence had made the scene of

universal attraction, to take his trial in Westminster Hall. His progress from Fenchurch street, according to Stowe, appears to have been a sort of procession, Lord John de Segrave, the fugitive of Roslin, acting as Grand Marshal of England, and, armed cap-à-pie, rode on one side, while Geoffrey de Hartlepool, recorder of London, equipped in a similar manner, rode on the other. The mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen followed. He was placed on the south side of the great hall, and, in consequence of an absurd report, of his having said that he deserved to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was put upon his head. The noble appearance of the man, joined to his calm and unruffled demeanour, entirely disarmed this silly attempt at ridicule of its intended effect."

Carrick.—Ed.

‡ He was not executed at Tower hill, as will be seen from the following interesting details which Mr. Carrick has collected:—

"The late champion of Scottish independence was brought forth from the place where he had been kept in confinement, heavily ironed, and chained to a bench of oak. He was then placed on a hurdle, and, surrounded by a strong guard of soldiers, ignominiously dragged to the Elms in Smithfield. That self-possession and undaunted demeanour which he evinced on the trial appeared equally conspicuous on the scaffold. Looking round with undisturbed composure on the assembled multitude, he addressed himself to a person near him, and asked for a priest to whom he might make confession. This request, on being made known to Edward, he is said to have sternly refused;

He is tried and executed as a rebel and a traitor.

The Scots are enraged at this treatment of Wallace.

ROBERT BRUCE. 1306.

Robert Bruce is grandson to a former aspirant to the crown of the same name.

Baliol, resigning his crown, acts dishonourably to his friends.

Bruce invites the Scots to favour his pretensions.

ROBERT Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded, by his grandfather's and father's death, to all their rights; and the demise of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He saw that the Scots, when the title to their crown had expired in the males of their ancient royal family, had been divided into parties nearly equal between the houses of Bruce and Baliol; and that every incident tended to wean them from any attachment to the latter. The slender capacity of John had proved unable to defend them; he had meanly resigned his crown into the hands of the conqueror; he had, before his deliverance from captivity, reiterated that resignation in a manner seemingly voluntary; and had in that deed thrown out many reflections extremely dishonourable to his ancient subjects, whom he publicly called traitors, ruffians, and rebels, and with whom he declared he was determined to maintain no farther correspondence; he had, during the time of his exile, adhered strictly to that resolution; and his son, being a prisoner, seemed ill qualified to revive the rights, now fully abandoned, of his family. Bruce, therefore, hoped that the Scots would unanimously fly to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne, to which he brought such plausible pretensions. His aspiring spirit saw the glory alone of the enterprise, or regarded

and the rancorous old man forbade any clergyman to retard the execution for such a purpose. On hearing the undignified command of his sovereign, Winchester archbishop of Canterbury stepped boldly forward, and after earnestly remonstrating with Edward, declared his determination to officiate himself. When the ceremony usual on such occasions was finished, Wallace rose from his knees; and the archbishop, having taken leave of him, instantly departed for Westminster.

* * * * *

During the pause which preceded the unhallowed operations, Wallace turned to lord Clifford, and requested that a psalter which had been taken from his person might be returned. His desire being complied with, he asked a priest to hold it open

the prodigious difficulties which attended it as the source only of farther glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest, the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone, proved to him so many incentives to bring them relief, and conduct them to vengeance. The circumstances which attended Bruce's first declaration are variously related; but we shall rather follow the account given by the Scottish historians, because they may be supposed sometimes better informed concerning facts which so nearly interested their own nation.

Bruce, who had long harboured in his breast the design of freeing his enslaved country, ventured to open his mind to John Cummin, a powerful nobleman, with whom he lived in strict intimacy. He found his friend fully possessed with the same sentiments; and he needed to employ no arts of persuasion to make him embrace the resolution of throwing off, on the first favourable opportunity, the usurped dominion of the English. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin, who either had all along dissembled, or began to reflect more coolly on the desperate nature of his undertaking, resolved to atone for his crime, in assenting to this rebellion, by revealing the secret to the king of England. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody; because he intended at the same time to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland; and he contented himself with secretly setting spies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be

The miseries of Scotland are deplored by Bruce.

Bruce gains John Cummin, a powerful nobleman, over to his views.

Cummin betrays his secret to king Edward.

before him. This book had been his constant companion from his early years, and was, perhaps, the gift of his mother or his uncle, the parson of Dunipace.

After hanging for a certain time, the sufferer was taken down while yet in an evident state of sensibility. He was then disembowelled; and his heart, wrung from its place, was committed to the flames in his presence. During this dreadful process his eyes still continued to linger on the psalter, till, overpowered by his sufferings, he expired among their hands with all that passive heroism which may be supposed to belong to so elevated a character. The body was afterwards dismembered; the head fixed on London Bridge, the right arm on the bridge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the left at Berwick, the right leg at Perth, and the left at Aberdeen."—Ed.

strictly watched. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprised of his danger; but, not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, he fell on an expedient to give him warning that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him by his servant a pair of gilt spurs, and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce immediately contrived the means of his escape; and, as the ground was at that time covered with snow, he had the precaution, it is said, to order his horses to be shod with their shoes inverted, that he might deceive those who would track his path over the open fields or cross roads through which he purposed to travel. He arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest; and he happily found a great number of the Scottish nobility there assembled; and, among the rest, John Cummin, his former associate.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them; and still more when he discovered to them the object of his journey. He told them that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from their imperious masters: that the sacrifice of the rights of his family was the first injury which had prepared the way for their ensuing slavery; and, by resuming them, which was his firm purpose, he opened to them the joyful prospect of recovering from the fraudulent usurper their ancient and hereditary independence: that all past misfortunes had proceeded from their disunion; and they would soon appear no less formidable than of old to their enemies, if they now deigned to follow into the field their rightful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory: that it was unbecoming men, born to the most ancient independence known in Europe, to submit to the will of any masters; but fatal to receive those who, being irri-

tated by persevering resistance, would never deem themselves secure in their usurped dominion, but by exterminating all the ancient nobility, and even all the ancient inhabitants: and that, being reduced to this desperate extremity, it were better for them at once to perish, like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whose merits, in the brave defence of his country, were finally rewarded by the hands of an English executioner.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of his audience. The Scottish nobles declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second Bruce in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; and, by representing the great power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities, he endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction which they must expect if they shook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, already apprised of his treachery, and foreseeing the certain failure of all his own schemes of ambition and glory from the opposition of so potent a leader, took immediately his resolution; and, moved partly by resentment, partly by policy, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, through which he passed, and, running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor was slain; 'I believe so,' replied Bruce. 'And is that a matter,' cried Kirkpatric, 'to be left to conjecture? I will secure him.' Upon which he drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart. This deed was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. The family of Kirkpatric took for the crest of their arms, which

Bruce calls on them to die sword in hand.

The Scottish nobles resolve to deliver their country.

Cummin opposes them.

Bruce assaults Cummin.

Kirkpatric stabs him to the heart.

they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose for their motto these words, 'I will secure him;' the expression employed by their ancestor when he executed that violent action.

THIRD REVOLT OF SCOTLAND.

THE murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles; they had now but to shake off the yoke of England, or to perish in the attempt; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, attacked with success the dispersed bodies of the English, got possession of many of the castles, and, having made his authority be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned and inaugurated in the abbey of Scone, by the bishop of St. Andrew's, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again chased out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses that still remained in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, and often defeated, must yet be anew subdued.*

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1307.

NOT discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, he sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland, to check

the progress of the malcontents; and that nobleman, falling unexpectedly upon Bruce at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat. Bruce fought with heroic courage; was thrice dismounted in the action, and as often recovered himself; but was at last obliged to yield to superior fortune, and take shelter, with a few followers, in the western isles. The earl of Athole, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir Christopher Seton, who had been taken prisoners, were ordered by Edward to be executed as rebels and traitors. Many other acts of rigour were exercised by him:† and that prince, vowing revenge against the whole Scottish nation, whom he deemed incorrigible, assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, secure of success, and determined to make the defenceless Scots the victims of his severity; when he unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle; enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland.‡ He expired in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, hated by his neighbours, but extremely respected and revered by his own subjects.

The enterprises finished by this prince, and the projects which he formed, were more regularly conducted, and more ad-

* The indignation of Edward at receiving this intelligence was great. Preparatory to sending Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, against Bruce, "he caused proclamation to be made proclaiming that whosoever, by their paternal succession or otherwise, had means of their own for service, should repair to Westminster, at the feast of Pentecost (May 22) to receive the order of knighthood, and a military ornament out of the king's wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young gentlemen, all the sons of earls, barons, and knights, assembled at the day appointed, and received purples, silks, sindons, scarfs, wrought with gold or silver, according to every man's estate, for which train, because the king's house was too little by reason a part of it has been lately burnt, room is made, the apple trees cut down at the New Temple for their tents where they attire themselves and keep their vigil. The prince (whom the king also knighted, and gave him the duchy of Aquitaine) kept his vigil with his train at Westminster; and the next day he girded these three hundred knights with the military belt in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the king, before them all, makes a vow, that, alive or dead, he

would revenge the death of Cummyn upon Bruce and the perjured Scots; adjuring his son and all the nobles about him, upon their fealty, that if he died in his journey they should carry his corpse with them about Scotland, and not suffer it to be interred till they had vanquished the usurper, and absolutely brought the country to subjection."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

† Among them may be mentioned his treatment of the two brothers of Bruce, Thomas and Alexander, who being captured by Duncan Mac Dowal, a chief who adhered to Edward, were sent, both severely wounded, to him at Carlisle. He felt no pity for the vanquished brave, but ordered them to instant execution.—*Ed*.

‡ He is said to have made his son swear to have his body boiled in a cauldron immediately after his death, till the flesh should forsake the bones, and the latter, as *Baker* writes, carried to Scotland to awe the rebels. If dying, he indulged in this extravagance, it is certain his wish was not attended to. His tomb at Westminster, was opened May 2nd, 1774, by a party of antiquarians, when his body, though it had rested there four hundred and six years, was found entire.—*Ed*.

The nobles are confirmed in their resolutions.

Bruce is crowned at Scone.

An English force sent to Scotland.

Aymer de Valence defeats Bruce.

The earl of Athol and others executed as traitors.

King Edward dies.

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vantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom, than those which were undertaken in any reign, either of his ancestors or his successors. He restored authority to the government, disordered by the weakness of his father; he maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons; he fully annexed to this crown the principality of Wales; he took many wise and vigorous measures for reducing Scotland; and, though the equity of this latter enterprise may reasonably be questioned, the circumstances of the two kingdoms promised such certain success, and the advantage was so visible of uniting the whole island under one head, that those who give great indulgence to reasons of state in the measures of princes, will not regard this part of his conduct with much severity. But Edward, however exceptionable his character on the head of justice, is the model of a politic and warlike king. He possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise; he was frugal in all expenses that were not necessary; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers; and, being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

BUT the chief advantage which the people of England reaped, and still continue to reap, from the reign of this great prince, was the correction, extension, amendment,

* In his seventeenth year he fined all his judges for corruption: Sir Ralph de Hengham, chief justice of the King's Bench, in 7000 marks; Sir William Brompton in 6000 marks, (other judges smaller sums). "But Sir Adam Stratton, chief baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand; and Thomas Wayland (found the greatest delinquent and of the greatest substance) had all his goods and estate confiscated to the king, and himself banished out of the kingdom."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

and establishment, of the laws, which Edward maintained in great vigour, and left much improved to posterity: for the acts of a wise legislator commonly remain, while the acquisitions of a conqueror often perish with him. This merit has justly gained to Edward the appellation of the English Justinian. Not only the numerous statutes passed in his reign touch the chief points of jurisprudence; and, according to Sir Edward Coke, truly deserve the name of establishments, because they were more constant, standing, and durable, laws than any made since; but the regular order maintained in his administration gave an opportunity to the common law to refine itself, and brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to a precision in their pleadings.* Sir Matthew Hale has remarked the sudden improvement of English law during this reign; and ventures to assert that till his own time it had never received any considerable increase. Edward settled the jurisdiction of the several courts; first established the office of justice of peace; abstained from the practice, too common before him, of interrupting justice by mandates from the privy council;† repressed robberies and disorders; encouraged trade, by giving merchants an easy method of recovering their debts; and in short introduced a new face of things. As law began now to be well established, the abuse of that blessing began also to be remarked. Instead of their former associations for robbery and violence, men entered into formal combinations to support each other in law suits; and it was found requisite to check this iniquity by act of parliament.

There happened in this reign a considerable alteration in the execution of the laws. The king abolished the office of chief jus-

† Edward enacted a law to this purpose; but it is doubtful whether he ever observed it. We are sure that scarcely any of his successors did. The multitude of these letters of protection were the ground of a complaint by the commons in the third of Edward II. This practice was declared illegal by the statute of Northampton, passed in the second of Edward III. but it still continued, like many other abuses. There are instances of it so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Edward
was named
the English
Justinian.

The juris-
diction of
the several
courts first
established
by Edward.

The office
of chief
justiciary is
abolished.

The court of Exchequer is divided into four courts.

ticiary, which he thought possessed too much power, and was dangerous to the crown. He completed the division of the court of exchequer into four distinct courts, which managed each its several branch, without dependance on any one magistrate; and, as the lawyers afterwards invented a method, by means of their fictions, of carrying business from one court to another, the several courts became rivals and checks to each other; a circumstance which tended much to improve the practice of the law in England.

Edward was no enemy to arbitrary power.

But, though Edward appeared thus throughout his whole reign a friend to law and justice, it cannot be said that he was an enemy to arbitrary power. The violent plunder and banishment of the Jews; the putting of the whole clergy at once, and by an arbitrary edict, out of the protection of law; the seizing of all the wool and leather of the kingdom; the heightening of the impositions on the former valuable commodity; the new and illegal commission of Trailbaston; the taking of all the money and plate of monasteries and churches, even before he had any quarrel with the clergy; the subjecting of every man possessed of twenty pounds a year to military service, though not bound to it by his tenure; his visible reluctance to confirm the Great Charter, as if that concession had no validity from the deeds of his predecessors; the captious clause which he at last annexed to his confirmation; his procuring of the pope's dispensation from the oaths which he had taken to observe that charter; and his levying of tallages at discretion, even after the statute, or rather charter, by which he had renounced that prerogative; these are so many demonstrations of his arbitrary disposition. He took care that his subjects should do justice to each other; but he desired always to have his own hands free in all his transactions, both with them and with his neighbours.

His subjects were compelled to be just to each other.

Edward restrained the great barons.

The chief obstacle to the execution of justice in those times was the power of the great barons; and Edward was perfectly qualified, by his abilities, for keeping these tyrants in awe, and restraining their illegal practices. This was accordingly the great object of his attention; yet was he impru-

dently led into a measure which tended to increase their dangerous authority. He passed a statute which, by allowing them to entail their estates, made it impracticable to diminish the property of the great families, and left them every means of increase and acquisition.

Their property is secured by entail.

Edward observed a contrary policy with regard to the church. He seems to have been the first Christian prince that passed a statute of mortmain; and prevented by law the clergy from making new acquisitions of lands, which by the ecclesiastical canons they were for ever prohibited from alienating. The opposition between his maxims, with regard to the nobility and to the ecclesiastics, leads us to conjecture that it was only by chance he passed the beneficial statute of mortmain; and that his sole object was to maintain the number of knights' fees, and to prevent the superiors from being defrauded of the profits of wardship, marriage, livery, and other emoluments arising from the feudal tenures. This is indeed the reason assigned in the statute itself. The author of the annals of Waverly ascribes the act chiefly to the king's anxiety for maintaining the military force of the kingdom; but adds that he was mistaken in his purpose; for that the Amalekites were overcome more by the prayers of Moses than by the sword of the Israelites. The statute mortmain was often evaded afterwards by the invention of uses.

The clergy were forbidden to make new acquisition.

Edward was active in restraining the usurpations of the church; and, excepting his ardour for crusades, seems to have been little infected with superstition. But the passion for crusades was really in that age the passion for glory. As the pope now felt himself somewhat more restrained in his former practice of pillaging the several churches in Europe, by laying impositions upon them, he permitted the generals of particular orders, who resided at Rome, to levy taxes on the convents subjected to their jurisdiction; and Edward was obliged to enact a law against this new abuse. It was also become a practice of the court of Rome to provide successors to benefices before they became vacant: Edward found it necessary to prevent by law this species of injustice.

Edward opposed the usurpation of the church.

Successors to benefices no longer named by the pope.

Edward paid tribute to Rome, but vassalage was denied.

The tribute of one thousand marks a year, to which king John, in doing homage to the pope, had subjected the kingdom, had been pretty regularly paid, though the vassalage was constantly denied; and indeed, had been but little insisted on. The payment was called by a new name of 'census,' not by that of tribute. King Edward seems to have always paid this money with great reluctance; and he suffered the arrears at one time to run on for six years, at another for eleven. But as princes in that age stood continually in need of the pope's good offices, for dispensations of marriage and for other concessions, the court of Rome always found means, sooner or later, to catch the money. The levying of first-fruits was a new device, by which his holiness thrust his fingers very frequently into the purses of the faithful, and the king seems to have unwarily given way to it.

First fruits exacted by Edward to the pope.

In the former reign the taxes had been partly scutages, partly such a proportional part of the moveables as was granted by parliament: in this scutages were entirely dropped, and the assessment on moveables was the chief method of taxation. Edward in his fourth year had a fifteenth granted him; in his fifth year a twelfth; in his eleventh year a thirtieth from the laity, a twentieth from the clergy; in his eighteenth year a fifteenth; in his twenty-second year a tenth from the laity, a sixth from London and other corporate towns, half of their benefices from the clergy; in his twenty-third year an eleventh from the barons and others, a tenth from the clergy, a seventh from the burgesses; in his twenty-fourth year a twelfth from the barons and others, an eighth from the burgesses, from the clergy nothing, because of the pope's inhibition; in his twenty-fifth year an eighth from the laity, a tenth from the clergy of Canterbury, a fifth from those of York; in his twenty-ninth year a fifteenth from the laity, on account of his confirming the perambulations of the forests, the clergy granted nothing; in his thirty-third year, first a thirtieth, from the

Assessment on moveables the chief mode of taxation.

Grants made to Edward.

barons and others, and a twentieth from the burgesses, then a fifteenth from all his subjects; in his thirty-fourth year a thirtieth from all his subjects for knight- ing his eldest son.

These taxes were moderate: but the king had also duties upon exportation and importation granted him from time to time: the heaviest were commonly upon wool. Poundage, or a shilling a pound, was not regularly granted the kings for life till the reign of Henry V.

Taxes were moderate.

In 1296 the famous mercantile society, called the 'Merchant Adventurers,' had its origin. It was instituted for the improvement of the woollen manufacture, and the vending of the cloth abroad, particularly at Antwerp; for the English at this time scarcely thought of any more distant commerce.

Origin of "The Merchant Adventurers"

This king granted a charter or declaration of protection and privileges to foreign merchants, and also ascertained the customs or duties which those merchants were to pay on merchandise imported and exported. He promised them security; allowed them a jury on trials, consisting half of natives, half of foreigners; and appointed them a justiciary in London for their protection. But, notwithstanding this seeming attention to foreign merchants, Edward did not free them from the cruel hardship of making one answerable for the debts, and even for the crimes, of another that came from the same country. We read of such practices among the present barbarous nations. The king also imposed on them a duty of two shillings on each tun of wine imported, over and above the old duty; and forty pence on each sack of wool exported, besides half a mark, the former duty.*

Privileges granted to foreign merchants.

A duty imposed on imported wine.

In the year 1303 the Exchequer was robbed, and of no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, as is pretended. The abbot and monks of Westminster were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear that the king ever discovered the criminals; though his indignation fell on the society of Lombard mer-

Robbery of the exchequer.

* Among his reforms we are told, "This king, by proclamation, prohibited the burning of sea coal in

London, to avoid the noisome smoke."—*Baker*.—*Ed.*

chants, particularly the Frescobaldi, very opulent Florentines.

The pope having in 1307 collected much money in England, the king enjoined the nuncio not to export in specie, but in bills of exchange. A proof that commerce was but ill understood at that time.

Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, four sons; but Edward, his heir and successor, was the only one that survived him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy. Of the surviving, Joan was married first to the earl of Gloucester, and after his death to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret espoused John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth espoused first John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford; Mary was a nun at Ambresbury. He had by his second wife, Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk and mareschal of England; and Edmond, who was created earl of Kent by his brother when king. The princess died in her infancy.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD II.

1307—1327.

WEAKNESS OF THE KING—HIS PASSION FOR PIERS GAVASTON—DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS—MURDER OF GAVASTON—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN—HUGH LE DESPENSER—CIVIL COMMOTIONS—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING—THE KING DETHRONED AND MURDERED—HIS CHARACTER—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS IN THIS REIGN.

WEAKNESS OF THE KING.

The prepossessions entertained in favour of young Edward kept the English from being fully sensible of the extreme loss which they had sustained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne; and all hastened with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his successor. This prince was in the twenty-third year of his

age, was of an agreeable figure, of a mild disposition; and, having never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognosticate happiness from his government. But the first act of his reign shewed him to be totally unqualified for that perilous situation, in which every English monarch, during those ages, had, from the unstable form of the constitution, and the turbulent dispositions of the people derived from it, the misfortune to be placed. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and he himself obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive; but before the death of the late king had again collected his followers; had appeared in the field; and had obtained by surprise an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. He was now become so considerable as to have afforded the king of England sufficient glory in subduing him, without incurring any danger of seeing all those mighty preparations made by his father fail in the enterprise. But Edward marched but a little way into Scotland; and, having an utter incapacity and equal aversion for all application or serious business, he immediately returned, and disbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct that the authority of the crown was no longer to be dreaded, and that every insolence might be practised by them with impunity.

HIS PASSION FOR PIERS GAVASTON.

THE next measure taken by Edward gave them an inclination to attack those prerogatives which no longer kept them in awe. There was one Piers Gavaston, son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, who had honourably served the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master, by supplying him with all those innocent though frivolous amusements which suited his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of

King Edward had four sons and eleven daughters by his first consort.

He had two sons and a daughter by his second wife.

Bruce rallies his followers, and resumes hostilities with success.

Edward returns from Scotland, and disbands his army.

The people are prepossessed in favour of the new king.

Piers Gavaston becomes the king's favourite.



Gavaston is distinguished by his wit and accomplishments.

shape and person; was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage; distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises; and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. By all these accomplishments he gained so entire an ascendant over young Edward, whose heart was strongly disposed to friendship, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recal him. But no sooner did he find himself master, than he sent for Gavaston; and even before his arrival at court endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of Richard king of the Romans. Not content with conferring on him possessions, which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, he loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the earl of Gloucester; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt this object of his fond affections.

Gavaston is loaded with honours and riches.

DISCONTENT OF THE BARONS.

THE haughty barons, offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth, though reputable, they despised, as much inferior to their own, concealed not their discontent; and soon found reasons to justify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Instead of disarming envy by the modesty of his behaviour, Gavaston displayed his influence with the utmost ostentation; and deemed no circumstance of his good fortune so agreeable as its enabling him to eclipse and mortify all his rivals. He was vain-glorious, profuse, rapacious; giddy with prosperity; and, as he imagined that his fortune was now as strongly rooted in the kingdom as his ascendant was uncontrolled

Gavaston provokes the barons by his arrogance.

over the weak monarch, he was negligent in engaging partisans. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the English nobility by his superior address: in every conversation he made them the object of his railery: every day his enemies multiplied; and nought was wanting but time to cement their union, and to render it fatal both to him and to his master.

He indulges in railery.

It behoved the king to take a journey to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to espouse the princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, though accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage.* Edward left Gavaston guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had usually been conferred; and, on his return with his young queen, renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favourite of which every one so loudly complained. This princess was of an imperious and intriguing spirit; and, finding that her husband's capacity required, as his temper inclined, him to be governed, she thought herself best entitled to perform the office; and she contracted a mortal hatred against the person who had disappointed her in these expectations. She was well pleased, therefore, to see a combination of the nobility against Gavaston; who, sensible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new insults and injuries.

The king is married.

Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, was by far the most opulent and powerful subject in England; and possessed in his own right, and soon after in that of his wife, heiress of the family of Lincoln, no less than six earldoms, with a proportionable estate in land, attended with all the jurisdictions and power which commonly in that age were annexed to landed property. He was turbulent and factious; mortally hated the favourite; and he soon became the head of that party among the

The queen favours the enemies of Gavaston.

The earl of Lancaster forms a confederacy against the favourite.

* Isabella, the princess Edward married, was celebrated as one of the greatest beauties of her time. Though, when in prison, at the close of his reign, he is said to have lamented her absence more than his other misfortunes, he seems to have manifested little fondness for her in his younger days. The English

nobles were disgusted, on his arrival from France with his bride, to mark the cold indifference with which he regarded the blooming Isabella, while he hugged and kissed Gavaston with extravagant expressions of affection.—ED.

The nobles swear to effect his expulsion.

They demand his banishment and Edward feigns compliance.

The king bestows on him new honours.

He is recalled to England.

barons who desired the depression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gavaston; both sides began to put themselves in a warlike posture; the licentiousness of the age broke out in robberies and other disorders, the usual prelude of civil war; and the royal authority, despised in the king's own hands, and hated in those of Gavaston, became insufficient for the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A parliament being summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue, and were there enabled to impose their own terms on the sovereign. They required the banishment of Gavaston; imposed an oath on him never to return; and engaged the bishops, who never failed to interpose in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to submit; but even in his compliance gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favourite. Instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him lord-lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Bristol on his journey thither, and before his departure conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England. Gavaston, who did not want bravery, and possessed talents for war, acted during his government with vigour against some Irish rebels, whom he subdued.

Meanwhile the king, less shocked with the illegal violence which had been imposed upon him than unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return. The high office of hereditary steward was conferred on Lancaster; his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other concessions; earl Warrenne was also mollified by civilities, grants, or promises; the insolence of Gavaston was less the object of general indignation; and Edward, deeming matters sufficiently prepared, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gavaston a dispensation from that oath which the barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. He went down

to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland; flew into his arms with transports of joy; and, having obtained the formal consent of the barons in parliament to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection. Gavaston himself, forgetting his past misfortunes, and blind to their causes, resumed the same ostentation and insolence; and became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility.

The barons first discovered their animosity by absenting themselves from parliament; and, finding that this had not been successful, they began to think of employing sharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had scarcely been any national ground of complaint, except some dissipation of the public treasure; though all the acts of mal-administration, objected to the king and his favourite, seemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a ball or assembly than commotions in a great kingdom; yet the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reasons of a total alteration in the constitution and civil government. Having come to parliament, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themselves entirely masters; and they presented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a chosen junta the whole authority, both of the crown and of the parliament. The king was obliged to sign a commission, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve persons, who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom and regulation of the king's household; consenting that these ordinances should thenceforth and for ever have the force of laws; allowing the ordainers to form associations for their strict observance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the security of the church, and the honour and advantage of the king and kingdom. The barons in return signed a declaration, in which they acknowledged that they owed these con-

Edward joyfully receives him.

The barons again conspire.

They claim a total change in the government.

The king submits to confide his authority to a junta.

It is declared to be for the glory of God.

cessions merely to the king's free grace ; promised that this commission should never be drawn into precedent ; and engaged that the power of the ordainers should expire at the time appointed.

The chosen junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation in the ensuing year. Some of these ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of justice : such as those requiring sheriffs to be men of property ; abolishing the practice of issuing privy seals for the suspension of justice ; restraining the practice of purveyance ; prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin ; excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue ; ordering all payments to be regularly paid into the exchequer ; revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the case of vexatious prosecutions. But what chiefly grieved the king was the ordinance for the removal of evil counsellors, by which a great number of persons were by name excluded from every office ; and Piers Gavaston himself was for ever banished, under the penalty of being declared a public enemy. Other persons, more agreeable to the barons, were substituted in all the offices. And it was ordained that for the future all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, should be appointed by the baronage in parliament ; and the power of making war, or assembling his military tenants, should no longer be invested solely in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility.

Edward, from the same weakness both in his temper and situation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commission to the barons, was led to give a parliamentary sanction to their ordinances : but he secretly made a protest against them, and declared that, since the commission was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both were to be held as not ratified and confirmed. It is no wonder, indeed, that he retained a firm purpose to

revoke ordinances which had been imposed by violence, which entirely annihilated the royal authority, and, above all, which deprived him of the company and society of a person whom, by an unusual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every consideration of interest or tranquillity.

MURDER OF GAVASTON. 1312.

As soon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gavaston from Flanders, which that favourite had made the place of his retreat ; and, declaring his banishment to be illegal, openly re-instated him. The barons, highly provoked, and apprehensive of danger from the declared animosity of so powerful a minion, saw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable ; and they renewed with redoubled zeal their former confederacy. The earl of Lancaster was a dangerous head of this alliance ; Guy earl of Warwick entered into it with precipitate passion ; Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great accession of power and interest ; even earl Warrenne deserted the royal cause, and was induced to embrace the side of the confederates ; and, as Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, professed himself of the same party, he determined the body of the clergy, and consequently the people, to declare against the king and his minion. So predominant was the power of the great nobility, that the combination of a few was able to shake the throne ; and such an universal concurrence became irresistible. The earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army, and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to New-castle. He flew thither in pursuit of him ; and Edward had just time to escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. He left his favourite in that fortress, which, had it been properly supplied with provisions, was deemed impregnable ; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raising an army to support him against his enemies.

Edward intends to revoke his grants.

Gavaston is again recalled by the king.

The nobles again combine against the favourite.

They take up arms.

Gavaston
surrenders
himself pri-
soner.

Pembroke was sent by the confederates to besiege the castle of Scarborough; and Gavaston was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner. He stipulated that he should remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavours should be mutually used for a general accommodation; that, if the terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it; and that the earl of Pembroke and Henry Piercy should, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of these conditions. Pembroke, now master of the person of this public enemy, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury; where, on pretence of other business, he left him, protected by a feeble guard. Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the castle; the garrison refused to make any resistance; Gavaston was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle; the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither; and, without any regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favourite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner.*

He is
doomed to
die.

The king had retired northward to Berwick when he heard of Gavaston's murder; and his resentment was proportioned to the affection he had ever born him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene, and he made preparations for war. But, being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he soon hearkened to terms of accommodation; granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and, as they stipulated to ask him publicly pardon on their knees, he was so pleased with these vain appearances of submission, that he seemed to have sincerely forgiven past injuries. But, as they still pretended a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required

The king
and the
barons are
reconciled.

* Gavaston had been accustomed to indulge in the idle practice of giving nicknames to the nobles. Pembroke, to whom he now surrendered, he had called "Joseph the Jew." The earl of Warwick he styled "The Black Dog of Ardenne;" and this noble person, highly incensed at the freedom, swore to avenge it. A brief council was held in the castle hall, at

the establishment of their former ordinances as a necessary security for that purpose, Edward told them that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of such of these ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This answer was received, for the present, as satisfactory. The king's person, after the death of Gavaston, was now become less obnoxious to the public. The minds of all men seemed to be much appeased; and England, now united, would henceforth be able, it was hoped, to take vengeance on all its enemies, particularly on the Scots, whose progress was the object of general resentment and indignation.

Concessions
are pro-
mised.

General
tranquillity
is restored.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

IMMEDIATELY after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses; and, supplying his defect of strength by superior vigour and abilities, he made deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He chased lord Aigyle, and the chieftain of the Macdowals from their hills, and made himself entirely master of the high country; he thence invaded, with success, the Cummins in the low countries of the north; he took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained some new accession of territory; and daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and enlisted every bold leader, whom he enriched by the spoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded him in all his enterprises; Edward Bruce, Robert's brother, distinguished himself by acts of valour; the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

Bruce again
takes the
field.

The Scots
hope to re-
gain their
indepen-
dence.

which Warwick assisted. He meanly humbled himself before those whom he had previously treated with the most insufferable insolence; but he did so in vain. His stern judges condemned him to die; and he was taken a short distance from the castle, to a place called Blacklow Hill, where they put an end to his life by severing his head from his body.—ED.

In this situation Edward had found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order. The interval was short; the truce, ill observed on both sides, was at last openly violated, and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. Robert, not content with defending himself, had made successful inroads into England, subsisted his needy followers by plunder, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at last roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh; but, being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to retreat, without gaining any advantage. But the union of all the parties in England, after the death of Gavaston, seemed to restore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces, with a view of finishing, at one blow, this important enterprise. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony; he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries; he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish as to a certain prey; he joined to them a body of the Welsh; and, assembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army which, according to the Scotch writers, amounted to a hundred thousand men.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but, being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous armies. The castle

of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by Edward Bruce. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, after an obstinate defence, was at last obliged to capitulate, and to promise that, if before a certain day, which was now approaching, he were not relieved, he should open his gates to the enemy. Robert, therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable, and made the necessary preparations for their reception. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; where he had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. And, not content with having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded by the more numerous army of the English, he foresaw the superior strength of the enemy in cavalry, and made provision against it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with turf. The English arrived in sight on the evening, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry; where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his adversary to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body.

BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN. 1314.

THE Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the valour of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day; the English, confident in their numbers, and elated with former successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge; and the night, though extremely short in that season and in that climate, appeared tedious to the several combatants. Early in the morning on the twenty-fifth of June Edward drew out

Stirling
castle is
besieged.

Bruce
awaits Ed-
ward's
coming at
Bannock-
burn.

Bruce kills
Henry de
Bohun in
single com-
bat.

A general
battle is
fought near
Bannock-
burn.

Bruce
makes in-
roads into
England.

Edward in-
vades Scot-
land.

He heads
an army of
an hundred
thousand
men.

The earl of Gloucester is overpowered and slain.

A successful stratagem.

The English are totally defeated.

The English fear to meet the Scots.

his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. This body of horse was disordered; Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain; Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which seemed to be marching leisurely in order to surround them; and they were distracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggons and sumpter-boys, whom Robert had collected; and, having supplied them with military standards, gave them the appearance, at a distance, of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect; a panic seized the English; they threw down their arms, and fled. They were pursued with great slaughter for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick: and the Scots, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. The king himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March; and he thence passed by sea to Berwick.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independence of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne; and may be deemed the greatest overthrow that the English nation, since the conquest, has ever received. The number of slain on those occasions is commonly much magnified by the victors: but this defeat made a deep impression on the minds of the English; and it was remarked that, for some years, no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert, in

order to avail himself of his present success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition. He besieged Carlisle; but that place was saved by the valour of Sir Andrew Harela, the governor. He was more successful against Berwick, which he took by assault. And this prince, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests. He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of six thousand men, into Ireland; and that nobleman assumed the title of king of that island: he himself followed with more numerous forces. The horrible and absurd oppressions, which the Irish suffered under the English government, made them at first fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers: but a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremities; and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by the English, commanded by lord Bermingham.

Edward, besides suffering from the invasion of the Scots, and the insurrection of the Irish, was also infested with a rebellion in Wales; and, above all, by the factions of his own nobility. Lancaster, and the barons of his party, who had declined attending him on his Scottish expedition, no sooner saw him return with disgrace than they insisted on the renewal of their ordinances, which they still pretended had validity; and the king's unhappy situation obliged him to submit. The ministry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaster. That prince was placed at the head of the council; it was declared that all the offices should be filled, from time to time, by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons; and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to put itself in a better posture of defence against the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terrified with the progress of these public enemies: they founded the hopes of their own future

Bruce enters England.

The brother of Bruce claims to be king of Ireland.

He is defeated and slain.

The barons claim from Edward a renewal of his ordinances.

grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown. Lancaster himself was suspected, with great appearance of reason, of holding a secret correspondence with the king of Scots: and, though he was intrusted with the command of the English armies, he took care that every enterprise should be disappointed, and every plan of operations prove unsuccessful.

All the European kingdoms were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime minister, so well understood at present; and the people could form no conception of a man, who, though still in the rank of a subject, possessed all the power of a sovereign, eased the prince of the burden of affairs, supplied his want of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greatest nobles by their submission to his temporary authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold himself the reins of government. He was unhappy in a total incapacity for serious business; he was insensible of his own defects, and necessarily sought to be governed: yet every favourite whom he successively chose was regarded as a fellow subject exalted above his rank and station; he was the object of envy to the great nobility; his character and conduct were decried with the people; his authority over the king and kingdom was considered as an usurpation; and, unless the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the earl of Lancaster, or some mighty baron, whose family interest was so extensive as to be able alone to maintain his influence, he could expect no peace upon the throne.

HUGH LE DESPENSER. 1315.

THE king's chief favourite, after the death of Gavaston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of a noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was destitute of that prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of

the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous station to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the same name, and who, by means of his son, had also attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected for wisdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his minion. But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They first declared their discontent by withdrawing from parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities against him.

CIVIL COMMOTIONS. 1321.

THE king, who set no limits to his bounty towards his minions, had married the younger Spenser to his niece, one of the coheirs of the earl of Gloucester, slain at Bannockburn. The favourite, by his succession to that opulent family, had inherited great possessions in the marches of Wales; and, being desirous of extending his influence in those quarters, he is accused of having committed injustice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who had also married two sisters of the same family. There was likewise a baron in that neighbourhood called William de Braouse, lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray his son-in-law; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered in possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seizin from the crown: but Spenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigour of the feudal law, to seize Gower as escheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him. This transaction, which was the proper subject of a

The elder Spenser gains great influence.

The Spensers are viewed with envy and hatred by the barons.

Young Spenser is married to the daughter of the earl of Gloucester.

Rapacious conduct of Spenser.

A civil war
breaks out.

The nobles
pillage the
lands of the
younger
Spenser.

The banish-
ment of the
Spensers is
demanded
by the
barons.

Sentence of
exile is pro-
nounced
against
them by
parliament.

law suit, immediately excited a civil war. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms: Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces: the two Rogers de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, with many others, disgusted, for private reasons, at the Spensers, brought a considerable accession to the party: and, their army being now formidable, they sent a message to the king, requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine the younger Spenser; and menacing him, in case of refusal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They scarcely waited for an answer; but fell upon the lands of young Spenser, which they pillaged and destroyed; murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses. They proceeded to commit like devastations on the estates of Spenser the father, whose character they had hitherto seemed to respect. And, having drawn and signed a formal association among themselves, they marched to London with all their forces, stationed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, and demanded the banishment of both the Spensers. These noblemen were then absent; the father abroad, the son at sea; and both of them employed in different commissions: the king, therefore, replied that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity of making answer. Equity and reason were but a feeble opposition to men who had arms in their hands, and who saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and, giving in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by menaces and violence, a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against these ministers. This was voted by the lay barons alone: for the commons, though now an estate in parliament, were yet of so little consideration, that their assent was not demanded; and even the votes of the prelates were neg-

lected amidst the present disorders. The only symptom which these turbulent barons gave of their regard to law was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings; after which they disbanded their army, and separated, in security as they imagined, to their several castles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen, having occasion soon after to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to the lord Badlesmere, desired a night's lodging, but was refused admittance; and some of her attendants, who presented themselves at the gate, were killed. The insult upon this princess, who had always endeavoured to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the young Spenser, was an action which nobody attempted to justify; and the king thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, assemble an army, and take vengeance on the offender. No one came to the assistance of Badlesmere; and Edward prevailed. But, having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends, he ventured to take off the mask, to attack all his enemies, and to recal the two Spensers; whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter, passed without the assent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the estate of barons. Still the commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the start of the barons; an advantage which was commonly decisive; and he hastened to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons endeavoured to appease him by submission; their castles were seized, and their persons committed to custody. But Lancaster, to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; received the promise of a rein-

The barons
claim an
indemnity.

The queen
is affronted
by the lord
of Badles-
mere

Edward
punishes
Badlesmere.

He recalls
the Spen-
sers.

He attacks
the barons.

forcement, from that country, under the command of Randolph earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas; and, being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king, who had collected an army of thirty thousand men, and was superior to his enemies. Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the passages of the river; but, being disappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no military genius, and whose personal courage was even suspected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies. He was pursued by the king; and his army diminished daily, till he came to Boroughbridge, where he found Sir Andrew Harcla posted with some forces on the opposite side of the river, and ready to dispute the passage with him. He was repulsed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels were disconcerted; Lancaster himself was seized without resistance by Harcla, and conducted to the king.

EXECUTION OF LANCASTER. 1322.

IN those violent times, the laws were so much neglected on both sides that, even where they might without any sensible inconvenience have been observed, the conquerors deemed it unnecessary to pay any regard to them. Lancaster, who was taken in arms against his sovereign, instead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the sentence of death against him, was condemned by a court-martial, and led to execution. Edward here indulged his revenge, and employed against the prisoner the same indignities which had been exercised, by his orders, against Gavaston. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, a hood was put on his head; and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and there beheaded.

Thus perished Thomas earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most potent barons that had ever been in

England. His public conduct sufficiently discovers the violence of his character; his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent; and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Badlesmere, Giffard, Barret, Cheney, Fleming, and about eighteen of the most notorious offenders, were condemned by a legal trial, and were executed. Many were thrown into prison: others made their escape beyond sea: some of the king's servants were rewarded from forfeitures: Harcla received for his services the earldom of Carlisle, and a large estate; which he soon after forfeited with his life, for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland. But the greater part of those vast escheats was seized by young Spenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party were disgusted with this partial division; the envy against Spenser rose higher than ever; the usual insolence of his temper, inflamed by success, impelled him to commit many acts of violence; the people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of aversion; all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen secretly vowed revenge; and, though tranquillity was, in appearance, restored, the general contempt of the king, and odium against Spenser, bred dangerous humours, the source of future convulsions.

In this situation no success could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. Robert, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was satisfied with ensuring his possession of it during so long a time. He had repelled all the attacks of England; he had carried war both into that kingdom and into Ireland; he had rejected the pope's authority, who pretended to oblige him to make peace with his enemies; his throne was firmly established; yet there naturally remained some inquietude on his mind, while at war with a state which, however at

He was violent but insincere.

Eighteen offenders suffer death.

The young or Spenser becomes more insolent than before.

A truce with Scotland for thirteen years.

England is threatened with hostilities from France.

present disordered by faction, was an overmatch for him, both in riches, and in numbers of people. And this truce was the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France.

Philip the Fair, king of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his son Lewis Hutin; who, after a short reign, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Philip the Long, his brother; whose death soon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngest brother of that family. This monarch had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne; and, as there was no common or equitable judge in that strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law, he seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and, under that pretence, to confiscate all his foreign dominions. After an embassy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjust, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother. But while she was making some progress in this negociation, Charles started a new pretension, (the justness of which could not be disputed) that Edward himself should appear in this court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Spenser, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; and, though that artful princess, on her leaving England, had dissembled her animosity, Spenser was unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and appear in a court where her credit might expose him to insults, if not danger.* He hesitated no less on allowing the king to make the journey alone: both fearing lest that easy prince should in his absence fall under other influence; and foreseeing the perils to which he himself should be exposed, if without the protec-

The queen Isabella goes to Paris to negotiate with her brother.

Edward is required to do homage to the French king.

Obstacles are opposed to his going

tion of royal authority, he remained in England. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella proposed that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. This expedient was immediately embraced; young Edward was sent to Paris; and the ruin covered under this fatal snare was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

The king resigns Guienne to Prince Edward who does homage for it.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING. 1325.

THE queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his submissions to the king; had been condemned for high treason; but, having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was so fortunate as to make his escape into France; and being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, as well as distinguished by his violent animosity against Spenser, he was easily permitted to pay his court to Isabella. The graces of his person advanced him quickly in her affections; he became her counsellor in all her measures; and engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man whom she had injured, and whom she had never valued, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and, having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She

Roger Mortimer is met by the queen in Paris.

He becomes her paramour.

* Isabella's main object unquestionably was to make her brother acquainted with her grievances. She complained that the Spensers had caused the king wholly to withdraw his affections from her. To

them she imputed the foulest guilt that can be imagined by man; and among other things that they had conspired against her life and that of her son.—Ed.

engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose ; her court was daily filled with the exiled barons ; Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her ; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England ; and, when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied that she would never set foot in the kingdom till Spenser was forever removed from his presence and councils. A declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises.

Edward endeavoured to put himself in a posture of defence ; but, besides the difficulties arising from his own indolence and slender abilities, it was not easy for him to maintain a constant force ready to repel an invasion, which he knew not at what time or place he had reason to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the traitorous and hostile conspiracies which, both at home and abroad, were forming against his authority, and which were daily penetrating farther even into his own family. His brother, the earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his sister-in-law, and by the king of France, who was also his cousin-german, to give countenance to the invasion ; whose sole object, he believed, was the expulsion of the Spensers. He prevailed on his elder brother, the earl of Norfolk, to enter secretly into the same design. The earl of Leicester, brother and heir of the earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons for his hatred of these ministers to refuse his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates, expressed their approbation of the queen's measures ; several of the most potent barons were ready to fly to arms ; and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with such a body of foreign troops as might protect her against immediate violence, to turn all this tempest, so artfully prepared, against the unhappy Edward.

Charles, though he gave countenance and assistance to the faction, was ashamed

openly to support the queen and prince against a husband and father ; and Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign potentate. For this purpose she affianced young Edward, whose tender age made him incapable to judge of the consequences, with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault ; and, having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted in her service near three thousand men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely, and without opposition, on the coast of Suffolk. The earl of Kent was in her company ; two other princes of the blood, the earl of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, joined her soon after her landing with all their followers ; three prelates, the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vassals and the authority of their character ; even Robert de Wateville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress, deserted to her with all his forces. She renewed her declaration that the sole purpose of her enterprise was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spensers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature. The populace were allured by her specious pretences ; the barons thought themselves secure against forfeitures by the appearance of the prince in her army ; and a weak irresolute king, supported by ministers generally odious, was unable to stem this torrent, which bore with such irresistible violence against him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to some sense of their duty, departed for the west, and he had no sooner discovered his weakness by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without control against him and his ministers. They plundered, then murdered, all those who were obnoxious to them. They seized the bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was passing through the streets ; and, having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river. They made themselves masters of the Tower by surprise ; they entered into a formal association to put to death, without mercy, every one who

Prince Edward is affianced to Philippa.

The queen lands in England.

She encounters no opposition.

Edward withdraws from London.

The bishop of Exeter is beheaded by the Londoners.

All England
is opposed
to the king.

should dare to oppose the enterprise of queen Isabella, and of the prince. A like spirit was soon communicated to all other parts of England; and threw the few servants of the king, who still entertained thoughts of performing their duty, into terror and astonishment.

Edward re-
treats to
Wales.

Edward was hotly pursued to Bristol by the earl of Kent, seconded by the foreign forces under John de Hainault. He found himself disappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty of those parts; and he passed over to Wales, where he flattered himself his name was popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had seized the English. The elder Spenser, created earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was instantly, without trial, or witness, or accusation, or answer, condemned to death by the barons. He was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces and thrown to the dogs; and his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, set on a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace.

The elder
Spenser is
hanged, and
his body
given to
the dogs.

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of succour from the Welsh, took shipping for Ireland; but, being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales. He was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed, like his father without any appearance of a legal trial.* The earl of Arundel, almost the only man of his rank in England who had main-

The young-
er Spenser
is executed.

* The rage with which the unhappy minion was pursued, is seen in the sentence pronounced against him. Trussel thus addressed him, "Hugh, you are found traitor; wherefore all the good people of the kingdom, great and small, rich and poor, by common consent do award, That you are found as thief, and therefore shall be hanged; and are found as a traitor, and therefore shall be drawn and quartered; and for that you have been outlawed by the king, and by common assent, and returned to the court

tained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the instigation of Mortimer. Baldoc the chancellor, being a priest, could not with safety be so suddenly dispatched; but, being sent to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foresaw, seized by the populace, was thrown into Newgate, and soon after expired from the cruel usage which he had received. Even the usual reverence paid to the sacerdotal character gave way, with every other consideration, to the present rage of the people.

Baldoc, the
chancellor,
is sent to
Newgate.

THE KING DETHRONED AND MURDERED. 1327.

THE queen, to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned, in the king's name, a parliament at Westminster; where, together with the power of her army, and the authority of her partisans among the barons, committing new acts of violence against their sovereign, she expected to be seconded by the fury of the populace, the most dangerous of all instruments, and the least answerable for their excesses. A charge was drawn up against the king, in which, even though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius or his misfortunes were objected to him. He was accused of incapacity for government; of wasting his time in idle amusements; of neglecting public business; of being swayed by evil counsellors; of having lost, by his misconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and, to swell the charge, even the death of some barons, and the imprisonment of some prelates, convicted of treason, were laid to his account. It was in vain to appeal to law or to reason; the deposition of the king was voted by parliament; the prince, already declared regent by his party

A parlia-
ment is
called at
Westmin-
ster.

Charges are
preferred
against the
king.

without warrant, you shall be beheaded; and for that you abetted and procured discord between the king and queen and others of the realm, you shall be embowelled, and your bowels burnt. Withdraw, traitor, tyrant, and go take your judgment, attainted, wicked traitor."—*Brady*. He was hung on a gallows fifty feet high, Simon de Reding, his confidential servant, being suspended some yards below him, and the sentence, in all its appalling severity, was carried into effect.—*Ed*.

He is com-
pelled to re-
sign his
crown.

was placed on the throne; and a deputa-
tion was sent to Edward at Kenilworth to
require his resignation, which menaces soon
extorted from him.

But it was impossible that the people
could for ever remain insensible to the
voice of nature. Here a wife had first
deserted, and then dethroned her husband;
had made her minor son an instrument in
this unnatural treatment; had, by lying
pretences, seduced their nation into a
rebellion against their sovereign; had
pushed them into violence and cruelties
that had dishonoured them. All those
circumstances sufficed to open men's eyes,
and make them detest this flagrant in-
fringement of every public and private
duty. The suspicions which soon arose of
Isabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer,
the proofs which daily broke out of
this part of her guilt, increased the general
abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy,
in publicly bewailing with tears the king's
unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even
the most stupid and most prejudiced of
her adherents. In proportion as the queen
became the object of public hatred, the
dethroned monarch was regarded with
pity, with friendship, with veneration.
The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lan-
caster, to whose custody he had been
committed, was soon touched with those
generous sentiments; and, besides using
his prisoner with gentleness, he was sus-
pected to have entertained still more
honourable intentions in his favour. The
king, therefore, was taken from his hands,
and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and
Mautravers, and Gournay; who were in-
trusted alternately, each for a month, with
the charge of guarding him. While he
was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still
treated with the gentleness due to his
rank and his misfortunes: but when the
turn of Mautravers and Gournay came,
every species of indignity was practised
against him: as if their intention had
been to break entirely the prince's spirit,
and to employ his sorrows and afflictions,
instead of more violent and more dangerous

expedients, for the instruments of his
murder. It is reported that one day, when
Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold
and dirty water to be brought from the
ditch for that purpose; and, when he de-
sired it to be changed, and was still denied
his request, he burst into tears, which be-
dewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed that,
in spite of their insolence, he should be
shaved with clean and warm water. But,
as this method of laying Edward in his
grave appeared still too slow to the impa-
tient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to
the two keepers instantly to despatch him;
and these ruffians contrived to make the
manner of his death as cruel and barbarous
as possible. Taking advantage of Berke-
ley's sickness, in whose custody he then
was, and who was thereby incapacitated
from attending his charge, they came to
Berkeley-castle, on the twenty-first of Sep-
tember, and put themselves in possession
of the king's person. They threw him on
a bed; held him down violently with a
table, which they flung over him; thrust
into his fundament a red-hot iron, which
they inserted through a horn; and though
the outward marks of violence upon his
person were prevented by this expedient,
the horrid deed was discovered to all the
guards and attendants by the screams
with which the agonizing king filled the
castle while his bowels were consuming.

Gournay and Mautravers were held in
general detestation; and, when the ensuing
revolution in England threw their pro-
tectors from power, they found it necessary
to provide for their safety by flying the
kingdom. Gournay was afterwards seized
at Marseilles, delivered over to the senes-
chal of Guienne, put on board a ship with
a view of carrying him to England; but
was beheaded at sea by secret orders, as
was supposed, from some nobles and pre-
lates in England, anxious to prevent any
discovery of his accomplices. Mautravers
concealed himself for several years in
Germany; but, having found means of
rendering some service to Edward III. he
ventured to approach his person, threw

The king is
brutally
treated.

His gaolers
barbarously
murder
him.

Gournay,
one of the
assassins, is
beheaded at
sea.

Mautravers
is pardoned
by Edward
III.

On the 24th of January, 1327, Edward III. was
proclaimed; and it was announced to the nation

that, by consent of the Peers and the Commons, his
father was ousted from the throne.—ED.

himself on his knees before him, and received a pardon.

CHARACTER OF EDWARD II.

It is not easy to imagine a man more inoffensive than the unhappy king whose tragical death we have related ; nor a prince less fitted for governing that fierce people subjected to his authority. He was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government ; the same indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of ministers and favourites who were not the best qualified for the trust committed to them. The seditious grandees, pleased with his weakness, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his ministers, insulted his person and invaded his authority ; and the impatient populace, mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increased the disorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whose voice, always feeble in those times, was not heard amidst the din of arms ; what could not defend the king was less able to give shelter to the people ; the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence ; and men imputed all errors to the person who had the misfortune to be intrusted with the reins of empire.

But, though such mistakes are natural and almost unavoidable while the events are recent, it is a shameful delusion in modern historians to imagine that all the ancient princes who were unfortunate were also tyrannical, and that the seditions of the people always proceeded from some invasion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not in that age secure against faction and rebellion, as appears in the case of Henry II. ; but a great king had the best chance for quelling and subduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I. and II. The violent father made several attempts against the liberties of the people ; his barons opposed him ; he found it prudent to submit ; but, as they dreaded his valour and abilities, they were content with reasonable satisfaction, and pushed no farther

their advantages against him. The facility and weakness of the son threw every thing into confusion ; the laws and government were overturned ; an attempt to reinstate them was an unpardonable crime ; and no atonement, but the deposition and tragical death of the king himself, could give those barons contentment. It is easy to see that a constitution, which depended so much on the personal character of the prince, must necessarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without distinction, the blame of all disorders upon the sovereign, would introduce a fatal error in politics, and serve as a perpetual apology for treason and rebellion ; as if the turbulence of the great, and madness of the people, were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evils incident to human society, and no less carefully to be guarded against in every well regulated constitution.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

WHILE these abominable scenes passed in England, the theatre of France was stained with a wickedness equally barbarous, and still more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first fervour of the crusades ; and, uniting the two qualities the most popular in that age, devotion and valour, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had by degrees relaxed the severity of these virtues ; and the templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honour. Acquainted with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the east, they rather chose to enjoy their opulent revenues in Europe ; and, being all men of birth, (educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters) they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the

The weakness of Edward II. caused general confusion.

The turbulence of the great, the madness of the people, and the tyranny of the king, equally to be dreaded.

Rise and progress of the order of knights' templars.

They gain riches, and lose their popularity.

Indolence and want of penetration the great faults of Edward.

All blame falls on the king.

Seditions of the people caused by invasions of their privileges.

His father was more hostile to public liberty.

pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprises against the infidels; and succeeded to all the popularity which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But, though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair; who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such absurd crimes as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Besides being charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature, every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites as could serve to no other purpose than to degrade the order in his eyes, and destroy for ever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt; the more

obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors; several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the templars relieved from their tortures than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital; great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom; and, when he found that these unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre dame at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand, the fire, destined for their execution, was shewn to them on the other; these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their order, and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.*

In all this barbarous injustice Clement V., who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and, without any inquiry, he sum-

* In Paris alone thirty-six knights died upon the rack, maintaining their innocence to the last, while others, less able to endure agony, confessed to crimes which our reason convinces us could never have been perpetrated. Even those, however, who were entrapped into criminal admissions under torment, recanted in the dungeon; and nothing remained of trust-worthy testimony save the unimportant and well-known fact, that the templars were generally addicted to pride, avarice, and licentiousness of various kinds—vices from which the king was no more exempt than these his persecuted subjects. As a specimen of the kind of confession elicited, it

Confessions are forged.

Fifty-four templars are burnt alive.

The sufferers assert their innocence.

may be noted that Bernard de Gué, one of those who subsequently retracted, exhibited to his judges, while his feet were being exposed to the heat of a scorching fire, two bones which had been magically extracted from his heel! and Americ de Villiers, while under excruciating suffering, exclaimed, in the presence of his tormentors, that he had personally assisted at the death of our Saviour. Others admitted that the devil was frequently present, and presided at their secret orgies, making his appearance among them, at times, in the shape of a tom cat.—*Pictorial History of France*.—ED.

The templars in all parts of Europe are imprisoned, but no guilt is proved.

A famine in England.

An ordinance framed to reduce the price of food.

It is repealed the next year as injurious

marily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued them; but no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but, as the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the pope, transferred to the order of St. John.* We now proceed to relate some other detached transactions of the present period.

The kingdom of England was afflicted with a grievous famine during several years of this reign. Perpetual rains and cold weather not only destroyed the harvest, but bred a mortality among the cattle, and raised every kind of food to an enormous price. The parliament in 1315 endeavoured to fix more moderate rates to commodities; not sensible that, were it possible to reduce the price of provisions by any other expedient than by introducing plenty, nothing could be more pernicious and destructive to the public. Where the produce of a year, for instance, falls so far short as to afford full subsistence only for nine months, the only expedient for making it last all the twelve is to raise the prices, to put the people by that means on short allowance, and oblige them to save their food till a more plentiful season. But, in reality, the increase of prices is a necessary consequence of scarcity; and laws, instead of preventing it, only aggravate the evil, by cramping and restraining commerce. The parliament, in the ensuing year, repealed their ordinance, which they had found useless and burdensome.

The prices affixed by the parliament are somewhat remarkable. Three pounds

twelve shillings of our present money for the best stalled ox; for other oxen two pounds eight shilling; a fat hog of two years old ten shillings; a fat wether, unshorn a crown, if shorn three shillings and sixpence; a fat goose seven pence half-penny; a fat capon sixpence; a fat hen three-pence; two chickens three-pence; four pigeons three-pence; two dozen of eggs three-pence. If we consider these prices, we shall find that butcher's meat, in this time of great scarcity, must still have been sold, by the parliamentary ordinance, three times cheaper than our middling prices at present: poultry somewhat lower; because, being now considered as a delicacy, it has risen beyond its proportion. In the country places of Ireland and Scotland, where delicacies bear no price, poultry is at present as cheap, if not cheaper, than butcher's meat. But the inference I would draw from the comparison of prices is still more considerable. I suppose that the rates affixed by parliament were inferior to the usual market prices in those years of famine and mortality of cattle; and that these commodities, instead of a third, had really risen to a half of the present value.† But the famine at that time was so consuming, that wheat was sometimes sold for above four pounds ten shillings a quarter, usually for three pounds; that is, twice our middling prices: a certain proof of the wretched state of tillage in those ages. We formerly found that the middling price of corn in that period was half of the present price, while the middling price of cattle was only an eighth part; we here find the same immense disproportion in years of scarcity. It may thence be inferred with certainty that the raising of corn, few in that age could practise with advantage: and there is reason to think that other manufactures, more refined, were sold even beyond their present prices;

Prices of meat and poultry in a time of scarcity were much lower than at present.

High price of wheat.

Manufactured articles dearer than in modern times.

* When the knights templars settled in England, their first residence was in Holborn, which was called the Old Temple. In the year 1185, they founded the New Temple, where they continued till the suppression of their order in 1310. Edward II. granted this house, and all their other possessions in London, to Thomas, earl of Lancaster; and, after his rebellion and forfeiture, to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. On the death of that nobleman

they reverted to the crown, and were given to the knight's hospitallers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who granted the Temple to the students of the common law in the reign of Edward III.—*Microcosm of London*.

† This calculation must of course be seriously affected by the circumstances of the times, subsequent to the period at which the author wrote his history.—Ed.

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at least there is a demonstration for it in the reign of Henry VII. from the rates affixed to scarlet and other broad cloth by parliament. During all those times, it was usual for the princes and great nobility to make settlements of their velvet beds and silken robes, in the same manner as of their estates and manors. In the list of jewels and plate which had belonged to the ostentatious Gavaston, and which the king recovered from the earl of Lancaster after the murder of that favourite, we find some embroidered girdles, flowered shirts, and silk waistcoats. It was afterwards one article of accusation against that potent and opulent earl, that he had purloined some of that finery of Gavaston's. The ignorance of those ages in manufactures, and still more their unskillful husbandry, seem a clear proof that the country was then far from being populous.

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All trade and manufactures were at a very low ebb. The only country in the northern parts of Europe where they seem to have risen to any tolerable degree of improvement, was Flanders. When Robert, earl of that country, was applied to by the king, and was desired to break off commerce with the Scots, whom Edward called his rebels, and excommunicated; the earl replied that Flanders was always considered as common, and free, and open, to all nations.

is elder
sister pe-
his par-
ment.

The petition of the elder Spenser to parliament, complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains several particulars which are curious, and discover the manners of the age. He affirms that they had ravaged sixty-three manors belonging to him, and he makes his losses amount to forty-six thousand pounds; that is, to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand of our present money. Among other particulars he enumerates twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and heifers, twelve hundred cows with their breed for two years, five hundred and sixty cart horses, two thousand hogs, together with six hundred bacons, eighty carcasses of beef, and six hundred muttons in the larder; ten tuns of cyder, arms for two hundred men, and other warlike engines and provisions. The plain

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is of
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stituted
by
barons.

inference is, that the greater part of Spenser's vast estate, as well as the estates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himself, managed by his stewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains; little or none of it was let on lease; its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality by the baron or his officers; a great number of idle retainers were maintained by him; all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal; instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations. The method, in which we find they treated the king's favourites and ministers is a proof of their usual way of dealing with each other. A party, which complains of the arbitrary conduct of ministers, ought naturally to affect a great regard for the laws and constitution, and maintain at least the appearance of justice: yet those barons, when discontented, came to parliament with an armed force; constrained the king to assent to their measures; and, without any trial, passed, from the pretended notoriety of facts, an act of banishment or attainder against the minister, which, on the first revolution of fortune, was reversed by like expedients. The parliament, during factious times, was but the organ of present power. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of opposing present power, who did not deem himself strong enough to dispute the field with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the sovereign or the ruling party.

Before I conclude this reign I cannot forbear making another remark, drawn from the detail of losses given in by the elder Spenser; particularly the great quantity of salted meat which he had in his larder; six hundred bacons, eighty carcasses of beef, six hundred muttons. We may observe that the outrage of which he complained began after the third of May, or the eleventh new style, as we learn from the same paper. It is easy, therefore, to conjecture what a vast store he must have laid up at the beginning of winter: and we may draw a new conclusion

Ancient
state of the
nobility

Unconsti-
tutional
proceedings
of the
barons

Parliament
but the
organ of
present
power.

Vast stores
of provi-
sions neces-
sary.

Cattle could not be subsisted in winter.

with regard to the wretched state of ancient husbandry, which could not provide subsistence for the cattle during winter, even in such a climate as the south of England; for Spenser had but one manor so far north as Yorkshire. There being few or no enclosures except perhaps for deer, no sown grass, little hay, and no other resource for feeding cattle, the barons, as well as the people, were obliged to kill and salt their oxen and sheep in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common pasture; a precaution still practised with regard to oxen in the least cultivated parts of this island. The salting of mutton is a miserable expedient, which has every where been long disused. From this circumstance may be drawn important inferences with regard to the domestic economy and manner of life in those ages.

Robbers commonly met in troops.

The disorders of the times, from foreign wars and intestine dissensions; but, above all, the cruel famine, which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers; increased the number of robbers: and no place was secure from their incursions. They met in troops and overran the country. Two cardinals, the pope's legates, notwithstanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed of their goods and equipage, when they travelled on the highway.

Lepers are accused of conspiring with Jews and Saracens, and burnt alive.

Among the other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined that the persons affected with leprosy, a disease at that time very common, probably from bad diet, had conspired with the Saracens to poison all the springs; and many of those unhappy people were burnt alive on this chimerical imputation. Several Jews also were punished in their persons, and their goods confiscated, on the same account.

Ancient hospitality.

Stowe, in his survey of London, gives us a curious instance of the hospitality of the ancient nobility. It is taken from the accounts of the cofferer or steward of Thomas earl of Lancaster, and contains the expenses of that earl during the year 1313, which was not a year of famine. For the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, three thousand four hundred and five pounds; for three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine,

and two of white, one hundred and four pounds, &c. The whole seven thousand three hundred and nine pounds; that is near twenty-two thousand pounds of our present money; and, making allowance for the cheapness of commodities, near a hundred thousand pounds.

A nobleman's expenditure.

I have seen a French manuscript, containing accounts of some private disbursements of this king. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. To judge by the events of the reign, this ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

This king left four children, two sons and two daughters: Edward, his eldest son and successor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald count of Gueldres.

King Edward left two sons and two daughters.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD III.

1327—1377.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF KENT—EXECUTION OF MORTIMER EARL OF MARCH—STATE OF SCOTLAND—WAR WITH THAT KINGDOM—KING'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE—WAR—NAVAL VICTORY—DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES—AFFAIRS OF BRITTANY—RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE—INVASION OF FRANCE—BATTLE OF CRESSY—CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF SCOTS—CALAIS TAKEN.

THE violent party, which had taken arms against Edward II. and deposed that unfortunate monarch, deemed it requisite to desire a parliamentary indemnity for all their illegal proceedings; on account of the necessity which, it was pretended, they lay under of employing force against the Spensers and other enemies of the kingdom. All the attainders also, which had passed against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents when the chance of war

A parliamentary indemnity claimed.

A council of regency appointed by parliament.

turned against them, were reversed during the triumph of their party; and the Spensers, whose former attainder had been reversed by parliament, were, in this change of fortune, condemned by the votes of their enemies. A council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament, consisting of twelve persons: five prelates, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; and seven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross. The earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the king's person. But, though it was reasonable to expect that, as the weakness of the former king had given reins to the licentiousness of the barons, great domestic tranquillity would not prevail during the present minority, the first disturbance arose from an invasion by foreign enemies.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1327.

The king of Scots commences hostilities against England.

THE king of Scots, declining in years and health, but retaining still that martial spirit which had raised his nation from the lowest ebb of fortune, deemed the present opportunity favourable for infesting England. He first made an attempt on the castle of Norham, in which he was disappointed; he then collected an army of twenty-five thousand men, and, having given the command to the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatened an incursion into the northern counties. The English regency, after trying in vain every expedient to restore peace, made vigorous preparations for war; and, besides assembling an English army of near sixty thousand men, they invited back John of Hainault, and some foreign cavalry, and whose discipline and arms had appeared superior to those of their own country. Young Edward, burning with a passion for military fame, appeared at the head of these numerous forces, and marched from Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, in quest of the enemy; who had already broken into the frontiers, and were laying everything waste around them.

Young king Edward places himself at the head of his army.

Murray and Douglas were the two most

celebrated warriors, bred in the long hostilities between the Scots and English; and their forces, trained in the same school, were perfectly qualified, by their manner of life, for that desultory and destructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of about four thousand cavalry, well armed, the rest of the army were light-armed troops, mounted on small horses; which found subsistence every where, and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches, whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, or to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country. Their whole equipage consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in case of necessity, each soldier carried behind him; together with a light plate of iron, on which he baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle which he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the skin, loose, and hanging in the form of a bag, upon some stakes; he poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a caldron for the boiling of his victuals.

Training of Scottish warriors.

A Scotch army is easily maintained.

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, after composing some dangerous frays between his foreign forces and the English, was to come up with an army so little encumbered in its motions. Though the flame and smoke of burning villages directed them sufficiently to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hurrying thither, that they had already dislodged; and he soon discovered, by new marks of devastation, that they had removed to some distant quarter. After some time, he advanced northwards, and crossed the Tyne, with a resolution of awaiting them on their return, and taking vengeance for all their depredations. But that whole country was so much wasted by their frequent incursions, that it could not afford subsistence to his army; and he was obliged to change his plan of operations. He had now lost all track of the enemy; and, though he promised a hundred pounds a year to any one who should bring him an account of their motions, he remained unactive some

Edward seeks the invading force.

He crosses the Tyne to await the return of the invaders.

Edward finds them on the banks of the Were.

The Scots suddenly decamp

Douglas breaks into the English camp at night.

The Scots again decamp

days before he received any intelligence of them. He found at last that they had fixed their camp on the southern banks of the Were, as if they intended to await a battle; but their prudent leaders had chosen the ground with such judgment that the English saw it impracticable, without temerity, to cross the river in their front and attack them in their present situation. Edward here sent them a defiance, and challenged them to meet him in an equal field, and try the fortune of arms. The bold spirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he advised the acceptance of the challenge; but he was overruled by Murray, who replied to Edward that he never took the counsel of an enemy. The king, therefore, kept still his position opposite to the Scots; and daily expected that necessity would oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them. After a few days they suddenly decamped, and marched farther up the river; but still posted themselves in such a manner as to preserve the advantage of the ground if the enemy should venture to attack. Edward insisted that all hazards should be run, rather than allow these ravagers to escape; but Mortimer's authority opposed itself to the valour of the young monarch. While the armies lay in this position, an incident happened which had well nigh proved fatal to the English. Douglas, having gotten the word, and surveyed the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night-time with two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; the king, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark; and Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat. Soon after the Scottish army decamped in the dead of night; and, having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottish encampment, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their

legs, had tied to trees, to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.

The king was highly incensed at the disappointment. The symptoms which he had discovered of bravery and spirit were regarded as sure prognostics of an illustrious reign. But the general displeasure fell on Mortimer, who was already the object of public odium; and every measure which he pursued tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the nation both against him and queen Isabella.

When the council of regency was formed, Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had taken no care to ensure a place in it; but this was only a cover to the most iniquitous projects. He rendered that council useless by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority; he settled on the queen-dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never consulted the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public measure; the king himself was so besieged by his creatures that no access could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gavaston and Spenser fell much more deservedly on the new favourite.

Mortimer, sensible of the growing hatred, thought it requisite on any terms to secure peace; and he entered into a negociation with Robert Bruce for that purpose. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between Jane, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert, he consented to resign absolutely this claim; to give up all the homages done by the Scottish parliament and nobility; and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland. In return, Robert stipulated the payment of thirty thousand marks to England. This treaty was ratified by parliament; but was the source of great discontent among the people; who, having entered zealously into the pretensions of Edward I., and deemed themselves disgraced by the successful resistance made by so inferior a nation, were disappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes both of conquest and of vengeance.

Public odium falls on Mortimer.

He usurps the sovereign authority.

Mortimer seeks family alliances with the Bruces.

He makes a disgraceful treaty.

The earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster forbiddingly Mortimer to come to parliament with an armed force

They seek to take vengeance on Mortimer, but Kent withdraws from the confederacy

He is made to believe that the late king is alive.

Kent is tried, and condemned to die.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer entertained great suspicions of their designs. In summoning them to parliament he strictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming attended by an armed force, an illegal but usual practice in that age. The three earls, as they approached to Salisbury, the place appointed for the meeting of parliament, found that, though they had brought only their usual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms; and they began to apprehend a dangerous design against their persons. They retreated, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer; when the weakness of Kent and Norfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissions. The quarrel, by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF KENT. 1330.

BUT Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victim; and the simplicity, with the good intentions, of the earl of Kent afforded him soon after an opportunity of practising upon him. By himself and his emissaries he endeavoured to persuade that prince that his brother king Edward was still alive, and detained in some secret prison. The earl, whose remorse for the part which he had acted against the late king probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a design of reinstating him on the throne, and of making thereby some atonement for the injuries which he had unwarily done him. After this harmless contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer; was accused before the parliament; and condemned, by those slavish barons,

to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the prisoner was beheaded next day. But such pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, that, though peers had been easily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office.*

The earl of Lancaster, on pretence of his having assented to this conspiracy, was soon after thrown into prison. Many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted. Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the forfeitures. The estate of the earl of Kent was seized for his younger son Geoffrey; the immense fortunes of the Spencers and their adherents were mostly converted to his own use; he affected a state and dignity equal, or superior, to the royal; his power became formidable to every one; his illegal practices were daily complained of; and all parties, forgetting past animosities, conspired in their hatred of Mortimer.

EXECUTION OF MORTIMER.

It was impossible that these abuses could long escape the observation of young Edward; who, being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this insolent minister. But so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project for subverting him with the same secrecy as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions to lord Mountacute, who engaged the lords Molins and Clifford, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others, to enter into their views; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of their enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress; the king

Kent is beheaded.

All parties conspire against Mortimer

Edward enters into the views of the malcontents.

* It was on the 11th of March, 1330, that he was taken to the place of execution outside of Winchester. On reaching it an executioner was sought for in vain. Four hours passed, and no hand was

found to lift the fatal axe; till at length a convicted felon was induced, by the promise of a free pardon, to perform the headsman's office, and the earl was decapitated.—ED.

A plot is formed against Mortimer.

He is arrested.

Mortimer is hanged at the Elmes.

also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and, as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage, contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's.* A parliament was immediately summoned. He was accused before that assembly of having usurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and misdemeanors. The parliament condemned him, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, in the neighbourhood of London.† It is remarkable that this sentence was, near twenty years after, reversed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's son; and the reason assigned was the illegal manner of proceeding. The principles of law and justice were established, not in such a degree as to prevent any iniquitous sentence against a person obnoxious to the ruling party, but sufficient, on the return of his credit, or that of his friends, to serve as a reason or pretence for its reversal.

Justice was also executed, by a sentence

* The tender interest the queen took in the fate of Mortimer is seen in her conduct at the moment of his arrest. What occurred is thus told: "The king, taking with him William Montacute, Robert Holland, and others, go secretly one night by torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they come to the queen's chamber; when, leaving the king without, they entered and found the queen with Mortimer, ready to go to bed; then laying hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the queen followed, crying, "Bel fils, ayes pitie due gentil Mortimer:" (good son, take pity upon the gentle Mortimer.)—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

† The charges against him were, "that he had pro-

of the house of peers, on some of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Bereford. But the barons, in that act of jurisdiction, entered a protest that, though they had tried Bereford, who was none of their peers, they should not for the future be obliged to receive any such indictment. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings near London: her revenue was reduced to four thousand pounds a year; and, though the king paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, she never was able to reinstate herself in any credit or authority.

Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority in the crown, or from the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers. And, as the robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after exacting from them a solemn promise that they would break off all connexions with such malefactors, set himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous as to require his presence to disperse them; and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. The ministers of justice, from his example, employed the utmost diligence in pursuing and punishing the criminals. And this disorder was at least palliated; the utmost that could be expected with regard to a disease hitherto inherent in the constitution.

cured the late king's death; that he had been the author of the Scots safe escaping at Stanhope Park, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; that he had procured the late marriage and peace with Scotland, so dishonourable to the king and kingdom; that he had been too familiar with the queen, as by whom she was thought to be with child. Of which articles he was found guilty, and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common gallows, at the Elms, now called Tyburn, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

Simon de Bereford is executed.

The queen dowager is confined to her own house.

The king seeks to redress grievances.

The prevailing disorders are palliated.

STATE OF SCOTLAND. 1332.

IN proportion as the government acquired authority at home it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward found an opportunity of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, soon after died, and left David his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. It had been stipulated that both the Scottish nobility, who before the commencement of the wars enjoyed lands in England, and the English who inherited estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective possessions: but, though this article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who observed that the estates claimed by Englishmen were much more valuable than the others, either thought it dangerous to admit so many secret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers the possessions bestowed on them; and had protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English nobles, disappointed in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and their enmity alone, even though unsupported by the king of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, who succeeded to the Scottish throne.

Edward Baliol, the son of that John who was crowned king of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but, having also obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy on his patrimonial estate in that country, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretensions had been so strenuously abjured by the Scots, and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person; and he had been thrown into prison on account of some private offence of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who in the right of his wife claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, deeming him a proper instru-

ment for his purpose, made such interest with the king of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over to England.

The injured nobles, possessed of such a head, began to think of vindicating their rights by arms; and they applied to Edward for his assistance. But there were several reasons which deterred the king from avowing their enterprise. In his treaty with Scotland he had entered into a bond of twenty thousand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace; and, as the term was not yet elapsed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the sovereign pontiff, who possessed so many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was also afraid that injustice would be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had so lately been acknowledged by a solemn treaty. And, as the regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, had always confessed the justice of their claim, and had only given an evasive answer, Edward resolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ like artifices against him. He secretly encouraged Baliol; connived at his assembling forces in the north; and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join the attempt. A force of near two thousand five hundred men was enlisted under Baliol, by Umfreville earl of Angus, the lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitzwarin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As these adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be strongly guarded, they resolved to make their attack by sea; and, having embarked at Ravenspur, they reached in a few days the coast of Fife.

Scotland was in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose authority maintained an union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors, and had there perished in battle. The earl of Murray, who had

Edward
Bruce dies.

The English
king is
anxious to
preserve his
peace with Scot-
land.

He secretly
favours the
views of
Baliol.

Baliol and
his friends
land on the
coast of
Fife

Robert
Bruce dies.

The Eng-
lish nobles
become hos-
tile to Scot-
land.

Edward Ba-
liol, the son
of king
John, is re-
garded as a
private per-
son.

The Scots
are in dis-
order.

Baliol is
successful.

He is op-
posed by
Marre with
forty thou-
sand men.

The Scots,
attacked in
the night,
are thrown
into confu-
sion.

They are
defeated on
the follow-
ing day
with great
slaughter.

long been declining, had lately died, and had been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marre, a man of much inferior talents. The military spirit of the Scots was left without a proper direction; and a minor king seemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance, which it had required all the consummate valour and abilities of his father to acquire and maintain. But, as the Scots were apprised of the intended invasion, great numbers, on the appearance of the English fleet, ran to the shore, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Baliol had valour and activity, and he drove back the Scots with considerable loss. He marched westward into the heart of the country, flattering himself that the ancient partisans of his family would declare for him: but the fierce animosities which had been kindled, inspiring the Scots with a strong prejudice against a prince supported by the English, he was regarded as a common enemy; and the regent found no difficulty in assembling a great army to oppose him. It is pretended that Marre had no less than forty thousand men under his banners: but the same impatience that made him collect a force, which from its greatness was so disproportioned to the occasion, rendered all his motions imprudent. The river Erne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that security as well as in their great superiority of numbers, kept no order. Baliol passed the river in the night-time; attacked the unguarded and undisciplined Scots; threw them into confusion; and beat them off the field with great slaughter. But in the morning, when the Scots were at some distance, they were ashamed of having yielded the victory to so weak a foe, and hurried back to recover the honour of the day. Their eager passions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to some broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol seized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented them from rallying, and anew chased them off the field with redoubled slaughter. There fell above twelve thousand Scots in this action,

and among these the flower of the nobility; the regent himself; the earl of Carrick, a natural son of their late king; the earls of Athole and Monteith; lord Hay of Errol, constable; and the lords Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English scarcely exceeded thirty men; a strong proof of the miserable state of military discipline in those ages.

Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth, but still was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patrick Dunbar earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottish armies, which amounted still to near forty thousand men; and they proposed to reduce Baliol and the English by famine. They blockaded Perth by land; they collected some vessels, with which they invested it by water. But Baliol's ships, attacking the Scottish fleet, gained a complete victory, and opened the communication between Perth and the sea. The Scotch armies were then obliged to disband for want of pay and subsistence. The nation was, in effect, subdued by a handful of men. Each nobleman, most exposed to danger, successively submitted to Baliol; that prince was crowned at Scone; David, his competitor, was sent to France with his betrothed wife, Jane, sister to Edward; and the heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognised by the whole Scottish nation.

But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked near Annan, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of that party; he was routed; his brother John Baliol was slain; he himself was chased into England in a miserable condition; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

WHILE Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had secretly sent a

The flower
of the no-
bility slain.

Baliol
takes Perth

He gains a
victory at
sea.

Baliol is
crowned at
Scone.

He is de-
feated and
chased into
England.

Baliol had secretly offered to renew his homage for his crown to king Edward.

The offer had been accepted.

Edward proposes to restore Baliol, but is not vigorously supported.

Berwick is besieged by Edward.

Douglas, the Scottish regent, determines to give Edward battle.

message to Edward, offering to acknowledge his superiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession, made by Mortimer during his minority, willingly accepted the offer; but, as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown. As he possessed many popular arts, he consulted his parliament on the occasion: but that assembly declined giving any opinion; and only granted him, in order to support the enterprise, an aid of a fifteenth from the personal estates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of boroughs; and they added a petition, that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grieving his subjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous seizure of their goods in the shape of purveyance.

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas the regent threw a strong garrison into that place, under the command of Sir William Keith; and assembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England as soon as Edward should have invested that place. The English army was less numerous, but better supplied with arms and provisions, and retained in stricter discipline; and the king, notwithstanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had, in two months, reduced the garrison to extremities, and had obliged them to capitulate: they engaged to surrender, if they were not in a few days relieved by their countrymen. This intelligence being conveyed to the Scottish army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and engaged them to advance towards Berwick. Douglas, who had ever purposed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was sensible of the enemy's superiority, was forced by the impatience of his troops to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the English at Halidown-hill, a

little north of Berwick; and, though his heavy-armed cavalry dismounted, to render the action more desperate, they were received with such valour by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled; and the English, but much more the Irish, gave little quarter in the pursuit. All the nobles of chief distinction were slain or taken prisoners; near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action; while the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers: an inequality almost incredible.

After this fatal blow the Scottish nobles had no other resource than instant submission; and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy.

If Baliol, on his first appearance, was dreaded by the Scots as an instrument employed by England for the subjection of the kingdom, this deed confirmed all their suspicions, and rendered him the object of universal hatred. Whatever submissions they might be obliged to make, they considered him but as the confederate of their determined enemy; and neither the manners of the age, nor the state of Edward's revenue, permitting him to maintain a standing army in Scotland, the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with success his valour and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol; and in a short time had almost expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots withdrew into

The Scots are defeated at Halidown-hill, where Douglas falls.

Baliol is again acknowledged king, and swears fealty to Edward.

Baliol is hated and dreaded.

The Scots revolt, and Sir Andrew Murray is appointed regent.

They re-
conquer
their coun-
try from
the English

All Scot-
land is
most hostile
to Edward.

their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates, of those whom he called rebels. But this confirmed them still farther in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol: and, being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage on the first opportunity of the retreat of their enemy; and they soon reconquered their country. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and, though he marched over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, they were encouraged by daily promises of relief from France; and, as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect, from this incident, a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE. 1337.

WE now come to a transaction, on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this reign, but of the whole English and French history during more than a century; and it will therefore be necessary to give a particular account of the springs and causes of it.

The law in
France is
said to ex-
clude
females
from the
throne.

The rule is
established
in practice.

It had long been a prevailing opinion that the crown of France could never descend to a female: and, to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determinate origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But though positive law seems wanting among the French for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was established on some ancient as well as some modern precedents. During the first race of the monarchy the Franks were

so rude and barbarous that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their history there were frequent instances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice to females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male succession in the second race; and, though the instances were neither so frequent nor so certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations; from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males; and none who founded his title on a female had mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three sons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; and one daughter, Isabella queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret sister to Eudes duke of Burgundy; and, as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed regent till it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days; Philip was proclaimed king; and, as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states, by a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown. Philip died after a short reign, leaving three daughters: and his brother Charles, without controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short. He left one daughter; but, as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession if the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

Many in-
stances of
males be-
ing pre-
ferred to
the preju-
dice of
females.

The daugh-
ter of Lewis
Hutin is
set aside
for his brother Philip.

The daugh-
ters of
Philip are
set aside for
his brother Charles.

The daugh-
ters of
Charles are
set aside for
a cousin.

The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the cousin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most positive law: it was supported by ancient prerogative: it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly decided: and, what placed it still farther beyond controversy, if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions; since the three last kings had all left daughters, who were still alive, and stood before him. He was therefore reduced to assert that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection. But, besides that this pretension was more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe, was so repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim. Philip's title was universally recognized; and he never imagined that he had a competitor, much less so formidable a one as the king of England.

But, though the youthful mind of Edward had rashly entertained this notion, he did not insist on his pretensions; which must have immediately involved him in a dangerous war with so powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, and, at that time, of an established character both for prudence and valour; he possessed every advantage above a raw youth, newly raised, by violence, to the government of the most turbulent subjects in Europe. But there occurred an incident which required that Edward should openly declare his pretensions, or for ever renounce them. He was summoned to do homage for Guienne; Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms; that

country was in a very bad state of defence; and the forfeiture of so rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate consequence of his declining to perform the duty of a vassal. Edward thought it prudent to submit; he went over to Amiens: did homage to Philip: and, as there had arisen some controversy concerning the terms of this submission, he afterwards sent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; which was ratifying, and that in the strongest terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it, had it not been for some incidents which excited an animosity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois, descended from the blood royal of France, was a man of great character and authority; had espoused Philip's sister; and, by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the highest figure, and fill the most important offices. This prince had lost the county of Artois, claimed as his birthright, by a sentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was seduced to attempt recovering possession by an action so unworthy of his character as a forgery. The detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion. His brother-in-law not only abandoned, but prosecuted him with violence. Robert left the kingdom, and hid himself in the Low Countries; chased from that retreat by the authority of Philip, he came to England; in spite of the French king's menaces and remonstrances, he was favourably received by Edward; and was soon admitted into the councils of that monarch. Abandoning himself to all the movements of rage, he endeavoured to revive the prepossession entertained by Edward in favour of his title to the crown of France, and even flattered him that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour to render his claim effectual. The king was the more disposed to hearken to suggestions of this nature, because he had

Edward acknowledges liege homage to be due from him to France.

Robert of Artois is detected in forgery.

He comes to England, and is well received by Edward.

Robert urges Edward to enforce his claim to the French crown.

Edward represents the conduct of Philip.

A sentence of felony and attainder is issued against Robert of Artois by Philip.

King Edward opens his intentions to the count of Hainault.

found reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne; and because that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independence. Thus resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation proposed by the pope. Philip thought that he should be wanting to the first principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland; Edward affirmed that he must relinquish all pretensions to generosity if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of some preparations for hostilities which had been made by his rival, issued a sentence of felony and attainder against Robert, and declared that every vassal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the same sentence; a menace easy to be understood: the latter, resolute not to yield, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany; the only places from which he could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might save Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE.

THE king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money, to promise his concurrence. The archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Faquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great

numbers of warlike troops; and naught was wanting to make the force very formidable but the accession of Flanders, which Edward procured by means somewhat unusual.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had arisen to a degree of opulence unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that barbarous age; had acquired independence; and began to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather of slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown. It was probably difficult for them to bring their sovereign and their nobility to conform themselves to the principles of law and civil government; it was impossible for them to confine themselves within the proper bounds in their opposition and resentment against any instance of tyranny. They had risen in tumults; had insulted the nobles; had chased their earl into France; and delivering themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, had been guilty of all that insolence and disorder, to which the thoughtless populace are inclined, wherever they are unfortunate enough to be their own masters.

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure: he was accompanied by a guard; who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his spies; and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country lived in continual terror: he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered: and, bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use.* Such were the

The Flemings are important from having risen by industry to opulence.

They rebel.

A brewer, James d'Arteville, their present leader.

He proves a tyrannical despot.

* Like most demagogues who have been immoderately exalted, the fall of Arteville was as deplorable as his rise had been sudden. The tide of opinion having turned, those who had been accustomed to approach him bare-headed, turned their backs upon

him. At length the tumult rose so high against him, that he found it necessary to barricade his house. He then appeared at the window of a small turret, and humbly entreated the mob to allow him till the next day to give an account of a treasure which he

first effects that Europe saw of popular violence ; after having groaned, during so many ages, under monarchical and aristocratical tyranny.

James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to his interests ; and that prince never courted any ally with so much assiduity and so many submissions as he employed towards this seditious and criminal tradesman. D'Arteville, proud of these advances from the king of England, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connexions with the English, who furnished them the materials of their woollen manufactures, the chief source of their opulence, readily embraced the interests of Edward, and invited him over into the Low Countries.

Edward, before he entered on this great enterprise, affected to consult his parliament, and obtained their consent. And, the more to strengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool, which might amount to about a hundred thousand pounds. This commodity was a good instrument to employ with the Flemings ; and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other necessary sums by loans ; by pawning the crown jewels ; by confiscating, or rather robbing at once all the Lombards, who now exercised the invidious trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on interest ; and, being attended by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, he sailed over to Flanders.

The German princes, to justify their unprovoked hostilities against France, had required the sanction of some legal authority : and Edward, that he might give them satisfaction on this head, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him vicar of the empire ; an empty title, but which seemed to give him a right of commanding the service of the princes of Germany. The Flemings, who were vassals of France, pretending

like scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord, Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, assumed, in his commissions, the title of king of France ; and claimed their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom. This step, which he feared would destroy all future amity between the kingdoms, and beget endless and implacable jealousies in France, was not taken without much hesitation ; and, not being in itself very justifiable, it has in the issue been attended with many miseries to both kingdoms. In all the preceding reigns since the conquest, the hostilities between the two crowns had been only casual and temporary ; and the traces of them were easily obliterated. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction ; they affected to employ the language of that country in all public transactions, and in familiar conversation ; and the English court and camp being always full of nobles, who came from France, the two people were, during some centuries, more intermingled than any two nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal pretensions of Edward III. dissolved all these connexions, and left the seeds of great animosity in both countries, especially among the English. For it is remarkable that this latter nation, though they were commonly the aggressors, and by their success and situation were enabled to commit the most cruel injuries on the other, always retained a stronger tincture of national antipathy.

Philip made great preparations against the attack from the English, and such as seemed more than sufficient to secure him from the danger. Besides the concurrence of all the nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were more powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The pope, who at this time lived at Avignon, was dependent on France ; and, being disgusted at the connexions between Edward and Lewis

Edward assumes the title of king of France.

The assumption provokes great animosity.

Philip prepares for war.

was charged with having secreted for his own use. Instead of granting him this favour, those to whom he appealed ordered him to come down instantly, and submit to them his vouchers. He hesitated, and they broke open the door ; and after an eager

search discovered Arteville in his cellar behind one of his casks. The forms of arrest, trial, and condemnation were deemed unnecessary. He was instantly stabbed ; and expired covered with wounds. Ed.

Powerful allies are ranged on his side.

Edward's allies are weak and wavering.

Some of them with drawn.

King Edward enters France.

of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicated, he embraced with zeal the cause of the French monarch. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the count of Bar, were in the same interests; and, on the side of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. The allies of Edward were weaker; and, having no object but his money, which began to be exhausted, they were slow in their motions and irresolute in their measures. The duke of Brabant, the most powerful among them, seemed even inclined to withdraw from the alliance; and the king was necessitated both to give the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract his son Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could bring him to fulfil his engagements. The summer was wasted in conferences and negociations before Edward could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his measures, to pretend that the first attack should be made upon Cambray, a city of the empire which had been garrisoned by Philip. But, finding upon trial the difficulty of the enterprise, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and he there saw the vanity of his expectations. The count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault his brother-in-law, (for the old count was dead) refused to commence hostilities against their liege lord, and retired with their troops. So little account did they make of Edward's pretensions to the crown of France!

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1339.

THE king, however, entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfosse, near Capelle, with an army of near fifty thousand men, composed almost entirely of foreigners: Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, composed chiefly of native subjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would ensue. But the English monarch was averse to engage against so great a superiority; the French thought it sufficient

if he eluded the attacks of his enemy without running any unnecessary hazard. The two armies faced each other for some days; mutual defiances were sent; and Edward at last retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.

Such was the almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's mighty preparations; and, as his measures were the most prudent that could be embraced in his situation, he might learn from experience in what a hopeless enterprise he was engaged. His expenses had been consuming and destructive: he had contracted near three hundred thousand pounds of debt; he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pawned every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; he was obliged, in some measure, even to pawn himself to his creditors, by not sailing to England till he obtained their permission, and by promising, on his word of honour, to return in person if he did not remit their money.

But he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and he was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful enterprises. For this purpose he had, during the course of the campaign, sent orders to summon a parliament by his son Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand some supply in his urgent necessities. The barons seemed inclined to grant his request: but the knights, who often acted as a separate body from the burgesses, made some scruple of taxing the constituents without their consent; and they desired the guardian to summon a new parliament, which might be properly empowered for that purpose. The king, sensible of the frequent demands which he should be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to insure to his friends a seat in the House of Commons, and at his instigation the sheriffs and other placemen had made interest to be elected into that assembly, an abuse which the knights desired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of summons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a considerable retrenchment of the royal

The kings of England and France defy each other.

Edward is in great pecuniary difficulties.

A parliament is summoned by prince Edward.

Placemen make interest for a seat in parliament.

The new
parliament
is animated
by a free
spirit.

A supply is
granted,
and the
charters
are con-
firmed.

A duty is
granted on
the export-
ation of
wool.

An addi-
tional grant
made.

prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyances, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knighting the king's eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter. The new parliament called by the guardian retained the same free spirit; and, though they offered a large supply of thirty thousand sacks of wool, no business was concluded, because the conditions which they annexed appeared too high to be compensated by a temporary concession. But, when Edward himself came over to England, he summoned another parliament; and he had the interest to procure a supply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of common law, were the chief conditions insisted on: and the king, in return for his concessions on these heads, obtained from the barons and knights an unusual grant, for two years, of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their estates; and from the burgesses a ninth of their moveables at their true value. The whole parliament also granted a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool-fells, and on each last of leather, for the same term of years; but, dreading the arbitrary spirit of the crown, they expressly declared that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent. Being soon after sensible that this supply, though considerable and very unusual, would come in slowly, and would not answer the king's urgent necessities, proceeding both from his debts and his preparations for war, they agreed that twenty thousand sacks of wool should immediately be granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninths which were afterwards to be levied.

But there appeared another jealousy in the parliament, which was very reasonable, and was founded on a sentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than support the king in all those ambitious projects, so little likely to prove successful, and so dangerous to the nation if they did. Edward, who before the commencement of the former campaign had in several com-

missions assumed the title of king of France, now more openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with those of England in his seals and ensigns. The parliament thought proper to obviate the consequences of this measure, and to declare that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms must for ever remain distinct and independent. They undoubtedly foresaw that France, if subdued, would in the end prove the seat of government; and they deemed this previous protestation necessary, in order to prevent their becoming a province of that monarchy. A frail security, if the event had really taken place!

NAVAL VICTORY. 1340.

As Philip was apprised, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men; and he stationed them off Sluise, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of two hundred and forty sail: but, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their backs; and with these advantages, on the thirteenth of June, began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody. The English archers, now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and, when the ships grappled together, and the contest became more steady and furious, the example of the king, and of so many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to such a degree the seamen and soldiery, that they maintained every where a superiority over the enemy. The French also had been guilty of some imprudence in taking their station so near the coast of Flanders, and choosing that place for the scene of action. The Flemings, desiring the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the English; which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. Two hundred and thirty French

The arms of
France are
quartered
with those
of England.

The parlia-
ment de-
clares
France and
England
for ever in-
dependent.

An engage-
ment be-
tween the
fleets of
France and
England.

The fight is
most despe-
rate.

A great victory is gained by the English.

Edward appears on the frontiers of France with a hundred thousand men.

The king of France is supported by the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre.

Philip strongly garrisons Tournay.

ships were taken ; thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. The loss of the English was inconsiderable, compared to the greatness of the victory. None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event ; till his jester gave him a hint, by which he discovered the loss that he had sustained.

The lustre of this great success increased the king's authority among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France, at the head of above one hundred thousand men, consisting chiefly of foreigners ; a more numerous army than either before or since has ever been commanded by any king of England. At the same time the Flemings, to the number of fifty thousand men, marched out under the command of Robert of Artois, and laid siege to St. Omer ; but this tumultuary army was routed by a sally of the garrison, and, notwithstanding the abilities of their leader, instantly dispersed, and never more appeared in the field. The enterprises of Edward, though not attended with so inglorious an issue, proved equally fruitless. The king of France had assembled an army more numerous than the English : was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom ; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre : yet he still adhered to the prudent resolution of putting nothing to hazard ; and, after throwing strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, he retired backwards, persuaded that the enemy, having wasted their force in some tedious and unsuccessful enterprise, would afford him an easy victory.

Tournay was at that time one of the most considerable cities of Flanders, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants of all ages, who were affectionate to the French government ; and, as the secret of Edward's designs had not been strictly kept, Philip learned that the English, to gratify their Flemish allies, had intended to open the campaign with the siege of this place : he took care, therefore, to supply it with a garrison of fourteen thousand men, commanded by the bravest

nobility of France ; and he reasonably expected that these forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city against all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he commenced the siege, about the end of July, found an obstinate resistance. The valour of one side was encountered with equal valour by the other ; every assault proved unsuccessful ; and the king was at last obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garrison and citizens, which had enabled them to defend themselves against his attacks, would but expose them to be the more easily reduced by famine. The count of Eu, who commanded in Tournay, as soon as he perceived that the English had formed this plan, endeavoured to save his provisions, by expelling all the useless mouths ; and the duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's enterprises, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress ; and Philip, recalling all his scattered garrisons, advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of seeking some opportunity of throwing relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the small progress he had hitherto made, and with the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, sent Philip a defiance by herald ; and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied that Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it by no means became him to send a defiance to his liege lord and sovereign : that he was confident, notwithstanding all Edward's preparations, and his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, he himself should soon be able to chase him from the frontiers of France : that, as the hostilities from England had prevented him from executing his purposed crusade against the infidels, he trusted in the assistance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious in-

Tournay is besieged.

The siege is changed to a blockade.

The city is reduced to great distress.

Edward sends Philip a challenge which is refused.

Philip offers to meet Edward in single combat, if England is taken on the result.

tentions, and punish the aggressor, whose ill grounded claims had rendered them abortive : that Edward proposed a duel on very unequal terms, and offered to hazard only his own person against both the kingdom of France and the person of the king ; but that if he would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the duel, he would, notwithstanding that the terms would still be unequal, very willingly accept of the challenge. It was easy to see that these mutual bravadoes were intended only to dazzle the populace, and that the two kings were too wise to think of executing their pretended purpose.

Jane, countess of Hainault, Edward's mother-in-law, interposes.

While the French and English armies lay in this situation, and a general action was every day expected, Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, interposed. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip ; and though she had taken the vows in a convent, and had renounced the world, she left her retreat, and employed all her pious efforts to allay those animosities which had taken place between persons so nearly related to her and to each other. As Philip had no material claims on his antagonist, she found that he hearkened to the proposals ; and even the haughty and ambitious Edward was not averse to her negotiation. He was sensible that he had engaged in an enterprise which far exceeded his force ; and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over a superior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He discovered that all the allies he could gain were at bottom averse to his enterprise ; and, though they might second it to a certain length, would oppose its final accomplishment, if ever they could be brought to think that there was seriously any danger of it. He saw that their chief purpose was to obtain money from him ; and, as his supplies came in very slowly, and had much disappointed his expectations, he perceived their growing indifference in his cause, and their desire of embracing all plausible terms of accommodation. Convinced that an undertaking must be imprudent which could only be supported by means so unequal to the end,

Edward is obliged to negotiate.

His supplies come in tardily.

he concluded a truce, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions, and stopped all farther hostilities on the side of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland, till Midsummer next. A negotiation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates ; and the truce was attempted to be converted into a solid peace. Edward here required that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely withdraw his protection from Scotland ; but, as he seemed not anywise entitled to make such high demands, either from his past successes or future prospects, they were totally rejected by Philip, who agreed only to a prolongation of the truce.

The king of France soon after detached the emperor Lewis from the alliance of England, and engaged him to revoke the title of Imperial Vicar, which he had conferred on Edward. The king's other allies gradually withdrew from the confederacy. And Edward himself, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his escape by stealth into England.

A truce is agreed upon.

But no peace is concluded.

Edward returns to England.

DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES.

THE unusual tax of a ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, imposed by parliament, together with the great want of money, and still more of credit, in England, had rendered the remittances to Flanders extremely backward ; nor could it be expected that any expeditious method of collecting an imposition, which was so new in itself, and which yielded only a gradual produce, could possibly be contrived. And, though the parliament, foreseeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a present resource, twenty thousand sacks of wool, (the only English goods that bore a sure price in foreign markets, and were the next to ready money) it was impossible but the getting possession of such a bulky commodity, the gathering of it from different parts of the kingdom, and the disposing of it abroad, must take up more time than the urgency of the king's affairs would permit. But, though nothing had happened which Edward might not reasonably have,

Heavy and unusual taxation.

The grant made by parliament slowly realized.

Edward imprisons the constable of the tower.

The chief justice, the chancellor, and the mayor of London, are placed in confinement.

Reasons for not bestowing high offices on churchmen

Arguments in their favour.

foreseen, he was so irritated with the unfortunate issue of his military operations, that he came in very bad humour into England. He discovered his peevish disposition by the first act which he performed after his arrival. As he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower negligently guarded: and he immediately committed to prison the constable, and all others who had the charge of that fortress, and treated them with unusual rigour. His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the sheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the undertakers of all kinds; and, besides dismissing all of them from their employments, he appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct; and these men, in order to gratify the king's humour, were sure not to find any person innocent. Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, Sir John Stonore chief justice, Andrew Aubrey mayor of London, were displaced and imprisoned; as were also the bishop of Chichester chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield treasurer. Stratford archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new taxes had been chiefly intrusted, fell likewise under the king's displeasure; but, being absent at the time of Edward's arrival, he escaped, feeling the immense effects of it.

There were strong reasons which might discourage the kings of England, in those ages, from bestowing the chief offices of the crown on ecclesiastical persons. These men had so intrenched themselves in privileges and immunities, and so openly challenged an exemption from all secular jurisdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malversation in office; and, as even treason itself was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a sufficient reason for deprivation or other spiritual censures, that order of men were not bound by any political law or statute. But, on the other hand, there were many peculiar causes which favoured their promotion. Besides that they possessed almost all the learning of the age, and were best qualified for civil employments, the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greatest barons, and gave weight, by their personal authority, to the powers

intrusted with them; while they did not endanger the crown by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were restrained, by the decency of their character, from that open violence so often practised by the nobles. These motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predecessors, to intrust the chief departments of government in the hands of ecclesiastics, at the hazard of seeing them disown his authority as soon as it was turned against them.

This was the case with archbishop Stratford. That prelate, informed of Edward's indignation against him, prepared himself for the storm; and, not content with standing upon the defensive, he resolved, by beginning the attack, to shew the king that he knew the privileges of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who on any pretext exercised violence on the person or goods of clergymen; who infringed those privileges secured by the Great Charter, and by ecclesiastical canons; or who accused a prelate of treason, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's displeasure. Even Edward had reason to think himself struck at by this sentence; both on account of the imprisonment of the two bishops and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his seizing their lands and moveables, that he might make them answerable for any balance which remained in their hands. The clergy, with the primate at their head, were now formed into a regular combination against the king; and many calumnies were spread against him. It was pretended that he meant to recall the general pardon, and the remission which he had granted of old debts, and to impose new and arbitrary taxes without consent of parliament. The archbishop went so far, in a letter to the king himself, as to tell him that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apostolic dignity, and the royal subordinate authority; that of these two powers the clerical was evidently the supreme, since the priests were to answer at the tribunal of the divine judgment for the conduct of kings themselves; that the

The clergy refrain from open violence.

Archbishop Stratford defends his privileges.

The clergy combine against the king.

Stratford vindicates the supreme rights of priests.

clergy were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful, and amongst others of kings and princes, and were entitled, by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to censure their transgressions; and that prelates had heretofore cited emperors before their tribunal, had sitten in judgment on their life and behaviour, and had anathematised them for their obstinate offences. These topics were not well calculated to appease Edward's indignation; and when he called a parliament he sent not to the primate, as to the other peers, a summons to attend it. Stratford was not discouraged at this mark of neglect or anger; he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the crosier in his hand, and accompanied by a pompous train of priests and prelates; and he required admittance as the first and highest peer in the realm. During two days the king rejected his application; but, sensible either that this affair might be attended with dangerous consequences, or that he had groundlessly accused the primate of malversation, which seems really to have been the case, he at last permitted him to take his seat, and was reconciled to him.

Edward now found himself in a bad situation, both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms: he had lost almost all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply involved: his military operations had vanished into smoke; and, except his naval victory, none of them had been attended with glory or renown, either to himself or to the nation: the animosity between him and the clergy was open and declared: the people were discontented on account of many arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged: and, what was more dangerous, the nobility were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. But the aspiring genius of Edward proved sufficient to rein-

state him in his former authority, and, finally, to render his reign the most triumphant in English story; though for the present he was obliged, with some loss of honour, to yield to the current which bore so strongly against him.

The parliament framed an act which was likely to produce considerable innovations in the government. They premised that, whereas the Great Charter had, to the manifest peril and slander of the king and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the imprisonment of free men, and the seizure of their goods, without suit, indictment, or trial, it was necessary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the steward and chamberlain of the household, the keeper of the privy seal, the controller and treasurer of the wardrobe, and those who were intrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to the regular observance of it. They also remarked that the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested and imprisoned, and dispossessed of their temporalities and lands, and even some of them put to death, without trial; and they, therefore, enacted that such violences should henceforth cease, and no peer be punished but by the award of his peers in parliament. They required that, whenever any of the great offices above mentioned became vacant, the king should fill it by the advice of his council, and the consent of such barons as should be found to reside in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted that, on the third day of every session, the king should resume into his own hand all these offices, except those of justices of the two benches, and the barons of exchequer; that the ministers should for the time be reduced to private persons; that they should in that condition answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them; and that, if they were found anywise guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their offices, and more able persons be substituted in their place. By these last regulations the barons approached as near as they durst to those restrictions which had formerly been imposed on Henry III. and Edward

Edward is obliged to conciliate the nobility.

The parliament claim a new confirmation of the charter

They declare that no peers shall be punished but by his peers in parliament.

Other restrictions are imposed on the king.

The king's
assent is
doubtful.

Edward
submits
to them,
and a new
grant is
made.

The king
declares the
act which
he had sanc-
tioned con-
trary to law.

He annuls
the statute.

It is subse-
quently re-
pealed by
parliament.

II., and which had become so generally odious, that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding them, or the assent of the present king in granting them.

In return for these important concessions, the parliament offered the king a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool; and his wants were so urgent, from the clamours of his creditors and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full parliament; but he secretly entered a protest of such a nature as was sufficient to destroy all future trust and confidence with his people: he declared that, as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him.* Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply than he issued an edict, which contains many extraordinary positions and pretensions. He first asserts that that statute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legislative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms that, as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had sworn to defend, he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never in his own breast given his assent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the parliament lay under force; but only that some inconvenience would have ensued, had he not seemingly affixed his sanction to that pretended statute. He therefore, with the advice of his council, and of some earls and barons, abrogates and annuls it; and declares it thenceforth to have no force or authority. The parliaments that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, which, by a parity of reason, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and, during the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute. This transaction

* That this protest of the king's was secret, appears evidently, since otherwise it would have been ridiculous in the parliament to have accepted of his

certainly contains remarkable circumstances, which discover the manners and sentiments of the age, and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from such rude hands, when employed in legislation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and a constitution.

But, though Edward had recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the events of the French war, he had undergone so many mortifications from that attempt, and saw so little prospect of success, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprising genius a full opportunity of displaying itself.

AFFAIRS OF BRITTANY. 1341.

JOHN III. duke of Brittany, had, during some years, found himself declining through age; and, having no issue, he was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. His younger brother, the count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir; and, as his family had inherited the duchy by a female succession, he thought her title preferable to that of the count of Mountfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly purposed to bestow his niece in marriage on some person who might be able to defend her rights; and he cast his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch. But as he both loved his subjects and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important step without their approbation; and, having assembled the states of Brittany, he represented to them the advantages of that alliance. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice; the marriage was concluded; all his vassals, and among the rest the count of Mountfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort

assent: besides, the king owns that he dissembled, which would not have been the case had his protest been public.

Rude legis-
lation.

A revolu-
tion in Brit-
tany.

John III.,
duke of
Brittany,
endeavours
to guard
against a
disputed
succession.

Charles of
Blois, his
nephew, is
named as
his succes-
sor.

as their future sovereigns ; and every danger of civil commotions seemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy against them.

But on the death of this good prince the ambition of the count of Mountfort broke through all these regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Brittany, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was soliciting, at the court of France, the investiture of the duchy, Mountfort was active in acquiring immediate possession of it : and by force or intrigue he made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, Hennebonne, and all the most important fortresses ; and engaged many considerable barons to acknowledge his authority. Sensible that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to England on pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death ; and there, offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty. Mountfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries ; who had no sincere attachment to his cause, and whose progress was also obstructed by those numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforcing these considerations ; and it required a very short negociation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

As this treaty was still a secret, Mountfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cause before the court of peers : but, observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, and dreading their intentions of arresting him till he should restore what he had seized by violence, he suddenly

made his escape ; and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip sent his eldest son, the duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the assistance of the latter ; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants ; Mountfort fell into the hands of his enemies, was conducted as a prisoner to Paris, and was shut up in the tower of the Louvre.

This event seemed to put an end to the pretensions of the count of Mountfort ; but his affairs were immediately retrieved by an unexpected incident. Jane of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of the age, was roused, by the captivity of her husband, from domestic cares ; and she undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. No sooner did she receive the fatal intelligence, than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided ; and, carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored the calamity of their sovereign. She recommended to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male remaining of their ancient princes ; who had governed them with such indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause ; discovered the resources which still remained in the alliance of England ; and entreated them to make one effort against an usurper, who, being imposed on them by the arms of France, would make a sacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Brittany. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance, and inspirited by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family ; all the other fortresses of Brittany embraced the same resolution ; the countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, concerting the proper plans of defence ; and, after she had put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her.

War is commenced between Mountfort and Charles of Blois.

Mountfort is made prisoner.

The countess of Mountfort supports the fortunes of her family.

She moves herself and subjects to act in concert with England.

She retires to Hennebonne.

On the death of John the count of Mountfort takes possession of the dukedom.

Mountfort offers to do homage to Edward as king of France.

Edward concludes a treaty of alliance with Mountfort.

Meanwhile she sent over her son to England, that she might both put him in safety, and engage the king more strongly, by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

She is besieged by Charles in Hennebonne.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and still more to take the countess prisoner, sat down before the place with a great army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons; and he conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous; the besiegers were repulsed in every assault; frequent sallies were made with success by the garrison; and, the countess herself being the most forward in all military operations, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost. One day she perceived that the besiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp; and she immediately sallied forth at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confusion, did great execution upon them, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines: but, when she was preparing to return, she found that she was intercepted, and that a considerable body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She instantly ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way to Brest; she met them at the appointed place of rendezvous; collected another body of five hundred horse; returned to Hennebonne; broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp; and was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who, encouraged by so rare an example of female valour, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The besieged oppose a bold and determined resistance.

Jane baffles the enemy.

Her condition becomes desperate.

The reiterated attacks, however, of the besiegers had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault would overpower the garrison, diminished in numbers, and extremely weakened. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation; and the bishop of Leon was already engaged, for that purpose, in a conference with Charles of Blois; when the countess, who had mounted to a high tower, and was looking towards the

sea with great impatience, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed, 'Behold the succours! the English succours! No capitulation!' This fleet had on board a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and six thousand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and, having inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from all their posts, and obliged them to decamp.

Succours arrive from England, and the siege is raised.

But, notwithstanding this success, the countess of Mountfort found that her party, overpowered by numbers, was declining in every quarter; and she went over to solicit more effectual succours from the king of England. Edward granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships, and sailed to Brittany. He was met in his passage by the enemy; an action ensued, where the countess behaved with her wonted valour, and charged the enemy sword in hand; but the hostile fleets, after a sharp action, were separated by a storm, and the English arrived safely in Brittany. The first exploit of Robert was the taking of Vannes, which he mastered by conduct and address; but he survived a very little time this prosperity. The Breton noblemen of the party of Charles assembled secretly in arms, attacked Vannes of a sudden, and carried the place; chiefly by reason of a wound received by Robert, of which he soon after died at sea on his return to England.

Jane visits England, and returns with Robert of Artois to Brittany.

Robert of Artois is wounded and dies.

WAR RENEWED WITH FRANCE.

1342.

AFTER the death of this unfortunate prince, the chief author of all the calamities with which his country was overwhelmed for more than a century, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Mountfort; and, as the last truce with France was now expired, the war, which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was

The truce with France expires.

War between England and France renewed.

Edward besieges Vannes, Rennes, and Nantz.

A cessation of arms is agreed upon.

War recommences.

thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. The king landed at Morbrian, near Vannes, with twelve thousand men; and endeavoured to give a lustre to his arms by commencing at once three important sieges, that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But, by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. Even the siege of Vannes, which Edward in person conducted with vigour, advanced but slowly. The duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, appeared in Brittany, at the head of thirty thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; and Edward was now obliged to draw together all his forces, and to intrench himself before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy soon after arrived, and in a manner invested the besiegers. The garrison and the French camp were plentifully supplied with provisions; while the English drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea. In this dangerous situation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Palestine and Frescati, who endeavoured to negotiate, if not a peace, at least a truce. A treaty was concluded for a cessation of arms during three years; and Edward had the abilities to procure to himself very equal and honourable terms. It was agreed that Vannes should be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be disposed of afterwards as they pleased; and, though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagonists, he saved himself from the dishonour of having undertaken a fruitless enterprise. It was also stipulated that all prisoners should be released; that the places in Brittany should remain in the hands of the present possessors; and that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the truce. Edward, soon after, embarked with his army for England.

The truce was of very short duration; and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction.

* It is reported of this prince, that having once, before the attack of a town, promised the soldiers the plunder, one private man happened to fall on a great chest full of money, which he immediately brought to the earl, as thinking it too great for him-

It seems probable, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in consenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himself from a perilous situation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careless in observing it. In all the memorials which remain he complains chiefly of the punishment inflicted on Oliver de Clisson, John de Montauban, and other Breton noblemen, who, he says, were partisans of the family of Mountfort, and consequently under the protection of England. But it appears that, at the conclusion of the truce, these noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cause of Charles of Blois; and, if they had entered into any secret correspondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were justly punishable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith. But, when Edward laid these pretended injuries before the parliament, whom he affected to consult on all occasions, that assembly entered into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of the war. The counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, and the boroughs with a tenth. The clergy consented to give a tenth for three years.

These supplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations; and he sent his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This prince possessed, to a high degree, the virtues of justice and humanity, as well as those of valour and conduct.* He attacked the count of Lisle, the French general, at Bergerac, and took the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord; and continually advanced in his conquests, till the count of Lisle, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, sat down before Auberoche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the English. The earl of Derby came upon

self to keep possession of it: but Derby told him that his promise did not depend on the greatness or smallness of the sum; and ordered him to keep it all for his own use.

Edward accuses the French king of violating the truce

New grants are made to Edward by parliament.

The earl of Derby gains various advantages over the French.

A victory is gained at Auberoche.

him by surprise, with only a thousand cavalry, threw the French into disorder, and obtained a complete victory. Lisle himself, with many considerable nobles, was taken prisoner. After this important success, Derby made a rapid progress in subduing the French provinces. He took Monsegur, Monsepat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortress of Damassen. Aiguillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was surrendered after a short siege. The only place where he met with considerable resistance was Reole, which was at last reduced, after a siege of above nine weeks. He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raise the siege than waste his time before a place of small importance.

Many places are surrendered to lord Derby.

The reason why Derby was permitted to make, without opposition, such progress, was the difficulties under which the French finances then laboured, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impositions, particularly the duty on salt, to the great discontent, and almost mutiny of his subjects. But, after the court of France was supplied with money, great preparations were made; and the duke of Normandy, attended by the duke of Burgundy and other great nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the English could not think of resisting in the open field. The earl of Derby allowed the French to carry on, at leisure, the siege of Angouleme, which was their first enterprise. John lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himself reduced to such extremities, as obliged him to employ a stratagem in order to save his garrison, and to prevent his being reduced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desired a parley with the duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich that he supposed he intended to capitulate. 'Not at all,' replied the governor: 'but as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, sir, as well as myself, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day.' The proposal was agreed to; and Norwich, having

A powerful army arrests his progress.

Successful stratagem of John lord Norwich.

ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched out next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich sent a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himself on faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, 'I see the governor has outwitted me; but let us be content with gaining the place:' and the English were allowed to pass unmolested. After some other successes, the duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon: and, as the natural strength of the fortress, together with a brave garrison under the earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny, rendered it impossible to take the place by assault, he purposed, after making several fruitless attacks, to reduce it by famine; but before he could finish this enterprise he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greatest disasters that ever befel the French monarchy.

The French general is outwitted.

The duke of Normandy besieges Aiguillon.

Edward, informed by the earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was exposed, had prepared a force, with which he intended, in person, to bring it relief. He embarked at Southampton on board a fleet of near a thousand sail of all dimensions; and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary; and the king, in despair of arriving in time at Guienne, was at last persuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt to change the destination of his enterprise. This nobleman was a Norman by birth, had long made a considerable figure in the court of France, and was generally esteemed for his personal merit and his valour: but, being disoblged and persecuted by Philip, he had fled into England; had recommended himself to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men; and had succeeded to Robert of Artois in the invidious office of exciting and assisting the king in every enterprise against his native country. He had long insisted that an expedition to Normandy promised, in the present circumstances, more favourable success than one to Guienne; that Edward would find the

King Edward and the Black Prince set out for Guienne.

He is induced by Geoffrey d'Harcourt, to change his destination.

northern provinces almost destitute of military force, which had been drawn to the south; that they were full of flourishing cities, whose plunder would enrich the English; that their cultivated fields would supply them with plenty of provisions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in those quarters. These reasons, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impression, after the disappointments which he met with in his voyage. He ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at la Hogue.

INVASION OF FRANCE. 1346.

THIS army, which during the course of the ensuing campaign was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish. The Welsh and the Irish were light disorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or scouring the country, than for any stable action. The bow was always esteemed a frivolous weapon where true military discipline was known, and regular bodies of well armed foot maintained. The only solid force in this army were the men at arms; and even these being cavalry, were much inferior in battle, to good infantry. And, as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of those ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itself, the sole object of general attention.

The king created the earl of Arundel constable of his army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt mareschals. He bestowed the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales and several of the young nobility immediately upon his landing. After destroying all the ships in la Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded license of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters. The loose discipline then prevalent could not be

much hurt by these disorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any surprise, by giving orders to his troops, however they might disperse themselves in the day-time, always to quarter themselves at night near the main body. In this manner Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were pillaged without resistance; and an universal consternation was spread over the province.

The intelligence of this unexpected invasion soon reached Paris, and threw Philip into great perplexity. He issued orders for levying forces in all quarters, and dispatched the count of Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caen, a populous and commercial but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the English army. The temptation of so rich a prize soon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and by the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But their courage failed them on the first shock; they fled with precipitation; the counts of Eu and Tancarville were taken prisoners; the victors entered the city along with the vanquished; and a furious massacre commenced, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The citizens barricaded their houses, and assaulted the English with stones, bricks, and every missile weapon; the English made way by fire to the destruction of the citizens; till Edward, anxious to save both his spoil and his soldiers, stopped the massacre, and, having obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops license to begin a more regular and less hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days: the king reserved for his own share the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and fine linen; and he bestowed all the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ships, and sent over to England; together with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caen, whose ransom was an additional profit, which he expected afterwards to levy. This dismal scene passed in the

The count of Eu, constable of France, was taken prisoner.

The French king leaves Caen to defend himself.

Caen falls, and a general massacre ensues.

The city is plundered.

presence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negociate a peace between the kingdoms.

Edward
marches to-
wards Paris.

The king moved next to Rouen, in hopes of treating that city in the same manner; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the king of France himself was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying the whole country, and every town and village. Some of his light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germans, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and other villages, was reduced to ashes within sight of the capital. The English intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now saw that the French meant to inclose him in their country; but he saved himself by a stratagem from this perilous situation. He gave his army orders to dislodge and to advance farther up the Seine; but, immediately returning by the same road, he arrived at Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with incredible celerity; passed over his army; and having thus disengaged himself from the enemy, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders.

His situa-
tion is
perilous,
but he
saves him-
self by
stratagem.

He burns
the suburbs
of Beauvais.

His vanguard, commanded by Harcourt, met with the townsmen of Amiens, who were hastening to reinforce their king, and defeated them with great slaughter. He passed by Beauvais, and burned the suburbs of that city: but, as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before; all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or strongly guarded; an army, under the command of Godemar de Faye, was stationed on the opposite banks; Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter with an army of an hundred thousand men; and he was thus exposed to the danger of being enclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country. In this extremity he published a reward to any one that should bring him

The Eng-
lish are in
danger of
starving.

intelligence of a passage over the Somme. A peasant, called Gobin Agace, was tempted on this occasion to betray the interests of his country; and he informed Edward of a ford below Abbeville which had a sound bottom, and might be passed without difficulty at low water. The king hastened thither, but found Godemar de Faye on the opposite bank. Being urged by necessity, he deliberated not a moment; but threw himself into the river, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain. The French army under Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing. So narrow was the escape which Edward, by his prudence and celerity, made from this danger! The rising of the tide prevented the French king from following him over the ford, and obliged that prince to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which some time was lost.

The inter-
ests of
France are
betrayed by
a peasant.

The Eng-
lish with
difficulty
continue
their re-
treat.

BATTLE OF CRESSY. AUGUST 25. 1346.

It is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch; and as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent resolution; he chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Cressy; he disposed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat, would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines:

The French
king is im-
patient for
revenge.

Edward
waits for
the pursu-
ing enemy.

Edward forms his army in three divisions.

the first was commanded by the prince of Wales; and, under him, by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line: he took to himself the command of the third division; by which he purposed either to bring succour to the two first lines, to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

The king inspires confidence by his own example.

The skill and order of this disposition, with the tranquillity in which it was made, served extremely to compose the minds of the soldiers; and the king rode through the ranks with such an air of cheerfulness and alacrity as conveyed the highest confidence into every beholder. He pointed out to them the necessity to which they were reduced, and the certain and inevitable destruction which awaited them if they trusted to anything but their valour, or gave that enemy an opportunity of taking revenge for the many insults and indignities which they had of late put upon him. He reminded them of the visible ascendancy which they had hitherto maintained over all the bodies of French troops that had fallen in their way; and assured them that the superior numbers of the army, which at present hovered over them, was an advantage easily compensated by the order in which he had placed his own army, and the resolution which he expected from them. He demanded nothing, but that they would imitate his own example, and that of the prince of Wales; and, as the honour, the lives, and liberties of all were exposed to the same danger, he was confident that they would make one common effort to extricate themselves from the present difficulties, and that their united courage would give them the victory over all their enemies.

He addresses his army in encouraging language.

He exhorts his followers to seek safety in victory.

It is related by some historians that Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery; the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe. This is the epoch of one of the most singular discoveries that has been made among men; a discovery which changed by degrees the whole art of war. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts rendered the progress of this new invention very slow. The artillery first framed were so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that men were not immediately sensible of their efficacy: and improvements have been continually making on this engine; which, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind and the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and has given greater stability to civil societies. Nations by its means have been brought more to a level; conquests have become less frequent and rapid; success in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation, overmatched by its enemies, either yields to their demands, or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.

Artillery first tried

Artillery was originally difficult to use:

It has since rendered war less bloody.

The invention of artillery was known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him. All his other movements discovered the same imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counsellor, and trusting to the great superiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English; and that, if he could once reach the enemy, the victory on his side was inevitable. He made a hasty march, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but, after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They, therefore, advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered

All Philip's movements are precipitately made.

He is advised to postpone the battle.

The French nobility are impatient for the conflict.

The army advances in disorder.

The Genoese begin the battle.

The Black Prince manifests great presence of mind.

from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the impatience of the French nobility made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. One division pressed upon another; orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them; this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; the king himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were three crowned heads in this engagement; the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans his son, and the king of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above one hundred and twenty thousand men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendour.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks immovable; and the Genoese began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy armed cavalry of the count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. The artillery fired amidst the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows, and nothing was to be seen in that vast body but hurry, confusion, and dismay. The young prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on

his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering somewhat their order, made a stout resistance; and, having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their superior numbers began to hem them round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the prince; who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example to valour which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, dispatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill, and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince were slain or wounded? on receiving an answer in the negative, 'Return,' said he, 'to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him; I am confident that he will shew himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him. He will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy.' This speech, being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage; they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count of Alençon was slain; that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder; the riders were killed or dismounted; the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.

The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother; he found them already discomfited. He had himself a horse killed under him; he was remounted; and, though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault seized the reins of his bridle, turned his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the

The French cavalry fight bravely.

Prince Edward is opposed to superior numbers, and aid is prayed from the king.

It is refused by the king.

The French army is discomfited.

The French fly before the English.

enemy ; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, 'My brave son ! persevere in your honourable course ; you are my son, for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day ; you have shewn yourself worthy of empire.*

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Cressy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy ; and, as the English observed that many of the enemy had lost their way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stratagem to bring them into their power : they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had taken in the battle ; and all who were allured by this false signal were put to death. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French king had given like orders to his troops ; but the real reason probably was, that the English, in their present situation, did not choose to be encumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle, and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, besides about thirty thousand of inferior rank ; many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable : he was blind from age ; but, being resolved to set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train ; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers, and his motto these German

words, 'Ich dien,' 'I serve ;' which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English than for the great slaughter of the French : there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank ; a demonstration that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle ; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom as might afterwards open the way to moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne ; he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of d'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves, his former partizans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to the prince of Wales. The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais ; and, after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais ; and, being supplied with every thing necessary, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to

Origin of the prince of Wales's motto.

Prudence of king Edward.

He aims but at securing the conquest of Calais.

The place is defended by John of Vienne.

* This great event has been perpetuated with so much care, that five centuries have not caused the recollection of it to fade, while the disasters which followed in the course of the same reign, and which may be said to have sprung in some measure from it, are wholly forgotten. To the skill of the English archers the triumph was mainly ascribed. Lanquette

says, "The kyng of Englande encountered the Frenche kyng nie the forest of Cressie, where he had not, in his hoste, the eyght man in comparison of the French armie, and obtained of them a noble and triumphant victorie, by the manhode of his archers."

—ED.

The siege
of Calais is
commenced

attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine. He chose a secure station for his camp; drew intrenchments around the whole city; raised huts for his soldiers, which he covered with straw or broom; and provided his army with all the conveniencies necessary to make them endure the winter season, which was approaching. As the governor soon perceived his intention, he expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, and he even supplied them with money for their journey.

While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many events, and all to the honour of the English arms.

Further
successes
are gained
by the earl
of Derby.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby master of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the superiority. He took Mirebeau by assault; he made himself master of Lusignan in the same manner; Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; Poitiers opened its gates to him; and Derby, having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with horror and devastation.

Charles of
Blois in-
vades Brit-
tany.

The flames of war were kindled in Brittany. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a considerable army, and invested the fortress of Roche de Rien; but the countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Brittany, compelled by the present necessity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herself a rival to the countess of Mountfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. And, while these heroic dames presented this extraordinary scene to the world, another princess in England of still higher rank showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The wife of
Charles
rivals the
countess of
Mountfort.

CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF SCOTS.

THE Scottish nation, after long defending their liberties against the superior force of the English, recalled their king (David Bruce) in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great assistance, he gave them the countenance of sovereign authority; and, as Edward's wars proved a great diversion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip, the king of Scotland was comprehended; and, when Edward made his last invasion upon France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to begin also hostilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of this nation being always forward in such incursions, David soon mustered a great army; entered Northumberland at the head of above fifty thousand men; and carried his ravages and devastations to the gates of Durham. But queen Philippa, assembling a body of little more than twelve thousand men, which she intrusted to the command of lord Percy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Cross; and, riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers: nor could she be persuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles with the English, even though they commonly declined such engagements where the superiority of numbers was not on their side; but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. They were broken and chased off the field: fifteen thousand of them, some historians say twenty thousand, were slain; among whom were Edward Keith earl mareschal, and Sir Thomas Charteris chancellor: and the king himself was taken prisoner, with the earls of Sutherland, Fife, Monteith, Carric, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.

Philippa, having secured her royal prisoner in the tower, crossed the sea at Dover; and was received in the English

The Scots
recall king
David.

Scotland
acts in con-
cert with
France
against
England.

Queen
Philippa
gives bat-
tle to the
Scottish
king.

The Scots
are defeated
and their
king taken
prisoner.

This the
age of chi-
valry.

camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry; Edward's court excelled in these accomplishments; and, if any thing could justify the obsequious devotion then professed to the fair sex, it must be the appearance of such extraordinary women as shone forth during that period.

CALAIS TAKEN. 1347.

THE town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery; by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length. But Philip, informed of their distressed condition, determined at last to attempt their relief; and he approached the English with an immense army, which the writers of that age make amount to two hundred thousand men. But he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and secured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable destruction, he concluded it impossible to make an attempt on the English camp. He had no other resource than to send his rival a vain challenge; which being refused, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and disperse them into their several provinces.

John of Vienne, governor of Calais, saw the necessity of surrendering his fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared on the walls, and made a signal to the English sentinels that he desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by Edward. 'Brave knight,' cried the governor, 'I have been intrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town; it is almost a year since you besieged me; and I have endeavoured, as well as those under me, to do our duty. We have no hopes of relief; we are perishing with hunger; I am willing, therefore, to surrender; and desire, as the sole condition, to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue.'

Manny replied that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the king of England;

that that prince was incensed against the townsmen of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, and for the evils which they had made him and his subjects suffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them. 'Consider,' replied Vienne, 'that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled; if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince, much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. If we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged; and we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf.'

Manny was struck with the justness of the sentiments, and represented to the king the danger of reprisals if he should give such treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was persuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded; he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it struck the inhabitants with new consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow citizens, for signaling their valour in a common cause, appeared to them even more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forth, and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before

It is announced that Edward will visit the place with his vengeance.

Sir Walter Manny's good offices are solicited on behalf of the defenders.

Edward requires six citizen victims.

Six citizens devote themselves to save their friends.

Edward orders their execution, but is induced to spare them.

Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led to execution. It is surprising that so generous a prince should ever have entertained such a barbarous purpose, and still more that he should seriously persist in the resolution of executing it.* But the entreaties of his queen saved his memory from that infamy; she threw herself on her knees, and, with tears, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.

He expels the inhabitants from Calais.

The king took possession of Calais; and executed an act of rigour, more justifiable, because more necessary, than that which he had before resolved on. He knew that, notwithstanding his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as as a mortal enemy: he, therefore, ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was any considerable demand in foreign markets. All the English were obliged to bring thither these goods; foreign merchants came to the same place to purchase them; and, at a period when posts were not established, and when the communication between states was so imperfect, this institution was probably of advantage to the kingdom.

Merchants are obliged to bring their goods there.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates Edward concluded a truce with France, but, even during this cessation of arms, he had very nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his boasted victories. The king had intrusted that place to Aimery de Pavie, an Italian, who had discovered bravery and conduct in the wars, but was utterly destitute of every principle of honour. This man agreed to deliver up Calais for twenty thousand crowns; and Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded the

Aimery de Pavie, governor of Calais, agrees to deliver it up to the French.

French forces in those quarters, and who knew that, if he succeeded in this service, he should not be disavowed, ventured, without consulting his master, to conclude the bargain. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of Aimery's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences; and, having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, secretly departed from London, carrying with him the prince of Wales; and, without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais. He made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces and the garrison under arms. On the appearance of Charni, a chosen band of French soldiers was admitted at the postern; and Aimery, receiving the stipulated sum, promised that, with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. All the French who entered were immediately slain, or taken prisoners; the great gate opened; Edward rushed forth with cries of battle and of victory; the French, though astonished at the event, behaved with valour; a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribaumont, who exerted himself with singular vigour and bravery; and he was seized with a desire of trying a single combat with him. He stepped forth, and, challenging Ribaumont by name, (for he was known to him) began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman: he twice recovered himself: blows were redoubled with equal force on both sides: the victory was long undecided; till Ribaumont, perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called

The plot is detected, and he is doubly treacherous.

Edward prepares a warm reception for the French.

The French are admitted into the town, but betrayed to the English.

The king engages in single combat.

* See note Q at the end of the volume.

out, 'Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner;' and delivered his sword to the king. Most of the French, being overpowered, and intercepted in their retreat, lost their lives or their liberty.

The French officers, who had fallen into the hands of the English, were conducted into Calais; where Edward discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. They were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility; and after supper, the king came into the apartment, and went about, conversing familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He even addressed himself to Charni, and avoided reproaching him, in too severe terms, with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce: but he openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribaumont; called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confessed that he himself had at no time been in so great danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, 'Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery; and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake. I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels; let them all know from what hand you had the present. You are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of ransom; and you are at liberty to dispose of yourself as you think proper.'

Nothing proves more evidently the vast superiority assumed by the nobility and gentry during those ages, than the extreme difference which Edward made in his treatment of these French knights, and that of the six citizens of Calais, who had exerted more signal bravery in a cause more justifiable and more honourable.*

* It has been observed in reference to some passages in the lives of Edward and his son, that their actions belonged less to themselves personally, or their country, than to their age. Refinement then was in its infancy; and the natural ferocity of man, in a wild or excited state, but

CHAPTER XVI.

EDWARD III.

INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER.—STATE OF FRANCE.—BATTLE OF POICTIERS AND CAPTIVITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—STATE OF THAT KINGDOM.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE OF BRETIGNI.—STATE OF FRANCE.—EXPEDITION INTO CASTILE.—RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.—ILL-SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH.—DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS IN THIS REIGN.

INSTITUTION OF THE GARTER. 1349.

THE prudent conduct and great success of Edward had excited a strong emulation and a military genius among the English nobility; and these turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more useful direction to their ambition, and attached themselves to a prince who led them to the acquisition of riches and of glory. That he might farther promote the spirit of emulation and obedience, the king instituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of some orders of a like nature, which had been established in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons besides the sovereign; and, as it has never been enlarged, this badge of distinction continues as honourable as at its first institution, and is still a valuable, though a cheap present, which the prince can confer on his greatest subjects. A vulgar story prevails, that, at a court ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not

The order of the Garter consists of twenty-five persons and the sovereign.

The order never enlarged.

imperfectly corrected, even in those who aspired to be great. It was a fine trait, well calculated to fix the admiration of all beholders, to lavish honours on Ribaumont; the poor citizens, from whom he had been personally in no danger, he could hardly be prevailed upon to spare; and when at last he relented, left it

obtained this favour merely by accident ; upon which he called out, ' *Honi soit qui mal y pense,* ' ' Evil to him that evil thinks : ' and, as every incident of gallantry among those ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance, he instituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. This origin, though frivolous, is not unsuitable to the manners of the times ; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account, either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which seems to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament.*

But a sudden damp was thrown over the court of England by a destructive pestilence, which invaded that kingdom as well as the rest of Europe ; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. It was probably more fatal in great cities than in the country ; and above fifty thousand souls are said to have perished by it in London alone. This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state through which it passed. So grievous a calamity, more than the pacific disposition of princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.

STATE OF FRANCE. 1354.

DURING this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his bad success against England had thrown into extreme disorder. This monarch, during the first years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of 'fortunate,' and acquired the character of prudent ; but he ill-maintained

to his queen to requite their grievous devotion. Perhaps in the case of this gallant knight, beneath whose arm Edward had nearly fallen, he had another feeling roused : feasting him was commemorating his own escape.—Ed.

* "Some conjecture that he instituted the order of the Garter for that in a battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word 'garter' for a sign : and some again are of opinion, that the institution of this order is more ancient, and began by king Richard

either the one or the other ; less from his own fault, than because he was overmatched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John gave the French nation cause to regret even the calamitous times of his predecessor. John was distinguished by many virtues, particularly a scrupulous honour and fidelity ; † he was not deficient in personal courage ; but, as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was disturbed by intestine commotions, and oppressed with foreign wars. The chief source of his calamities was Charles king of Navarre, who received the epithet of 'the bad' or 'wicked,' and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. This prince was descended from males of the blood royal of France ; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin ; he had espoused a daughter of king John : but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. With regard to his personal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent ; full of insinuation and address ; inexhaustible in his resources ; active and enterprising. But these splendid accomplishments were attended with such defects as rendered them pernicious to his country, and even ruinous to himself. He was volatile, inconstant, faithless, malicious ; restrained by no principle ; insatiable in his pretensions ; and whether successful or unfortunate in one enterprise, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the most criminal and most dishonourable expedients.

The constable of Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caen, recovered his liberty, on the promise of delivering as his ransom the town of Guisnes,

the first, but that this king Edward advanced it, and brought it into splendour."—Baker.—Ed.

† Many historians have concurred in giving John credit for a high sense of honour. This seems mainly to rest on a theatrical declaration which he made on one occasion, that "honour, if no where else to be found, ought still to have a home in the hearts of princes." This nice sense of honour did not save him from committing many unworthy actions.—Ed.

John, his son, succeeds to the throne.

Charles "the bad" king of Navarre.

He is accomplished, but vicious

Its supposed origin.

A dreadful pestilence.

Death of Philip de Valois.

The constable of Dauphin put to death by John.

His successor assassinated by order of the king of Navarre.

The king of Navarre secretly corresponds with England.

John purchases an accommodation with Charles "the bad."

Charles renews his intrigues.

near Calais, of which he was superior lord ; but, as John was offended at this stipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened still farther that frontier to the enemy, and as he suspected the constable of more dangerous connexions with the king of England, he ordered him to be seized, and, without any legal or formal trial, put him to death in prison. Charles de la Cerda was appointed constable in his place, and had a like fatal end. The king of Navarre ordered him to be assassinated ; and such was the weakness of the crown that this prince, instead of dreading punishment, would not even agree to ask pardon, but on condition that he should receive an accession of territory. And he had also John's second son put into his hands as a security for his person, when he came to court, and performed this act of mock penitence and humiliation before his sovereign.

The two French princes seemed entirely reconciled ; but this dissimulation, to which John submitted from necessity, and Charles from habit, did not long continue ; and the king of Navarre knew that he had reason to apprehend the most severe vengeance for the many treasons which he had already committed, and the still greater which he was meditating. To ensure protection, he entered into a secret correspondence with England, by means of Henry earl of Derby, now earl of Lancaster, who at that time was employed in fruitless negotiations for peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. John detected this correspondence ; and, to prevent the dangerous effects of it, he sent forces into Normandy, the chief seat of the king of Navarre's power, and attacked his castles and fortresses : but, hearing that Edward had prepared an army to support his ally, he had the weakness to propose an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this traitorous subject the sum of a hundred thousand crowns as the purchase of a feigned reconciliation, which rendered him still more dangerous. The king of Navarre, insolent from past impunity, and desperate from the dangers which he had apprehended, continued his intrigues ; and, associating himself with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from

Philip de Valois, he increased the number of his partisans in every part of the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles the king of France's eldest son, a youth of seventeen, the first that bore the appellation of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince, being made sensible of the danger and folly of these connexions, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates ; and, in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution ; the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the king, and of treachery in the dauphin, was far from proving decisive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey de Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence, and had recourse to the protection of England in this desperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired ; and Edward was entirely free to support the French malcontents. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partisans in that kingdom, he purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais in his own person.

Young Edward arrived in the Garonne, with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred sail, attended by the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other English noblemen. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he took the field ; and, as the present disorders in France prevented every proper plan of defence, he carried on with impunity his ravages, according to the mode of war in that age. He reduced all the villages and several towns in Languedoc to ashes ; he presented himself before Thoulouse ; passed the Garonne, and burned the suburbs of Carcassonne ; advanced even to Narbonne,

The king of Navarre corrupts the dauphin.

He is betrayed, and thrown into prison.

The truce between France and England expires.

Edward prepares to make war on France.

The Black Prince ravages Languedoc.

laying every place waste around him; and, after an incursion of six weeks, returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. The constable of Bourbon, who commanded in these provinces, received orders, though at the head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

The king of England's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France at the head of a numerous army; to which he gave a full licence of plundering the open country. He advanced to St. Omer, where the king of France was posted; and, on the retreat of that prince, followed him to Hesdin. John still kept at a distance, and declined an engagement: but, in order to save his reputation, he sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him; a usual bravado in that age, derived from the practice of single combat, and ridiculous in the art of war. The king, finding no sincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the king's absence, and that of the military power of England, had surprised Berwick; and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces: but on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place; and, retiring to their mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh. Baliol attended Edward on this expedition; but, finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining through age, he finally resigned into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and received an annual pension of two thousand pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement.

During these military operations Edward received information of the increasing disorders in France, arising from the imprisonment of the king of Navarre; and he

sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partisans of that prince in Normandy. The war was conducted with various success, but chiefly to the disadvantage of the French malcontents; till an important event happened in the other quarter of the kingdom, which had well nigh proved fatal to the monarchy of France, and threw everything into the utmost confusion.

BATTLE OF POICTIERS; KING OF FRANCE TAKEN. 1356.

THE prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army, which no historian makes amount to above twelve thousand men, and of which not a third were English; and, with this small body, he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limousin, he entered the province of Berry, and made some attacks on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. It appeared that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the earl of Lancaster and the partisans of the king of Navarre; but, finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. He found this necessary, from the intelligence which he received of the king of France's motions. That monarch, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected a great army of above sixty thousand men, and advanced by hasty marches, to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days on his retreat before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and Edward, sensible that retreat was impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander.

But the utmost prudence and courage would have proved insufficient to save him had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. His

Lancaster is sent with a small army to support the friends of Charles.

The prince of Wales penetrates into the heart of France.

The king of France cuts off his retreat.

The French find him near Poitiers.

Edward invades France.

The Scots surprise Berwick.

Baliol resigns to Edward his pretensions to the crown of Scotland.

The English army must critically be situated.

Cardinal Perigord interposes between the French and English.

Edward offers to purchase a retreat.

He rejects the terms offered by John.

The English prepare a battle.

great superiority enabled him to surround the enemy ; and, by intercepting all provisions, which were already become scarce in the English camp, to reduce this small army without a blow, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But such was the impatient ardour of the French nobility, that this idea never struck any of the commanders ; and they took measures for the assault as for a certain victory. While the French army was drawn up in order of battle, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal of Perigord ; who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened, by interposing his good offices, to prevent any farther effusion of Christian blood. By John's permission, he carried proposals to the prince of Wales ; and found him so sensible of the bad posture of his affairs, that an accommodation seemed not impracticable. Edward told him that he would agree to any terms consistent with his own honour and that of England ; and he offered to purchase a retreat, by ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign, and by stipulating not to serve against France during the course of seven years. But John required that Edward should surrender himself prisoner with a hundred of his attendants ; and offered, on these terms, a safe retreat to the English army. The prince rejected the proposal with disdain ; and declared that, whatever fortune might attend him, England should never be obliged to pay the price of his ransom. This resolute answer cut off all hopes of accommodation ; but as the day was already spent in negotiating, the battle was delayed till the next morning.

The cardinal of Perigord, as did all the prelates of the court of Rome, bore a great attachment to the French interest ; but the most determined enemy could not have done a greater prejudice to John's affairs than he did them by this delay. The prince of Wales had leisure, during the night, to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen ; and he contrived an ambush of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under

the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The lords Chandos, Audeley, and many other experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of his army.

John also arranged his forces in three divisions, nearly equal : the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother ; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers ; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip his fourth son and favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges ; and, in order to open this passage, the mareschals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each side with their arrows ; and, being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met, on the open ground, the prince of Wales himself ; at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown ; one of the mareschals was slain, the other taken prisoner ; and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. In that critical moment the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bondenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, carried them off the field, and set the example of

An ambush is planned.

The French advance to the attack.

The battle of Poitiers

French nobles retreat.

The duke of Orleans flies.

The king of France fights desperately.

His attendants are slain, and his son wounded.

King John is made prisoner.

flight, which was followed by that whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, carried off his division by a retreat, which soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince that the day was won, and encouraged him to attack the division under king John; which, though more numerous than the whole English army, were somewhat dismayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Nostro. One side were encouraged by the near prospect of so great a victory; the other were stimulated by the shame of quitting the field to an enemy so much inferior. But the three German generals, together with the duke of Athens, constable of France, falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him: the nobles fell by his side one after another: his son, scarce fourteen years of age, received a wound while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father: the king himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter: several, who attempted to seize him, suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, 'Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?' and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank. But, being told that the prince was at a distance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His son was taken with him.

The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had

ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle; inquiring still with great anxiety concerning the fate of the French monarch. He dispatched the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The English had taken him by violence from Morbec; the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining the royal prisoner; and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize, had threatened to put him to death. Warwick overawed both parties, and, approaching the king with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroism of Edward; for victories are vulgar things in comparison of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young prince of twenty-seven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John shewed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment. His present abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of such consummate valour and humanity.

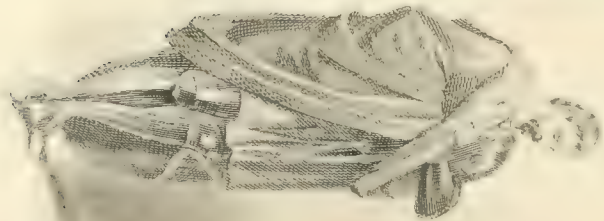
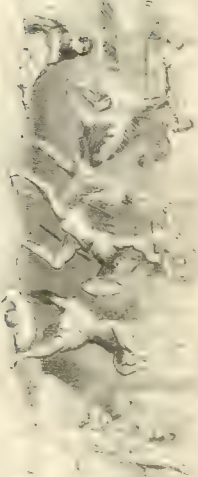
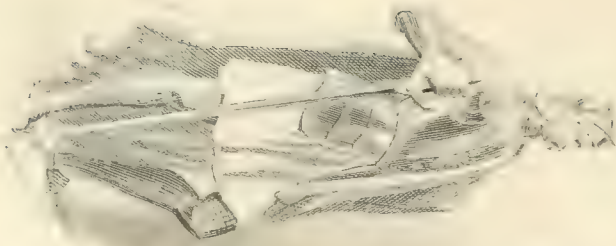
Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner; and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue: he stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared that, being a subject, he was

The Black Prince is anxious to learn the fate of John.

The earl of Warwick saves the French king's life.

John is most honourably received by the Black Prince.

Edward serves at his captive's table.



too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty to assume such freedom. All his father's pretensions were now buried in oblivion ; John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne ; his misfortunes were respected ; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind more than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration ; which were only checked by the reflection that such genuine and unaltered heroism in an enemy must certainly, in the issue, prove but the more dangerous to their native country.

All the English and Gascon knights imitated the generous example set them by their prince. The captives were every where treated with humanity, and were soon after dismissed, on paying moderate ransoms. The extent of their fortunes was considered ; and an attention was given that they should still have sufficient means left to perform their military service in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. Yet so numerous were the noble prisoners, that these ransoms, added to the spoils gained in the field, were sufficient to enrich the prince's army ; and, as they had suffered very little, their exultation was complete.

The prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to Bourdeaux ; and not being provided with forces so numerous as might enable him to push his present advantages, he concluded a two years' truce with France, which was also become requisite, that he might conduct the captive king with safety into England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in meaner attire, carried by a black palfry. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as

if he had been a neighbouring potentate come to pay him a friendly visit. It is impossible, in reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which resulted from the otherwise whimsical principles of chivalry, and which gave men, in those rude times, some superiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation.*

The king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy consolation of the wretched, to see companions in affliction. The king of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands ; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be prisoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling ; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.

STATE OF FRANCE. 1358.

MEANWHILE the captivity of John, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country confusions, the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity ; but, though endowed with an excellent capacity, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state, assailed at once by foreign power and shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain supply, he assembled the states of the kingdom : that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provost

He is courteously received by king Edward.

The king of Scots is still a captive in England.

King David is ransomed.

Consequences produced in France by John's captivity.

The dauphin is in great difficulties.

* See note R at end of the volume.

His generosity overcame the French prisoners.

Edward's conduct is imitated by his knights.

King John was used as a hostage for Bourdeaux.

The French passed through London.

He is virtually a captive.

The standard of rebellion is raised.

The French nobles are viewed with contempt.

The soldiers become brigands.

The nobles and their families are pursued with the most atrocious violence.

of the merchants, and first magistrate of Paris, put himself at the head of the unruly populace; and, from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They retained the dauphin in a sort of captivity; they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareschals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other ministers with a like fate: and, when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and spread the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence; and, being reproached with cowardice on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poitiers, were treated with universal contempt. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and, associating to them all the disorderly people with whom that age abounded, formed numerous bands which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country; burned and plundered villages; and reduced even the inhabitants of walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, left unprotected, became desperate; and, rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, became only the object of more wanton insult. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy; their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled to the ground; their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered. The savages proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire. A

body of nine thousand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, with above three hundred ladies, had taken shelter. The most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company; but the Captal de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet, moved by generosity and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. The wild state of nature seemed to be renewed; every man was independent of his fellows; and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amidst these disorders the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. But the splendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do mischief, and to increase the public distractions. He wanted the prudence requisite for making his intrigues subservient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partisans into a regular faction. He revived his pretensions, somewhat obsolete, to the throne of France: but, while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the English, who, being public and inveterate enemies to the state, served only, by the friendship which they seemingly bore him, to render his cause the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged, by his station, to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French, who wished to restore peace to their desolated country, were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence, that he daily gained the ascendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dis-

The Captal de Buche saves three hundred ladies from being outraged.

The king of Navarre escapes from prison.

He claims the crown of France.

Prudent measures of the dauphin.

persed; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate; and, though many grievous disorders remained, France began to assume the face of a regular civil government, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

During the confusion of the dauphin's affairs Edward seemed to have a favourable opportunity for pushing his conquests: but, besides that his hands were tied by the truce, and he could only assist underhand the faction of Navarre, the state of the English finances and military power, rendered the kingdom incapable of any steady effort, and obliged it to exert its force at very distant intervals. Edward employed himself, during a conjuncture so inviting, chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, which, had they taken effect, must have totally ruined and dismembered his kingdom. He agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now by subsidies and frugality collected some treasure, prepared for a new invasion of France.

The great authority and renown of the king and the prince of Wales, the splendid success of their former enterprises, and the certain prospect of plunder from the defenceless provinces of France, soon brought together the whole military power of England, and all the hardy adventurers of the different countries of Europe. He passed over to Calais, where he assembled an army of near a hundred thousand men; a force which the dauphin could not pretend to withstand in the open field; that prince, therefore, prepared himself to elude a blow which it was impossible for him to resist. He put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence; ordered them to be supplied with magazines and provisions; distributed proper garrisons; secured everything valuable in the fortified cities; and chose his own station at Paris,

with a view of allowing the enemy to vent their fury on the open country.

INVASION OF FRANCE. 1359.

THE king, aware of this plan of defence, was obliged to carry along with him six thousand waggons, loaded with the provisions necessary for the subsistence of his army. After ravaging the province of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne; and, having a strong desire of being crowned king of France at Rheims, the usual place in which this ceremony is performed, he laid siege to that city; and carried on his attacks, though without success, for the space of seven weeks. The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of the archbishop John de Craon; till the advanced season (for this expedition was entered upon in the beginning of winter) obliged the king to raise the siege. The province of Champagne meanwhile was desolated by his incursions; and he thence conducted his army with a like intent into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other small places: but the duke of Burgundy, that he might preserve his country from farther ravages, consented to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand nobles. Edward then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which saved itself by a like composition: he laid waste Brie and the Gatinois; and, after a long march, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle; but could not make that prudent prince change his plan of operations. Paris was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison; from that of a blockade by its well supplied magazines. And, as Edward himself could not subsist his army in a country wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left empty by the precaution of the dauphin, he was obliged to remove his quarters; and he spread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beausse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to their devastations.

The country is left open to the English.

Edward besieges Rheims.

The city is successfully defended.

Edward approaches Paris.

He ravages the neighbouring provinces.

The condition of France is improved.

The captive king of France signs terms of peace.

They are rejected by the dauphin.

Edward enters France with a large army.

A pause
made in de-
vastation.

The only repose which France experienced was during the festival of Easter, when the king stopped the course of his ravages ; for superstition can sometimes restrain the rage of men, which neither justice nor humanity is able to control.

The duke of
Lancaster
com-
mends
peace to
Edward.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for peace were never interrupted: but as the king still insisted on the full execution of the treaty which he had made with his prisoner at London, and which was strenuously rejected by the dauphin, there appeared no likelihood of an accommodation. The earl, now duke of Lancaster (for this title was introduced into England during the present reign) endeavoured to soften the rigour of these terms, and to finish the war on reasonable conditions. He insisted with Edward that the object of the war, the acquisition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it ; or rather was set at a greater distance by those very victories which seemed to lead to it : that his claim of succession had not procured him one partisan in the kingdom ; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him : that, though intestine faction had crept into the government of France, it was abating every moment : that the king of Navarre himself, who alone was allied with the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partisans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France : that the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament : that, if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state, that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers ; if it could establish a more steady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favour, and be able to repel the present victors : that the dauphin, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence, as to prevent the English from acquiring one foot of land in the kingdom ;

He shews
the war to
be ruinous
to the king.

And that
the object
of it cannot
be gained.

Its chances
are danger-
ous to the
present vic-
tors.

and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostilities : and that, Edward having acquired so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aspire ; an honour so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the most real advantages.

PEACE OF BRETIGNI. 1360.

THESE reasons induced Edward to accept of more moderate terms of peace : this change of resolution, he ascribed to a vow made during a dreadful tempest, which attacked his army on their march. At Bretigni peace was concluded on the following conditions. It was stipulated that king John should be restored, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about one million five hundred thousand pounds of our present money ;* which was to be discharged at different payments : that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors ; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter ; together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France : that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England ; and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal, from them : that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours : that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connexions with the Scots : that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany, between the families of Blois and Mountfort, should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings ; and, if the competitors refused to submit to the award, the dispute should no longer be a ground

Edward is
assured he
can make
peace with
glory.

Edward
abates his
demands.

Peace is
concluded.

The king of
Navarre is
restored.

* See note S at end of the volume.

of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions.

In consequence of this treaty the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward also soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey; and the two monarchs parted with many professions of mutual amity. The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the ascendant gained over him by his rival. There seldom has been a treaty of so great importance so faithfully executed by both parties. Edward had scarcely from the beginning entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France: by restoring John, and making peace at a juncture so favourable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretensions of this nature: he had sold, at a very high price, that chimerical claim; and had at present no other interest than to retain those acquisitions which he had made with such singular prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were severe, was determined at all hazards to execute them, and to use every expedient for satisfying a monarch who had been his greatest political enemy, but had treated him personally with singular humanity and regard. But notwithstanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties, chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vassals in the neighbourhood of Guienne expressed against submitting to the English dominion; and John, to adjust these differences, took a resolution of coming over himself to England. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash design; but John replied to them that, though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes. Some historians would detract from the merit of this honourable conduct, by representing John as enamoured of an English lady, to

whom he was glad on this pretence to pay a visit; but, besides that this surmise is not founded on any good authority, it appears somewhat unlikely, on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-sixth year. He was lodged in the Savoy; the palace where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after sickened and died. Though both his reign and that of his father proved extremely unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, very considerable accessions, those of Dauphiny and Burgundy. This latter province, however, John had the imprudence again to dismember by bestowing it on Philip his fourth son, the object of his most tender affections; a deed which was afterwards the source of many calamities to the kingdom.

John was succeeded in the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, which held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and he was the first king in Europe that shewed the advantage of policy above a rash and precipitate valour. The events of his reign are a proof how little reason kingdoms have to value themselves on their victories, or to be humbled by their defeats; which ought to be ascribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and are of little moment towards determining national characters and manners.

STATE OF FRANCE. 1364.

BEFORE Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age: he defeated this prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, whom he had the discernment to choose as the

He is in the Savoy.

Burgundy is given to his fourth son.

Charles, the successor of John, never commanded his armies.

He makes war on the king of Navarre.

His general,
du Guesclin,
is defeated
and made
prisoner.

Disturbed
state of
France.

Disbanded
troops join
"The Com-
panies," or
organized
bandits.

"The Com-
panies" are
excommu-
nicated by
the pope.

instrument of all his victories; and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du Guesclin was less fortunate in the wars of Brittany, which continued, notwithstanding the mediation of France and England. He was defeated and taken prisoner at Auray by Chandos; Charles of Blois was there slain; and the young count of Mountfort soon after got entire possession of that duchy. But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow; he acknowledged the title of Mountfort, though a zealous partisan of England, and received the proffered homage for his dominions. But the chief obstacle which the French king met with in the settlement of the state proceeded from obscure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent, and their number dangerous.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Breteigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life by which alone they could gain a subsistence. They associated themselves with the banditti, who under the name of the 'companies' and 'companions,' became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character, particularly Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir Hugh Calverly, the chevalier Verte, and others, were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians: whose numbers amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers. These leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories; in one of which Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain: and they wanted little but regular establishments to become princes, and thereby sanctify, by the maxims of the world, their infamous profession. The greater spoil they committed on the country, the more easy they found it to recruit their number; all those who were reduced to misery flocked to their standard; and, though the pope declared them excommunicated, these military plunderers, however deeply affected with the sentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any principles of

morality, could not be induced by it to betake themselves to lawful professions.

As Charles was not able by power to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led to correct it by policy; and to contrive some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil.

Peter, king of Castile, stigmatized by his contemporaries with the epithet of 'cruel,' had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and, having incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, he kept, from terror alone, an anxious and precarious possession of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his severity. He put to death several of his natural brothers from groundless jealousy. Each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occasion of fresh barbarities. The ferocity of his temper, instead of being softened by his strong propensity to love, was rather inflamed by that passion, and took thence new occasion to exert itself. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the ascendant over him, he threw into prison Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, sister to the queen of France; and soon after made way by poison for the espousing of his mistress.

Henry, count of Transtamare, his natural brother, seeing the fate of every one who had become obnoxious to this tyrant, took arms against him; but, being foiled in the attempt, he sought for refuge in France, where he found minds extremely inflamed against Peter, on account of his murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the 'companies' in his service, and to lead them into Castile; where he had the prospect of certain success. The French king, charmed with the project, employed du Guesclin in negotiating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded. The high character of honour which that general possessed made every one trust to his promises. Though the intended expedition was kept secret, 'the companies' implicitly enlisted under his standard: and they required no other condition than an assurance that they were not to be led against the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was so little

"The Companies" still continue their outrages.

Peter "the cruel" commits great atrocities.

He poisons Blanche de Bourbon.

Henry of Transtamare, Peter's brother, seeks a refuge in France.

"The Companies" are engaged to march against Castile.

averse to the enterprise, that he allowed some gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the service under du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was readily promised him; more difficulty was made with regard to the second. 'I believe that my fellows,' replied du Guesclin, 'may make a shift to do without your absolution; but the money is absolutely necessary.' The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood a hundred thousand livres, and offered it to du Guesclin. 'It is not my purpose,' cried that generous warrior, 'to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money must be restored to the owners; and, should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution.' The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid him from his treasury the sum demanded. The army, hallowed by the blessings, and enriched by the spoils, of the church, proceeded on their expedition.

EXPEDITION INTO CASTILE. 1367.

THESE experienced and hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile. Peter fled, took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince seemed to have entirely changed his sentiments with regard to the Spanish transactions. Whether that he was moved by the generosity of supporting a distressed prince, or dreaded the acquisition of so powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Castile; or sought only an opportunity for exerting his military talents, by which he had already acquired so much renown; he promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch; and, having

obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army and set out upon his enterprise. He was accompanied by his younger brother John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter he had espoused. Chandos also, who bore among the English the same character which du Guesclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The first blow which the prince of Wales gave to Henry of Transtamare was the recalling of all his companies from his service; and so much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately enlisted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thousand men; forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin, and all his experienced officers, advised him to delay any decisive action; to cut off the prince of Wales's provisions; and to avoid every engagement with a general, whose enterprises had hitherto been always conducted with prudence and crowned with success. Henry trusted too much to his numbers, and ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara. Historians of that age are commonly very copious in describing the shock of armies in battle, the valour of the combatants, the slaughter, and various successes of the day: but such actions deserve more the name of routs than of battles. Henry was chased off the field, with the loss of above twenty thousand men. There perished only four knights and forty private men on the side of the English.

Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood; but was restrained by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But he had soon reason to repent his connexions

An army levied.

Edward recalls "The Companies" from the service of Henry of Transtamare.

Henry encounters the Black Prince.

He is defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men.

Peter is restored.

Du Guesclin takes command of "The Companies."

He exacts pecuniary aid from the pope and cardinals.

The king of Castile is compelled to fly.

Edward the Black Prince espouses his cause.

He proves ungrateful, and Edward withdraws.

with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, finding his soldiers daily perish by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any satisfaction, to return into Guienne.

Peter is deposed and murdered

The barbarities exercised by Peter over his subjects, revived all the animosity of the Castilians; and, on the return of Henry of Transtamare, with du Guesclin, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, murdered him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty; and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

RUPTURE WITH FRANCE. 1368.

The prince of Wales imposes a new tax on his French principality.

BUT the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received, from this splendid though imprudent expedition, ended not with it. He had involved himself in so much debt, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his principality a new tax; to which some of the nobility consented with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit. This incident revived the animosity which the inhabitants bore to the English, and which all the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales were not able to mitigate or assuage. They complained that they were considered as a conquered people; that their privileges were disregarded; that all trust was given to the English alone. They cast, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient sovereign, whose prudence they found had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the counts of Armagnac, Comminge, and Perigord, the lord d'Albert, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.

The people of Guienne complain to the French king as their lord paramount.

In the treaty of Bretigni it had been stipulated that the two kings should make renunciations; Edward of his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John of the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English. But, when that treaty was renewed at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations should be deferred; and it was agreed that the parties meanwhile should make no use of their respective claims. Though the failure in exchanging these renunciations had proceeded from France, Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles resolved to ground his claim, of still considering himself as superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his subvassals.

The stipulations of the treaty of Bretigni delayed.

The French king still considers himself lord of the ceded provinces.

But, as views of policy, more than those of justice, enter into the deliberations of princes; and as the mortal injuries received from the English, the pride of their triumphs, the severe terms imposed by the treaty of peace, seemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable against them; Charles considered the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all these provinces bore to their ancient master, their vicinity to France, the extreme animosity expressed by his own subjects against these invaders, and, having silently made all the necessary preparations, he sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. The unwarlike character of Charles kept prince Edward, even yet, from thinking that that monarch was in earnest in this bold and hazardous attempt.

The Black Prince is summoned to appear at Calais.

ILL SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH. 1370.

It soon appeared what a poor return the king had received, by his distant conquests,

Poor returns of conquest.

Successes
of the
French.

The Black
Prince is
compelled
to return to
England.

All king
Edward's
attempts on
Gascony
fail.

Sir Robert
Knolles ra-
vages
France.

Du Guesclin
disperses
the English
forces.

A t
COL.

King Ed-
ward's de-
clining life.

Parliament
compels
him to ban-
ish his mis-
tress.

for all the blood and treasure expended in the quarrel. Charles fell first upon Pontthieu, which gave the English an inlet into the heart of France; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him; those of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example; and the whole country was in a little time reduced to submission. The dukes of Berri and Anjou, brothers to Charles, being assisted by du Guesclin, invaded the southern provinces; and made every day considerable progress against the English. The state of the prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horseback. Chandos, the constable of Guienne, was slain in one action; the captal de Buche, who succeeded him in that office, was taken prisoner in another; and, when Edward himself was obliged, by his increasing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France seemed to be menaced with total ruin.

The king, incensed at these injuries, threatened to put to death all the French hostages who remained in his hands; but, on reflection, abstained from that ungenerous revenge. After resuming, by advice of parliament, the vain title of king of France, he endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts proved unsuccessful.* The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at sea, and taken prisoner with his whole army near Rochelle, by a fleet which the king of Castile had fitted out for that purpose. Edward himself embarked for Bourdeaux with another army; but was so long detained by contrary winds that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprise. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement: he proceeded in his march to the provinces

* "The more losse and damage fell to the kynge of Englande. In so muche that in the ende he lost the more parte of the landes, which was granted by the composition and agreement of peace. And fortune, which the space of xl. years had pleasantly smiled upon kynge Edward, now in his latter days frowardly frowned, and changed hir copy."—*Lanquet*.—Ed.

of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste; but, part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of du Guesclin, who was now created constable of France, and who seems to have been the first consummate general that had yet appeared in Europe, the rest were scattered and dispersed; and the small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Brittany, whose sovereign had embraced the alliance of England. The duke of Lancaster, some time after, made a like attempt with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and marched from Calais to Bourdeaux; but was so harassed by the flying parties which attended him, that he brought not the half of his army to the place of their destination. Edward was at last obliged to conclude a truce, after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais.

The decline of the king's life was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. Besides seeing the loss of his foreign dominions, he felt the decay of his authority at home; and experienced, from the sharpness of some parliamentary remonstrances, the great inconstancy of the people. This prince, who, during the vigour of his age, had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, began, at an unseasonable period, to indulge in pleasure: and, being now a widower, he attached himself to a lady of sense and spirit, one Alice Pierce,† who by her influence gave such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The indolence naturally attending old age and infirmities, had made him, in a great measure, resign the administration into the hands of his son the duke of

† Not Alice Pierce alone. "It was required (by the commons,) that the duke of Lancaster, the lord Latimer, then lord chamberlain, dame Alice Pierce, the king's concubine, and one Sir Richard Sturry, might be removed from court; and this was so vehemently urged by their speaker, Sir Peter de la Moore, that the king, rather than not be supplied, gave way unto it."—*Baker*.—Ed.

The duke of Lancaster is viewed with jealousy.

Edward declares his grandson successor to the crown.

The Black Prince dies.

King Edward dies.

Lancaster ; who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the English bore to the person and government of the king. Men carried their jealousies very far against the duke ; and, as they saw with much regret the death of the prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaster, and by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, to satisfy both the people and the prince, declared in parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown ; and thereby cut off all the hopes of the duke of Lancaster, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. 1376.

THE prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died on the eighth of June, in the forty-sixth year of his age ; and left a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and, from his earliest youth till the hour he expired, unstained by any blemish. His valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit ; his generosity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him the affections of all men ; and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowise infected him with its vices, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history.*

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1377.

THE king survived about a year this melancholy incident. England was deprived at once of both these princes, its chief ornament and support. He expired on the twenty-first of June, in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign ; and the people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

* A large stone house, opposite the spot on which the Monument now stands, was long regarded with interest, as having been the residence of this gallant

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III., and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories ; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness ; he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined to murmur at it ; his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion ; his valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises ; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorise. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose. His attempt against the king of Scotland, a minor, and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom, were both unreasonable and ungenerous. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected ; and yet was found, even during his lifetime, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the

prince. In Stowe's time it was converted into "a common hostelrie or inn, having a Black Bull for the sign."—ED.

Partiality of the English for Edward III.

His domestic government was marked by prudence and vigour.

His foreign wars were unjust and fruitless.

The glory of conquest dazzles the vulgar.

The desolation he caused is not regarded as a blemish in Edward.

fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character of this prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen that a sovereign of genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn himself towards military enterprises, where alone he meets with opposition, and where he has full exercise for his industry and capacity.

King Edward had a numerous family.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heir of his uncle the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children: by the prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who alone survived his father.

Lionel, duke of Clarence.

The second son of king Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulster, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche. Lionel espoused in second marriage Violante the daughter of the duke of Milan, and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

John of Gaunt, and Edward's elder son.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth. He was created duke of Lancaster; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of duke of Gloucester from his nephew. In

order to prevent confusion, we shall always distinguish these two princes by the titles of York and Gloucester, even before they were advanced to them.

There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa; to wit, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret; who espoused, in the order of their names, Ingleram de Coucy earl of Bedford, Alphonso king of Castile, John of Mountfort duke of Brittany, and John Hastings earl of Pembroke. The princess Joan died at Bourdeaux before the consummation of her marriage.

King Edward's four daughters.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

It is remarked, by an elegant historian, that conquerors, though usually the bane of human kind, proved often, in those feudal times, the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies: were obliged to make some compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. This remark is, in some measure, justified by the conduct of Edward III. He took no steps of moment without consulting his parliament, and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures. The parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time; and even the house of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of some weight. In the later years of Edward the king's ministers were impeached in parliament, particularly lord Latimer, who fell a sacrifice to the authority of the commons; and they even obliged the king to banish his mistress by their remonstrances. Some attention was also paid to the election of their members; and lawyers in particular, who were at that time men of character somewhat inferior, were totally excluded the house during several parliaments.*

Parliament gains increased importance in the time of king Edward.

Lawyers totally excluded from parliament.

One of the most popular laws enacted

* It might not be the defective character of the practitioners of that period, which excluded them

from parliament. Our ancestors possibly foresaw that, if members of the legal profession were allowed

The laws respecting high treason improved.

by any prince was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth of this reign, and which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without an application to parliament. The bounds of treason were indeed so much limited by this statute, which still remains in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, and to explain a conspiracy for levying war against the king to be equivalent to a conspiracy against his life; and this interpretation has, from the necessity of the case, been tacitly acquiesced in. It was also ordained that a parliament should be held once a year, or oftener, if need be; a law which, like many others, was never observed, and lost its authority by disuse.

Edward granted many confirmations of the Great Charter.

Violations of the charter rendered the confirmation necessary.

Old laws renewed by new statutes.

Edward granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter; and these concessions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties: but the contrary presumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been in general somewhat arbitrary, and if the Great Charter had not been frequently violated, the parliament would never have applied for these frequent confirmations; which could serve to no other purpose than to prevent the contrary precedents from turning into a rule, and acquiring authority. It was indeed the effect of the irregular government during those ages that a statute which had been enacted some years, instead of acquiring, was imagined to lose force by time, and needed to be often renewed by recent statutes of the same sense and tenor. Hence, likewise, that general clause so frequent in old acts of parliament, that the statutes enacted by the king's progenitors should be observed; a precaution which, if we do not consider the circumstances of the times, might appear ridiculous. The

to congregate, where, besides framing acts of parliament, they might be able to carry them, that, in the course of years, from their growing strength, laws

frequent confirmations, in general terms, of the privileges of the church, proceeded from the same cause.

It is a clause in one of Edward's statutes, 'that no man, of what state or condition soever, shall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due process of the law.' This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause of the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why then is the clause so anxiously, and as we may think, so superfluously repeated? Plainly because there had been some late infringements of it, which gave umbrage to the commons.

Edward's statutes prove the charter to have been infringed.

But there is no article in which the laws are more frequently repeated during this reign, almost in the same terms, than that of purveyance, which the parliament always calls an outrageous and intolerable grievance, and the source of infinite damage to the people. The parliament tried to abolish this prerogative altogether, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without the consent of the owners, and by changing the heinous name of purveyors, as they term it, into that of buyers. But the arbitrary conduct of Edward still brought back the grievance. The prince frequently wanted ready money, yet his family must be subsisted; he was, therefore, obliged to employ force and violence for that purpose, and to give tallies, at what rate he pleased, to the owners of the goods which he laid hold of. The kingdom also abounded so little in commodities, and the interior communication was so imperfect, that had the owners been strictly protected by law, they could easily have exacted any price from the king; especially in his frequent progresses, when he came to distant and poor places, where the court did not usually reside, and where a regular plan for supplying it could not easily be established. Not only the king, but several great lords, insisted upon this right of purveyance.

The grievance of purveyance.

The evil is often renewed.

The nobles, as well as the king, claim purveyance as a right.

would be made for lawyers rather than for the people; for the benefit of a profession rather than for the protection of society at large.—Ed.

Windsor
castle is
built.

The high
prerogatives of the
crown are
maintained.

Resistance
is opposed
to arbitrary
measures.

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III., and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.

They mistake, indeed, very much the genius of this reign, who imagine that it was not extremely arbitrary. All the high prerogatives of the crown were to the full exerted in it; but, what gave some consolation, and promised in time some relief, to the people, they were always complained of by the commons; such as the dispensing power; the extension of the forests; erecting monopolies; exacting loans; stopping justice by particular warrants; the renewal of the commission of 'trailbaton;' pressing men and ships into the public service; levying arbitrary and exorbitant fines; extending the authority of the privy council or star chamber to the decision of private causes; enlarging the power of the mareshal's and other arbitrary courts; imprisoning members for freedom of speech in parliament; obliging people, without any rule, to send recruits of men at arms, archers, and hoblers, to the army.

But there was no act of arbitrary power more frequently repeated in this reign than that of imposing taxes without consent of

parliament. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records affords numerous instances of this kind, in the first year of his reign, in the thirteenth year, in the fourteenth, in the twentieth, in the twenty-first, in the twenty-second, in the twenty-fifth, in the thirty-eighth, in the fiftieth, and in the fifty-first.

The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. At one time he replied, to the remonstrance made by the commons against it, that the impositions had been exacted from great necessity, and had been assented to by the prelates, earls, barons, and some of the commons; at another, that he would advise with his council. When the parliament desired that a law might be enacted for the punishment of such as levied these arbitrary impositions, he refused compliance. In the subsequent year they desired that the king might renounce this pretended prerogative; but his answer was, that he would levy no taxes without necessity for the defence of the realm, and where he reasonably might use that authority. This incident passed a few days before his death; and these were, in a manner, his last words to his people.* It would seem that the famous charter or statute of Edward I. 'de tallagio non concedendo,' though never repealed, was supposed to have already lost all its authority.

These facts can only shew the practice

Arbitrary
impositions
repeated.

King Ed-
ward claims
the right of
imposing
taxes.

He claims
it till with-
in a few
days of his
death.

* The quality of Edward's parliament which could thus be treated, will be better understood from the following passages which are found in the Reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the peerage. They shew the manner in which individuals were paid for, and excused from, sitting in parliament.

"The writ to the sheriffs in the 2nd of Edward the third, printed in the Appendix to the rolls of Parliament of that reign is in general terms; 'We command you, that of the community of your country, as well within liberties as without, you cause to have to our beloved and faithful J. de O. and R. de N., knights of that county, who lately at our Parliament, which we caused to be summoned at, &c. came, for the community of the same county, to treat, &c. eleven pounds and four shillings for their expenses in coming to the same Parliament, staying there, and thence returning home, viz. for twenty-eight days, each of them taking four shillings per day.'"

"In the Appendix to the Rolls of Edward the third, are letters patent, tested the third of July, in the 40th of Edward the third, directed 'Ballivis & probis Hominibus & toti Coitati' of the town of Chepyng

Toriton, in the county of Devon, stating that they had shewn to the King, that whereas that town ought not to be burthened to send any men for the said town to the King's Parliament, and had not sent, or been accustomed to send, any men for the said town to the Parliaments of the King, or his progenitors Kings of England, before the 24th year of the King, when the sheriff of the county maliciously returned to the Chancery that he had summoned the town as a borough to send two men for the said borough to that Parliament, and so the said town from that year had been burthened with sending two men to the Parliament by the pretext of that return; and because the rolls and memoranda of the Chancery being searched there was not found the names of any men returned for the said town or borough of Chepyng Toriton to come to Parliaments before the said 24th year aforesaid; the King, not willing that the said town should be unduly burthened, held the men of that town, and the town, excused from sending any men to Parliaments, and exonerated them thereof for ever." A like writ, almost in the same words, was issued in the 42nd of Edward III.—Ed.

The commons' remonstrances save the constitution

of the times; for, as to the right, the continual remonstrances of the commons may seem to prove that it rather lay on their side: at least these remonstrances served to prevent the arbitrary practices of the court from becoming an established part of the constitution. In so much a better condition were the privileges of the people, even during the arbitrary reign of Edward III. than during some subsequent ones, particularly those of the Tudors, where no tyranny or abuse of power ever met with any check or opposition, or so much as a remonstrance, from parliament.

In this reign we find, according to the sentiments of an ingenious and learned author, the first strongly marked, and probably contested, distinction between a proclamation by the king and his privy council, and a law which had received the assent of the lords and commons.

The old tribute to Rome is withheld by Edward.

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during some years of his minority, he afterwards withheld it; and, when the pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That assembly unanimously declared that king John could not, without a national consent, subject his kingdom to a foreign power; and that they were, therefore, determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension.

The statute of provisors

During this reign the statute of provisors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope. By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.

Alleged effects of the usurpations of the pope.

The laity, at this time, seem to have been extremely prejudiced against the papal power, and even somewhat against their own clergy, because of their connexions with the Roman pontiff. The parliament pretended that the usurpations of the pope were the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty, of

the realm. At another time they petition the king to employ no churchman in any office of state; and they even speak in plain terms of expelling by force the papal authority, and thereby providing a remedy against oppressions, which they neither could nor would any longer endure. Men who talked in this strain were not far from the reformation. But Edward did not think proper to second all this zeal: though he passed the statute of provisors, he took little care of its execution. He was content with having reduced such of the Romish ecclesiastics, as possessed revenues in England, to depend entirely upon him by means of that statute.

As to the police of the kingdom during this period, it was certainly better than during times of faction, civil war, and disorder, to which England was so often exposed; yet were there several vices in the constitution, the bad consequences of which all the power and vigilance of the king could not prevent. The barons, by their confederacies with those of their own order, and by supporting and defending their retainers in every iniquity, were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and no law could be executed against those criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promise in parliament that they would not avow, retain, or support, any felon or breaker of the law; yet this engagement, which we may wonder to see exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The commons make continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other disorders, which, they say, were become numberless in every part of the kingdom, and which they always ascribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great. The king of Cyprus, who paid a visit to England in this reign, was robbed and stripped on the highway, with his whole retinue. Edward himself contributed to this dissolution of law, by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the solicitation of the courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this prerogative, and remonstrances of the commons were presented against the abuse of it; but to no purpose. The gratifying of a

Churchmen objected to in offices of state.

The statute of provisors is neglected by Edward.

Defective state of the police.

Robbers and murderers countenanced by the nobility.

The king of Cyprus is robbed in England.

powerful nobleman continued still to be of more importance than the protection of the people. The king also granted many franchises, which interrupted the course of justice and the execution of the laws.

Commerce and industry were certainly at a very low ebb during this period. The bad police of the country alone affords a sufficient reason. The only exports were wool, skins, hides, leather, butter, tin, lead, and such unmanufactured goods, of which wool was by far the most considerable. Knyghton has asserted that one hundred thousand sacks of wool were annually exported and sold at twenty pounds a sack, money of that age. But he is widely mistaken both in the quantity exported and in the value. In 1349 the parliament remonstrate that the king, by an illegal imposition of forty shillings on each sack exported, had levied sixty thousand pounds a year; which reduces the annual exports to thirty thousand sacks. A sack contained twenty-six stone, and each stone fourteen pounds; and at a medium was not valued at above five pounds a sack, that is fourteen or fifteen pounds of our present money. Knyghton's computation raises it to sixty pounds, which is near four times the present price of wool in England. According to this reduced computation, the export of wool brought into the kingdom about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money, instead of six millions, which is an extravagant sum. Even the former sum is so high as to afford a suspicion of some mistake. Such mistakes were very usual in those ages.

Edward endeavoured to introduce and promote the woollen manufacture, by giving encouragement to foreign weavers, and by enacting a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of English fabric. The parliament prohibited the exportation of woollen goods, which was not so well judged, especially while the exportation of unwrought wool was so much

allowed and encouraged. A like injudicious law was made against the exportation of manufactured iron.

It appears from a record in the Exchequer, that in 1354 the exports of England amounted to two hundred and ninety four thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds seventeen shillings and two-pence; the imports to thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds three shillings and sixpence, money of that time. This is a great balance, considering that it arose wholly from the exportation of raw wool and other rough materials. The import was chiefly linen and fine cloth, and some wine. England seems to have been extremely drained at this time by Edward's foreign expeditions and foreign subsidies, which probably was the reason why the exports so much exceed the imports.

The first toll we read of in England for mending the highways was imposed in this reign; it was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple Bar.*

In the first of Richard II. the parliament complain extremely of the decay of shipping during the preceding reign, and assert that one seaport formerly contained more vessels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This they ascribe to the arbitrary seizure of ships by Edward for the service of his frequent expeditions. The parliament in the fifth of Richard renew the same complaint; and we likewise find it made in the forty-sixth of Edward III. So false is the common opinion, that this reign was favourable to commerce.

There is an order of this king, directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to take up all ships of forty tons and upwards, to be converted into ships of war.

The parliament attempted the impracticable scheme of reducing the price of labour after the pestilence, and also that of poultry. A reaper in the first week of August, was not allowed above two-pence

Amount of exports in Edward's reign.

The first toll in England.

Decay of the shipping interest.

An attempt to reduce prices.

* "In the year 1353 that fine street, the Strand, was an open highway, with here and there a great man's house, with gardens to the water side. In that year it was so ruinous that Edward III., by an ordinance, directed a tax to be raised upon wool, leather, wine, and all goods carried to the

staple at Westminster, from Temple Bar to Westminster Abbey, for the repair of the road; and that all owners of houses adjacent to the highway should repair as much as lay before their own doors."—Pennant.—Ed.

Wages of
labour

a day, or near sixpence of our present money; in the second week a third more. A master carpenter was limited through the whole year to three-pence a day, a common carpenter to two-pence, money of that age. It is remarkable that, in the same reign, the pay of a common soldier, an archer, was sixpence a day; which, by the change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to near five shillings of our present money.* Soldiers were then enlisted only for a very short time: they lived idle all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives. One successful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man; which was a great allurements to enter into the service.†

The staple
of wool.

The staple of wool, wool-fells, leather, and lead, was fixed by act of parliament in particular towns of England. Afterwards it was removed by law to Calais. But Edward paid little regard to these statutes; and, when the parliament remonstrated with him on account of those acts of power, he plainly told them that he would proceed in that matter as he thought proper. This policy of inviting foreigners to Calais was carried so far, that all English merchants were prohibited by law from exporting any English goods from the staple; which was in a manner the total abandoning of all foreign navigation, except that to Calais: a contrivance seemingly extraordinary.

The export-
ation of
English
goods re-
strained.

It was not till the middle of this century that the English began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic, nor till the middle of the subsequent that they sailed to the Mediterranean.

Luxury for-
bidden

Luxury was complained of in that age, and attempts were made by parliament to restrain it, particularly on the head of apparel, where surely it is the most obviously innocent and inoffensive. No man under a hundred a year was allowed

to wear gold, silver, or silk, in his clothes. Servants also were prohibited from eating flesh, meat, or fish above once a day. By another law it was ordained that no one should be allowed, either for dinner or supper, above three dishes in each course, and not above two courses: and it is likewise expressly declared that soused meat is to count as one of these dishes. It was easy to foresee that such ridiculous laws could never be executed.

No one
allowed
more than
six dishes
at dinner.

The use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds was abolished. It may appear strange that the nation should so long have worn this badge of conquest: but the king and nobility seem never to have become thoroughly English, or to have forgotten their French extraction, till Edward's wars with France gave them an antipathy to that nation. Yet still it was long before the use of the English tongue came into fashion. The first English paper which we meet with in Rymer is in the year 1386, during the reign of Richard II. There are Spanish papers in that collection of more ancient date; and the use of the Latin and French still continued.

The Eng-
lish tongue
falls into
disuse.

We may judge of the ignorance of this age in geography from a story told by Robert of Avesbury. Pope Clement VI. having, in 1344, created Lewis of Spain, prince of the Fortunate Islands, meaning the Canaries, then newly discovered, the English ambassador at Rome, and his retinue, were seized with an alarm that Lewis had been created king of England; and they immediately hurried home, in order to convey this important intelligence. Yet such was the ardour for study at this time, that Speed, in his Chronicle, informs us there were then thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford alone. What was the occupation of all these young men? To learn bad Latin, and still worse logic.

Latin and
French used
in public
documents.

Ignorance
of an am-
bassador.

* The pay of a man at arms was quadruple: we may therefore conclude that the numerous armies, mentioned by historians in those times, consisted chiefly of ragamuffins, who followed the camp, and lived by plunder. Edward's army before Calais consisted of 31,094 men; yet its pay for sixteen months was only 127,201*l*.

† Commodities seem to have risen since the Conquest. Instead of being ten times cheaper than at

present, they were, in the age of Edward III. only three or four times. This change seems to have taken place in a great measure since Edward I. The allowance granted by Edward III. to the earl of Murray, then a prisoner in Nottingham castle, was one pound a week; whereas the bishop of St. Andrews, the primate of Scotland, had only sixpence a day allowed him by Edward I.

In 1364 the commons petitioned that in consideration of the preceding pestilence, such persons as possessed manors holden of the king in chief, and had let different leases without obtaining licenses, might continue to exercise the same power till the country were become more populous. The commons were sensible that this security of possession was a good means for rendering the kingdom prosperous, yet durst not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains.

There is not a reign which deserves more to be studied than that of Edward III., nor one where the domestic transactions will better discover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then established. The struggles with regard to the validity and authority of the Great Charter were now over ; the king was acknowledged to lie under some limitations ; Edward himself was a prince of great capacity, not governed by favourites, not led astray by any unruly passion, sensible that nothing could be more essential than to keep on good terms with his people ; yet it appears that the government at best was only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, or bounded by any certain undisputed rights, which in practice were regularly observed. The king conducted himself by one set of principles, the barons by another, the commons by a third, the clergy by a fourth. All these systems of government were incompatible ; each of them prevailed in its turn. A great prince rendered the monarchical power predominant ; the weakness of a king gave reins to the aristocracy ; a superstitious age saw the clergy triumphant ; the people, for whom chiefly government was instituted, and who chiefly deserve consideration, were the weakest of the whole. But the com-

mons, little obnoxious to any other order, though they sunk under the violence of tempests, silently reared their head in more peaceable times ; and, while the storm was brewing, were courted by all sides, and thus received still some accession to their privileges, or at worst some confirmation of them.

It has been an established opinion that gold coin was not struck till this reign ; but there has lately been found proof that it is as ancient as Henry III.

Gold coin is as ancient as the time of Henry III.

CHAPTER XVII.

RICHARD II *

1377—1399.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY.—
INSURRECTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.
—DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS.—CIVIL
COMMOTIONS.—EXPULSION OR EXECU-
TION OF THE KING'S MINISTERS.—
CABALS OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER.
—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER.—
BANISHMENT OF HENRY DUKE OF
HEREFORD.—RETURN OF HENRY.
—GENERAL INSURRECTION.—KING DE-
POSED AND MURDERED.—HIS CHA-
RACTER.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSAC-
TIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY. 1377.

THE parliament, which was summoned soon after the king's accession, was both elected and assembled in tranquillity ; and the great change, from a sovereign of consummate wisdom and experience to a boy of eleven years of age, was not immediately

The parliament assembles.

* There exists an historical volume, published in 1556, on *Magna Charta* and the Statutes, a carefully arranged and authentic work, which mentions one strange fact respecting this prince. The book is written in French and Latin, and under the head of *Nomina Regum* announces a list of the kings "who from the time of Saint Edward, King of England, had reigned, down to the most serene King and Queen Philip and Mary." A series of brief

notices of births, coronations, and deaths follows. That to which we particularly direct attention, runs thus :—"Richardus II., filius Ed Principis Walliæ, natus sine pellæ et nutritus in pellibus caprium inceptit regnare, xxiii. Junii, anno domini mcccclxxvii." (Richard the second, son of Edward prince of Wales, born without skin, and nursed in skins of goats, began to reign June 23rd, 1377.)—Ed.

Secure pos-
session of
property
a national
benefit.

The mon-
archy in a
barbarous
state.

Opposite
systems in
an pres-
ent.

The barons
are repress-
ed.

The ambi-
tion of the
king's un-
cles is re-
strained.

Glocester is
checked by
York and
Lancaster.

felt. The habits of order and obedience, which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress the turbulent spirit to which that order was so often subject. The dangerous ambition too of these princes themselves was checked by the undeniable title of Richard;* by the declaration of it made in parliament; and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young sovereign. The different characters also of these three princes rendered them a counterpoise to each other. Lancaster, whose age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the ascendant, though his integrity seemed not proof against great temptations, was neither of an enterprising spirit, nor of a popular and engaging temper. York was indolent, and of slender capacity. Gloucester was turbulent, bold, and popular; but was restrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumstance which might give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.†

But, as Edward, though he had fixed

the succession to the crown, had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority, it behoved the parliament to supply this defect; and the house of commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead. As it was now becoming a scene of business, the members chose, for the first time, a speaker, who might preserve order. Peter de la Mare was the man pitched on; the same person that had been detained in custody by the late king, for his freedom of speech in attacking the mistress and the ministers of that prince. But, though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on these ministers and on Alice Pierce, they were still too sensible of their great inferiority to assume any immediate share in the administration of government, or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply by petition to the lords for that purpose, and desire them both to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public business, and to choose men of virtuous life, who might inspect the conduct and education of the young prince. The lords complied with the first part of this request, and elected the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, Sir Richard de

A speaker
first chosen
by the
house of
commons.

They claim
no share in
the govern-
ment.

Richard's
education.

* "A jealousy of the duke of Lancaster, and an apprehension that he might form pretensions to the throne, had arisen in the life-time of Edward the third; and his Parliament had urged the King to acts demonstrative of the succession of Richard as his heir. Whether that jealousy was well or ill founded, it had operated so far as to secure the succession of Richard, who on the death of his grandfather, on the 21st of June, 1377, was, without opposition, proclaimed King. On the opening of his first parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury specially mentioned his succession by inheritance, and not by election; perhaps apprehending that the irregular manner in which Edward the third had succeeded to the crown in the life-time of his father, the elevation of William Rufus, of Henry the first, of Stephen, and of John, in prejudice of hereditary title, might lead to the presumption that the royal office might be considered as elective, and not hereditary, and give pretence for disturbance during the minority of the king."—*Reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the peerage.*

† The coronation of Richard, on the 16th of July, 1377, was performed with great and unusual ceremony; the concluding formalities are thus described by Baker. "After a sermon, the king took his oath;

and then the archbishop blessed the king, which done, he tore off his garments, and stripped him into his shift; then he anointed his hands, head, breast, shoulders, and the joints of his arms, with the sacred oyl; and after certain prayers, he then clad him first with the coat of St. Edward, and after with his mantle: after which the archbishop delivered him the sword, saying, *Accipe gladium*; with which two earls girded him. Then he gave him bracelets, saying, *Accipe pallium*. In the mean time, while the archbishop blessed the crown, he to whose office it pertained, put spurs on his heels; after the crown was blessed, the archbishop set it on his head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a ring, saying, *Accipe annulum*. Immediately herewith came the lord *Furnival* by virtue of his office, offering him a red glove; which the archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, delivered him a scepter, saying, *Accipe sceptrum*: and after that into his other hand, delivered him a rod, on the top whereof stood a dove, saying, *Accipe virgam virtutis*, and then blessed the king, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the king kissed the bishops and abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his seat: and so ended the solemnity."—ED.

Stafford, Sir Henry le Scrope, Sir John Devereux, and Sir Hugh Segrave; to whom they gave authority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary course of business. But, as to the regulation of the king's household, they declined interposing in an office which, they said, both was invidious in itself, and might prove disagreeable to his majesty.

The commons ventured to proceed a step farther. They presented a petition, in which they prayed the king to check the prevailing custom among the barons of supporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging answer to this petition. But another part of their application, that all the great officers should, during the king's minority, be appointed by parliament, which seemed to require the concurrence of the commons in the nomination, was not complied with: the lords alone assumed the power of appointing these officers: the commons tacitly acquiesced; and thought that they had proceeded a sufficient length, if they but advanced their pretensions, though rejected, of interposing in these more important matters of state.

On this foot then the government stood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name; no regency was expressly appointed; the nine councillors and the great officers, named by the peers, did their duty, each in his respective department; and the whole system was kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster, who was in reality the regent.

The parliament was dissolved, after the commons had represented the necessity of

their being reassembled once every year; and after having elected two citizens as their treasurers, to receive and disburse the produce of two fifteenths and tenths, which they had voted to the crown.* In the other parliaments, called during the minority, the commons still discover a strong spirit of freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breeding any disturbance, tended to secure their independence and that of the people.

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connexions with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of 'wise,' as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king: but his genius, which was not naturally enterprising, led him not, at present, to give any disturbance to his neighbours; and he laboured, besides, under many difficulties, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne; had lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the cession of the king of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the duke of Brittany; and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter, was able to give disturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the

A spirit of freedom is manifested by parliament.

The duke of Lancaster pretends to the crown of Castile.

Pacific policy of the French king.

* "In the 2d of Richard the second the commons again complained that the knights of the shires did not receive their full wages, which were assessed on every town in each county; that some towns were held of the king, and would pay nothing, though their tenure was not of ancient demesne of the crown; and that some towns, within franchises, and which belonged to peers of the realm, who held by barony, would pay nothing, because their lords were in the parliament for themselves and their men in proper person; and that they applied the words 'their men' so largely, that although a lord had in

one town only four or five bondmen, and one hundred or two hundred who held freely, or by court roll, yet they would not contribute to the expenses of the knights. To this petition the answer was, 'let that be done which has been formerly accustomed.' From this entry it appears, that not only the towns which were of the king's ancient demesne, then claimed to be exempt from wages of the knights, but all towns which held of the king claimed the same exemption."—*Reports of the Lords' Committees on the Peccage*.—ED.

The king of
France dies.

English from these important posts, he died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a minor son, who bore the name of Charles VI.

Meanwhile the war with France produced no enterprise of great lustre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a subsequent year the duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of two thousand cavalry, and eight thousand infantry; and scrupled not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois, the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him; but the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle. As the duke of Brittany soon formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprise also made no durable impression upon the enemy.

Picardy is
ravaged by
the English.

A new and
unusual tax
is imposed.

The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny, which was singular in its circumstances. All history abounds with examples where the great tyrannise over the meaner sort; but here the lowest populace rose against their rulers, committed the most cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

A growing
spirit of in-
dependence
is generally
manifested.

The faint dawn of the arts and of good government, in that age, had excited the populace, in different states of Europe, to murmur against those chains which the laws, enacted by the haughty nobility and

gentry, had so long imposed. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the mutiny of the peasants in France, were the natural effects of this growing spirit of independence; and the report of these events being brought into England, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissard, was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an insurrection. One John Ball also, a seditious preacher, who affected low popularity, went about the country, and inculcated the principles of the first origin of mankind from one common stock; their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature; the tyranny of artificial distinctions; and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandizement of a few insolent rulers. These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received; and scattered the sparks of that sedition which the present tax raised into a conflagration.

John Ball
preaches
equality.

INSURRECTION OF THE PEOPLE. 1381.

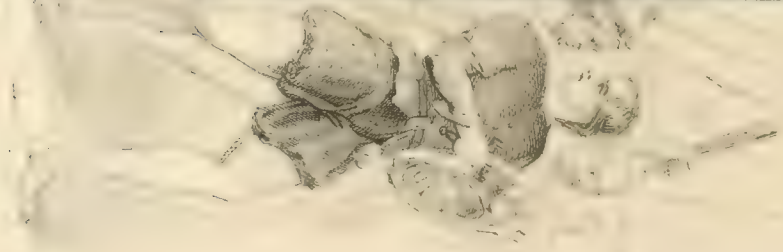
THE imposition of three groats a head had been framed out to tax gatherers in each county, who levied the money on the people with rigour; and the clause of making the rich ease their poorer neighbours, being so vague, had occasioned many partialities, and made the people more sensible of the unequal lot which fortune had assigned them in the distribution of her favours. The first disorder was raised by a blacksmith in a village of Essex. The tax-gatherers came to this man's shop while he was at work; and demanded payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid; which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their

The new
tax is farm-
ed out.

A collector
acts rudely
to a female.

He is killed
by her fa-
ther.





tyrants. They immediately flew to arms ; the whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition ; the flame spread in an instant over the country ; it soon propagated itself into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control, the populace had shaken off all regard to their former masters ; and, being headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The mutinous populace, amounting to a hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath, under their leaders Tyler and Straw ; and, as the princess of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they insulted her attendants ; and some of the most insolent, to shew their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced kisses from her ; but they allowed her to continue her journey. They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower ; and they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge ; but, on approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms of tumult, that, he put back and returned to that fortress. The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city ; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy ; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of ; expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attorneys ; and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body quartered themselves at Mile-end ; and the king, finding

no defence in the tower, which was weakly garrisoned and ill supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to them and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villanage. These requests, which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not sufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with ; charters to that purpose were granted them ; and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.

During this transaction another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower ; had murdered Simon Sudbury the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction ; and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, (after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner) feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants.* The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge ; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company

* Some writers give the honour of a share in slaying Tyler, to John Philpot, a public character, described to be "the darling of the mariners." "Tyler persisting in his insupportable arrogance, demanded the king's dagger of his esquire that held it, which being by the king's connivance delivered him: he further presumed to command the esquire to give him the sword also: to which the young spark bravely said, a king's sword would but ill become a

knave's hand ; wherewith Tyler rising up, offering to approach the king's page: the mayor of London, that only awaited the occasion of hazarding his life in surprising so proud a Traytor, snatcheth the king's dagger from the sheath in Tyler's hand, and then sheathes the same in Tyler's body, whereupon Philpot with his sword saluted him on the cockscorn that he fell to the ground slain."—*Daniel*.—Ed.

Richard appeases the rioters.

He grants them charters.

The charters are revoked, and the rebel leaders severely punished.

Popular insurrections soon put down.

to stop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and, accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, 'What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader.' The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him. He led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city; being there joined by Sir Robert Knolles, and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thousand strong. It then behoved all the rebels to submit. The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Some were even executed without process or form of law. It was pretended that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person; to carry him through England at their head; to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to dispatch afterwards the king himself; and, having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects; but, of all the evils incident to human society, the insurrections of the populace, when not supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded; the mischiefs consequent to an abolition of all rank and distinction become so great, that they are immediately felt, and soon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

A youth of sixteen, (which was at this time the king's age) who had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, raised great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which had so uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings; but, in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes vanished; and his want of capacity appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been sent over, with a body of fifteen hundred men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. The danger was now deemed by the king's uncles somewhat serious; and an army of sixty thousand men was levied, and they marched into Scotland with Richard at their head. The Scots abandoned without scruple their country to be pillaged and destroyed by the enemy; and, when de Vienne expressed his surprise at this plan of operations, they told him that all their cattle was driven into the forests and fastnesses; that their houses and other goods were of small value; and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might sustain, by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland, by Berwick and the east coast, the Scots, to the number of thirty thousand men, attended by the French, entered England by the west; and, carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and then returned to their own country. Richard meanwhile advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed all the towns and villages on each side of him; he reduced that city to ashes; he treated in the same manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries: but, when he was advised to march towards the west coast, to await there the enemy, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual pleasures, outweighed every consideration; and he led back his army, without effecting anything. The Scots, finding the heavy

Richard's want of capacity is manifested.

He invades Scotland, and ravages the country.

The Scots enter England, and carry off a rich booty.

Richard returns to England.

The Scotch
ill-treat
their French
allies.

The French
prepare to
invade
England.

Their fleet
is destroyed
by a storm.

And
his un-
derstand-
ing of
transit.

bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desultory kind of war to which they confined themselves, treated their allies so ill, that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country, and its inhabitants. The English, though they regretted the levity of their king, saw themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

But it was so material an interest of the French court to wrest these port towns from their enemy, that they resolved to attempt it by some other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluise; for the Flemings were now in alliance with them. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprise; the English were kept in alarm; great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders; and, though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and the taking of many of them by the English before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and council were fully sensible that this perilous situation might every moment return upon them.

There were two circumstances, chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of such attempts. The one was the absence of the duke of Lancaster, who had carried into Spain the flower of the English military force, in prosecution of his vain claim to the crown of Castile; an enterprise in which, after some promising success, he was finally disappointed: the other was the violent dissensions and disorders which had taken place in the English government.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloucester, a prince of ambition and genius, though it was not unsuitable to his years and slender capacity, was extremely disagreeable to his violent temper; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of noble

family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The king set so little bounds to his affection, that he first created his favourite marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci earl of Bedford; but permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamoured. These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the minion; all favours passed through his hands; access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation; and Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but so far as it enabled him to load with dignities this object of his affections.*

He is gov-
erned by a
favourite.

Robert de
Vere is cre-
ated duke
of Ireland.

He exerci-
ses great in-
fluence over
the king.

DISCONTENTS OF THE BARONS.
1386.

THE jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and the chief nobility on the other; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received, in every part of the kingdom. Moubray earl of Nottingham, the mareschal, Fitz Alan earl of Arundel, Piercy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Salisbury, Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all connected, and with the princes, by friendship or alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipsed them in the king's favour and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they scorned to submit to his ministers; and the method

The nation
at large
complain
of the fa-
vourite.

* "In bountie and liberaltee, he farre passed all his progenitours, but he was overmuch given to reste and quietnesse, and loved littell deedes of armes and marciall prowes, and for that he was young, he was most ruled by young counsailer, and

regarded nothyng the advertisements of the sage and wyse men of his realme. For the chiefe aboute hym were of no wysedome nor estimacion, which thyng turned his lande to great trouble, and hymselfe in fine to extreme myserie."—*Langue*.—Ed.

The nobles join to seek redress of grievances.

which they took to redress the grievances complained of, proves the desperate extremities to which every opposition was sure to be instantly carried.*

Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, is attached to the duke of Ireland.

Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, lately created earl of Suffolk, was the son of an eminent merchant; but had risen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III.; had acquired the friendship of that monarch; and was esteemed the person of greatest capacity among those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's secret council. The duke of Gloucester, who had the house of commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power, which they seem first to have assumed against lord Latimer during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the house of peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king foresaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. After attempting in vain to rouse the Londoners to his defence, he retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament sent a deputation, inviting him to return, and threatening that, if he persisted in absenting himself, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the nation, though in imminent danger of a French invasion, without any support or supply for its defence. At the same time a member was encouraged to call for the record containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II.; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect. The king, finding himself unable to resist, was content to stipulate that except finishing the present impeachment against Suffolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers; and on that condition he returned to the parliament.†

Richard withdraws to Eltham.

He is threatened by the parliament.

He returns to the parliament.

* That little awe was felt for his person is seen from a prayer, or rather demand, addressed to him, in the sixth year of his reign, by the commons. Among other things they desire "That the King will appoint good Orders about his Person, so as he may live within his Revenues, and that all Profits and Gifts may be employ'd upon the Wars, to the ease of the Commons. 'Come autrement ordeigner, qe bone Governail soit mys entour votre honourable Persone, si qe vous purres honestement & roialment viver, deinz les revenues de votre Roialme, & qe

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk, than the frivolousness of the crimes which his enemies thought proper to object against him. It was alleged that, being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to consult the king's profit, he had purchased the lands of crown below their true value; that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of four hundred marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was assigned upon the customs of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income; that, having obtained for his son the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy and a schismatic, and a new prior being named by the pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his son, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchased, from one Tydeman of Limborch, an old and forfeited annuity of fifty pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that bad debt; and that, when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year to support the dignity of that title. Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient. It appeared that Suffolk had made no purchase from the crown while he was chancellor, and all his bargains were made before he was advanced to that dignity. He was condemned notwithstanding his defence; and deprived of his office.

Glocester and his associates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers; but they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission after the model of those which had been attempted almost in every reign since that of Richard

The charges preferred against De la Pole are frivolous.

He was accused of making profits unjustly.

The charges are unsupported by proof.

Glocester and his friends attack the king.

toutes Maneres des Gardes, Marriages, Reliefs, Eschetes, Forfaitures, & toutes autres Commoditees, puissent estre Gardes pur vos Guerres, & en defens de votre Roialme, & nul part aillours donnez en supportation & aide de vos poures Communes & grant honour & profit a vous. Resp. 'Le Roy est de bone Voluntee & le desire moelt entierement de fair & ordonner en ce cas per lavis des Seigneurs de son Roialme ce qe luy semblera mieulx affaire pur son honour & Profit.'—*Rot. Parl.*—ED.

† See note S at end of the volume.

1., and which had always been attended with extreme confusion. By this commission, which was ratified by parliament, a council of fourteen persons was appointed, all of Gloucester's faction, except Nevil archbishop of York; the sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelvemonth; the king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned; the aristocracy was rendered supreme; and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual. Richard, however, was obliged to submit; he signed the commission which violence had extorted from him; he took an oath never to infringe it; and, though at the end of the session he publicly entered a protest, that the prerogatives of the crown should still be deemed entire and unimpaired, the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

CIVIL COMMOTIONS. 1387.

THE king, thus dispossessed of the royal power, was soon sensible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favourites and ministers failed not to aggravate the injury which had been offered to him. And his eager temper was sufficiently inclined to seek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of revenging himself on those who had invaded it. As the house of commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourable election. He sounded some of the sheriffs, who, being at that time both the returning officers, and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections: but, as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, he found them, in general, averse to his enterprise. The judges were more favourable to him. He met, at Nottingham, Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Belknappe, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Cary, chief baron of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourq, inferior

justices, and Lockton, serjeant at law, and he proposed to them some queries, which these lawyers made no scruple of answering in the way he desired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments at pleasure; that the parliament, while it sits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges. Even according to our present strict maxims with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifiable; and, as the great privileges of the commons, particularly that of impeachment, were new, and supported by few precedents, there want not plausible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges. They signed, therefore, their answer to the king's queries before the archbishops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other counsellors of inferior quality.

The duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They saw the king's intentions, and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As soon as he came to London, which they knew was well disposed to their party, they secretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringay park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to resist. They sent him a message by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his presence, armed, and attended with

The late commission is condemned.

The king's power is transferred to commissioners.

The king's power is transferred to commissioners.

The king's power is transferred to commissioners.

The duke of Ireland and others are denounced as public enemies.

armed followers; and they accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other obnoxious ministers, had withdrawn, or had concealed themselves.

KING'S MINISTERS EXPELLED OR EXECUTED. 1388.

Glocester defeats the duke of Ireland, who withdraws from England, and dies.

THE duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king. Glocester encountered him in Oxfordshire with much superior forces; routed him, dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. The lords then appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men; and, having obliged the king to summon a parliament which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers; men whose combined power was able at any time to shake the throne; the duke of Glocester, the king's uncle; the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster; the earl of Arundel; the earl of Warwick; and the earl of Nottingham, mareschal of England; entered before the parliament an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound

The king is forced to summon a parliament.

The parliament binds itself to support Glocester and his friends

themselves to live and die with the lords appellants, and to defend them with their lives and fortunes.

The other proceedings were well suited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge, consisting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants; and, as none of the accused counsellors, except Sir Nicholas Brembre, was in custody, the rest were cited to appear; and, upon their absenting themselves, the house of peers, after a very short interval, without hearing a witness, declared them guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial. The peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very summary manner, sentence of death upon him; and he was executed together with Sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval.*

It would be tedious to recite the whole charge against the five counsellors, which is to be met with in several collections. It is sufficient to observe, in general, that, if we reason upon the supposition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the commission extorted by the duke of Glocester and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear not only to imply no crime in the duke of Ireland and the ministers, but to ascribe to them actions which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers are vague and general; such as their engrossing the king's favour, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and

Violent proceedings.

The duke of Ireland and his friends are declared guilty of high treason.

They appear to have committed no crime.

* In connection with his death, some facts remarkably illustrative of the times and the opinions which then prevailed, are mentioned, "Immediately Tresilian is put upon an hurdle, and drawn through the streets of the city, with a wonderful concourse of people following him. At every furlong's end he was suffered to stop, that he might rest himself, and to see if he would confess or acknowledge any thing; but what he said to the frier his confessor, is not known. When he came so the place of execution, he would not climb the ladder, until such time as being soundly beaten with bats and staves he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he said, 'So

long as I do wear any thing upon me I shall not die; wherefore the executioner stript him, and found certain images painted like to the signs in the heavens, and the head of a devil painted, and the names of many of the devils wrote in parchment; these being taken away he was hanged up naked, and after he had hanged some time, that the spectators should be sure he was dead, they cut his throat, and because the night approached, they let him hang till the next morning, and then his wife having obtained a licence of the king, took down his body, and carried it to the Grey Friars, where it was buried."—*State Trials*.

dissipating the public treasure by useless expenses. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act. All the disorders indeed seem to have proceeded, not from any violation of the laws, or any ministerial tyranny, but merely from a rivalry of power; which the duke of Gloucester and the great nobility carried to the utmost extremity against their opponents, without any regard to reason, justice, or humanity.

But these were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of the party. All the other judges, who had signed the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favour, banished to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the king's ministers as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, and John Salisbury, were also tried and condemned for high treason, merely because they had attempted to defeat the late commission: but the life of the last was spared.* The fate of Sir Simon Burley was more severe. This gentleman was much beloved for his personal merit, had distinguished himself by many honourable actions, was created knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard, by the late king and the Black Prince; he had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him; yet all these considerations could not save him from Gloucester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on Richard. His queen too (for he was already married to the sister of the emperor Wincseslaus, king of Bohemia) interested herself in behalf of Burley. She remained three hours on her knees before the duke of Gloucester, but, though she was become extremely popular

by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of 'the good queen Ann,' her petition was sternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant.

The parliament concluded this violent scene by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on these trials to be treason, should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their decisions. The house of lords seem not to have acknowledged the principle, that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and commons, had established in their legislative. It was also enacted that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts, passed during this parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a farther security to these violent transactions.

It might naturally be expected that the king, being reduced to such slavery, would long remain in subjection, and never recover the royal power without the most violent struggles: but the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority,† he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and, when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Fitz Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office on William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester; the bishop of Hereford was displaced from the office of treasurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the duke of Gloucester and the earl of

Proceedings in these cases orders did not to be drawn into precedents.

All men sworn to maintain the decisions of this parliament.

The king recovers his lost authority.

* This statement is erroneous. Salisbury indeed was not beheaded with the others, but on the 12th of May he was drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged.—ED.

† A great council being held in May 1389, the king suddenly turned to the duke of Gloucester and inquired how old he thought he was? The duke replied his highness was in his twenty-third year.

"Then I am old enough to manage my own affairs, Richard replied; "I have been longer under the controul of guardians than any ward in my kingdom. Thanking you, my lords, for the past, your services are not wanted for the future," and he immediately required that the great seal and the keys of the Exchequer should be given up to him.—ED.

He exercises it with
moderation.

Warwick were removed from the council: and no opposition was made. Richard exercised with moderation the authority which he had resumed. He seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles and the other great men, of whom he had so much reason to complain: he never attempted to recall from banishment the duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them: he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon which the parliament had passed for all offences; and he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him; a remarkable and almost singular instance of generosity.

The duke of
Lancaster
returns
from Spain.

After this composure of domestic differences, and this restoration of the government to its natural state, there passes an interval of eight years, which affords not many remarkable events. The duke of Lancaster returned from Spain; having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile upon payment of a large sum of money, and having married his daughter Philippa to the king of Portugal. The authority of this prince served to counterbalance that of the duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard; who paid great court to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger. He made a cession to him for life of the duchy of Guienne, which the inclinations and changeable humour of the Gascons had restored to the English government; but, as they remonstrated loudly against this deed, it was finally, with the duke's consent, revoked. There happened an incident which produced a dissension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess he espoused Catharine Swineford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose alliance York and Gloucester thought the dignity of their family much injured: but the king gratified his uncle, by passing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had borne him before marriage, and by creating the eldest earl of Somerset.

Lancaster
marries
Catherine
Swineford.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard

had inherited with his crown, still continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, and conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Piercy and Douglas than from any national quarrel. A fierce battle, or skirmish, was fought at Otterborne; in which young Piercy, surnamed Hotspur, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and the victory remained undecided. Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience. At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace; but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years. Brest and Cherbourg were restored; the former to the duke of Brittany, the latter to the king of Navarre; both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: and, to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles. This princess was only seven years of age; but the king agreed to so unequal a match, chiefly that he might fortify himself against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

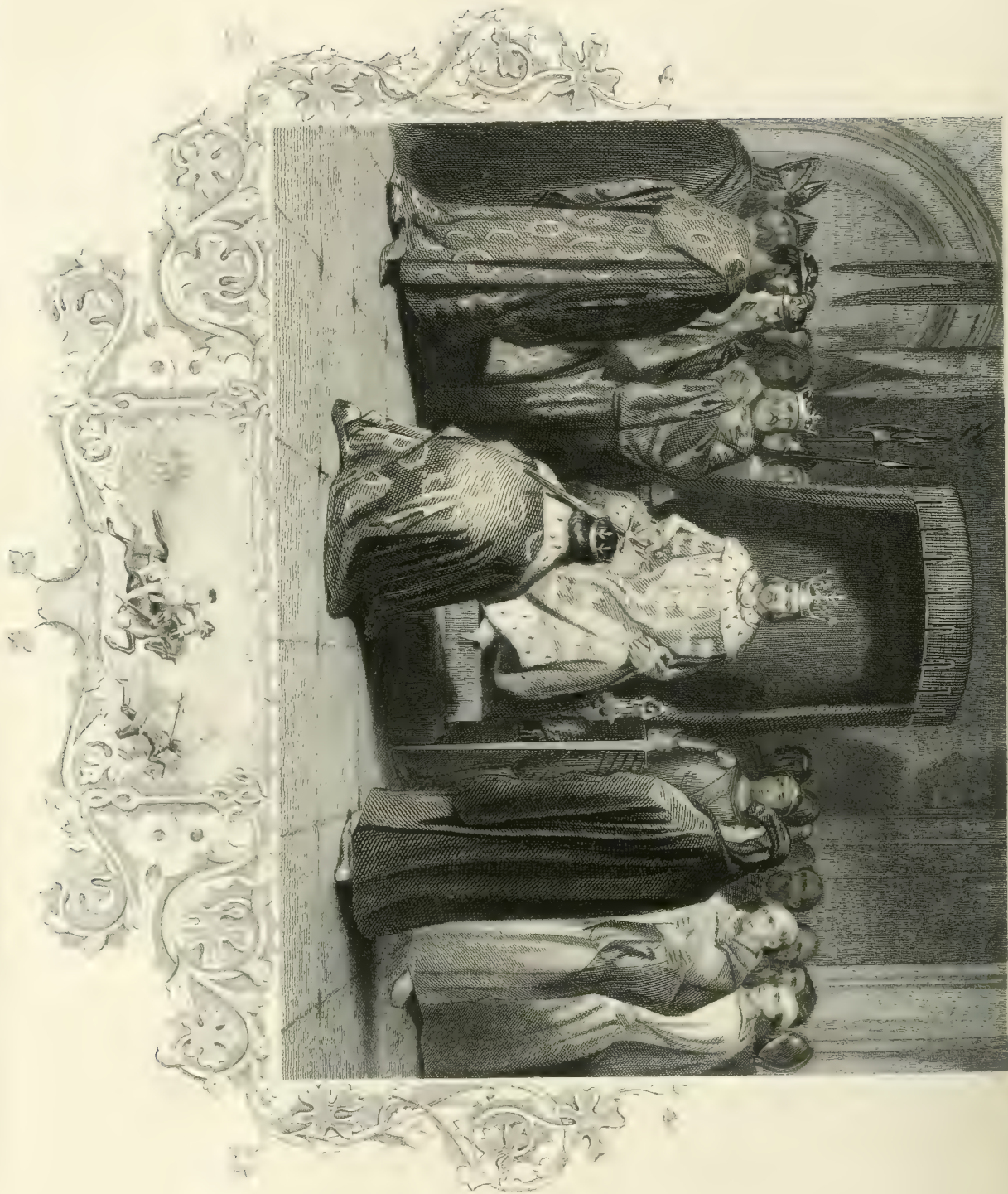
A battle is
fought at
Otterborne.

A truce is
made for
twenty-five
years.

Richard is
affianced to
a French
princess,
who is but
seven years
of age.

The administration of the king, though it was not sullied by any unpopular act, except the seizing the charter of London, which was soon after restored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures, he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity; and dissipated, in idle shew, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his

He gives up
to himself
dissipation.





half brothers, were his chief confidants and favourites; and, though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the duke of Ireland, it was easy for men to see that every grace passed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himself a mere cypher. The small regard which the public bore to his person disposed them to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the discontented grandes suggested to them.

CABALS OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. 1397.

GLOUCESTER soon perceived the advantages which this dissolute conduct gave him; and, finding that both resentment and jealousy, on the part of his nephew, still prevented him from acquiring any ascendant over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favour and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council: he never declared his opinion but to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man, whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices on this subject. Forgetting the misfortunes which attended the English arms during the latter years of Edward, he made an invidious comparison between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the present, and he lamented that Richard should have degenerated so much from the heroic virtues by which his father and his grandfather were distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a desire of war, when they heard him talk of the signal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valour of the English; the populace readily embraced the same sentiments; and all exclaimed that this prince, whose counsels

were so much neglected, was alone able to raise the nation to its former power and splendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable; all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court favour, rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

Froissard, a contemporary writer and very impartial, but whose credit is somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the duke of Gloucester more desperate views. According to that historian, he proposed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer earl of Marche, whom Richard had declared his successor, to give him immediate possession of the throne, by the deposition of a prince so unworthy of power and authority: and, when Mortimer declined the project, he resolved to make a partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the earl of Arundel; and entirely to dispossess Richard of the crown. The king, it is said, being informed of these designs, resolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of such destructive projects. Gloucester, by his own confession, had often affected to speak contemptuously of the king's person and government; had deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even borne part in a secret conference, where his deposition was proposed, and talked of, and determined. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely necessary for the security of government.

But, whatever opinion we may form of the danger arising from Gloucester's conspiracies, his aversion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to provide for his own safety, by punishing the traitorous designs of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived: and a man, whose ambition had once usurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful servants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity, of renewing the same criminal enterprises. The king's

Gloucester becomes formidable to the king's government.

The earl of March declines to accept the throne.

Gloucester had countenanced the proceedings of persons disaffected to the king.

Richard's resentment is awakened.

Glocester is arrested.

precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: he ordered Glocester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partizans, he could safely be detained in custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time. The malcontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders, were astonished and overawed; and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures, together with the earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldest sons of these princes, bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

A parliament is summoned.

A parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster; and the king doubted not to find the peers, and still more the commons, very compliant with his will. Accordingly the parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them; they annulled for ever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar commission; they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which that parliament who passed them, and the whole nation, had sworn inviolably to maintain; and they declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he resumed the government, and lay no longer under constraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity, this seemed not, in their eyes, to merit any consideration. Even a particular pardon, granted six years after to the earl of Arundel, was annulled, on pretence that it had been procured by surprise, and that the king was not then fully apprised of the degree of guilt incurred by that nobleman.

It passes all acts desired by the king.

The proceedings of the former parliament are wholly abrogated.

The commons then preferred an impeachment against Fitz Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a sentence which banished him the kingdom and sequestered his temporalities. An appeal, or accusation, was presented against the duke of Glocester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the lords Spenser, and Scrope; and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishop, as well as of their appearance against the king in a hostile manner at Haringay park. The earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but, his plea being overruled, he was condemned and executed.* The earl of Warwick, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. No new acts of treason were imputed to either of these noblemen. The recent conspiracies of Glocester seem certain from his own confession; but perhaps the king and his ministry had not at that time in their hands any satisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps an inquiry into these conspiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation; or perhaps the king was indifferent about maintaining

The archbishop of Canterbury is impeached.

He is banished.

The earl of Arundel is executed.

The earl of Warwick is banished.

The guilt of Arundel and Warwick is satisfied totally.

* "There went to see the execution of the earl of Arundel divers lords, amongst whom was the earl of Nottingham, who had married his daughter; and the earl of Kent, that was his daughter's son: to whom at the place of execution he said, 'Truly it would have beseeemed you rather to be absent, than here at this business: but the time will come ere

long, that as many shall marvel at your misfortune, as they do at mine.' After his death, a fame went that his head was grown to his body again; whereupon on the tenth day after his burial, his body by the king's appointment was taken up, and then found to be a fable."—*Baker*.—*Ed.*

even the appearance of law and equity, and was only solicitous by any means to ensure success in these prosecutions. This point, like many others in ancient history, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER.

A WARRANT was issued to the earl marshal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. It became immediately the general opinion that he was murdered by orders from his nephew; in the subsequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in parliament that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers;* and it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popular a prince, and so near a relation, might prove dangerous, had taken this base method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing, his revenge. Both parties, in their triumphs, seem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adversaries; neither of them were aware that by imitating, they indirectly justified, as far as in their power, all the illegal violence of the opposite party.

This session concluded with the creation or advancement of several peers: the earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset; lord Spenser, earl of Gloucester; Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Worcester; William Scrope, earl of Wilt-

shire. The parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The king exacted an oath of perpetual maintenance and establishment of all their acts; an oath similar to that which had been required by the duke of Gloucester and his party, and which had already proved so vain and fruitless.

Both king and parliament met in the same dispositions at Shrewsbury. So anxious was Richard for the security of these acts, that he obliged the lords and commons to swear anew to them on the cross of Canterbury; and he soon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually secured. The parliament conferred on him, for life, the duties on wool, wool fells, and leather; and granted him, besides, a subsidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. They also reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges; and, with the approbation of the present judges, declared the answers, for which these magistrates had been impeached, to be just and legal. And they carried so far their retrospect as to reverse, on the petition of lord Spenser, earl of Gloucester, the attainder pronounced against the two Spensers in the reign of Edward II. The ancient history of England is nothing but a catalogue of reversals; one faction is continually undoing what was established by another; and the multiplied oaths, which each party exacted for the security of the present acts, betray a perpetual consciousness of their instability.

The parliament, before they were dissolved, elected a committee of twelve lords and six commoners; whom they invested with the whole power both of lords and commons, and endowed with full authority to finish all business which they had not had

* In the reign of Henry IV., one John Hale was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, at Tyburn. From his confession, it would appear that the king was most impatient for his uncle's death, and that against Richard's will, he was kept alive three weeks by the duke of Norfolk. After that time he was delivered into the hands of Hale, Rogers, Dennice, Cockle, Searl, and Francis, all servants of Norfolk. Having him in their power, "the said Searl and Francis took the said duke of Gloucester into an upper chamber, saying, 'That they would speak with him;'

unto whom, when they were come there they said, 'That the king's will was that he should be slain;' the duke answered thereto, 'If it be so it is welcome;' that Searl and Francis willed the duke to take a chaplain, whom the duke took and was confessed. After which confession they caused the duke to lye upon a bed, upon whom so lying the said Searl and Francis threw a feather bed; the sides whereof their associates held, and Francis lay on the mouth of the said duke until he was dead."—*Parliamentary History*.—Ed.

The parliament is sworn to maintain their acts.

The king requires the oath to be repeated.

Former attainders are reversed.

The whole power of parliament is given to a committee.

leisure to bring to a conclusion. This was an unusual concession ; but the cause of that extraordinary measure was an event singular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the parliament.

A misunderstanding between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the duke of Norfolk of having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal nobility. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted ; the time and place of combat were appointed ; and, as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the session beyond the usual time prescribed to it.

A challenge is given and accepted.

The duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private conversation to the ruin of the person who had intrusted him ; and we may thence be more inclined to believe the duke of Norfolk's denial than the other's asseveration. But Norfolk had in these transactions betrayed an equal neglect of honour, which brings him on a level with his antagonist. Though he had publicly joined with the duke of Gloucester and his party in all the former acts of violence against the king ; and his name stands among the appellants who accused the duke of Ireland and the other ministers ; yet was he not ashamed publicly to impeach his former associates, for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing ; and his name increases the list of those appellants who brought them to a trial. Such were the principles and practises of those ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the aristocratical government, and the reign of chivalry.

Both act dishonourably.

Norfolk impeaches his associates in crime.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before

the king ; all the nobility of England banded into parties, and adhered to the one duke or the other ; the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event ; but, when the two champions appeared, accoutred for the combat, the king interposed, to prevent the present effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners, he stopped the duel ; and ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom ; assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual ; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

A duel proposed between Norfolk and Hereford prevented by the king.

Both are banished.

Hereford was a man of great prudence ; and he behaved himself with so much submission, that the king, before his departure, promised to shorten the term of his exile four years ; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

The sentence of Hereford is mitigated.

BANISHMENT OF HENRY DUKE OF HEREFORD. 1398.

THE weakness and fluctuation of Richard's counsels appear no where more evident than in this affair. No sooner had Hereford left the kingdom than the king's jealousy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived : and he was sensible that, by Gloucester's death, he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to his crown. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Befry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finishing of an alliance which would so much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries : and he sent the earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. The death of the duke of Lancaster called upon him to take new resolutions with regard to that opulent succession. The present duke, in consequence of the king's patent, desired to be put in possession of the

The weakness of Richard is shown in his conduct to Hereford

The duke of Lancaster dies.

estate and jurisdictions of his father; but Richard, afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had already so much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them that this affair was but an appendage to that business which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and retained possession of the estate of Lancaster: and by the same authority he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and insisted on the letters; and he had him condemned as a traitor for faithfully executing that trust to his master. An extravagant act of power! even though the king changed, in favour of the attorney, the penalty of death into that of banishment.*

Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and having served with distinction against the infidels in Lithuania, he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour. He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. The people, who must have an object of affection, easily transferred to Henry that attachment which the death of the duke of Gloucester had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had suffered was complained of; and all turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses in the government.

RETURN OF HENRY. 1399.

WHILE such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had

been slain in a skirmish by the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire; and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Here he took a solemn oath, that he had no other purpose than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him; and he invited all lovers of their country to second him in this reasonable pretension. Every place was in commotion; London discovered the strongest symptoms of mutiny and rebellion; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to sixty thousand combatants.

GENERAL INSURRECTION.

THE duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his slender abilities, and his natural connexions with the duke of Lancaster, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in such a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than those of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Albans, and soon assembled forty thousand men; but found them entirely destitute of attachment to the royal cause, and more inclined to join the rebels. He hearkened, therefore, readily to a message from Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony: and the guardian even declared publicly that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the

* He levied fines on those who had ten years before joined the duke of Gloucester and his party: they were obliged to pay him money, before he would allow them to enjoy the benefit of the indemnity; and in the articles of charge against him, it is asserted

that the payment of one fine did not suffice. It is indeed likely that his ministers would abuse the power put into their hands; and this grievance extended to very many people. Historians agree in representing this practice as a great oppression.

Henry lands in England.

He finds himself at the head of sixty thousand men.

The duke of York is incapable of discharging his office.

He consents to favour Henry's views.

Richard with his parliament from the new duke of Lancaster.

Lancaster is chosen for piety and valour.

The nation transfers its affection to Henry.

Bristol surrenders to Henry.

same measures; and the duke of Lancaster was now entirely master of the kingdom. He hastened to Bristol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves; and, obliging that place to surrender, he yielded to the popular wishes, and, without trial, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took prisoners, to be led to immediate execution.

Richard returns from Ireland, and is deserted by his army.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with twenty thousand men: but this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed, or seized with the spirit of disaffection; and they gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. It appeared necessary to retire secretly from this small body, and he fled to the isle of Anglesea, where he purposed to embark for Ireland or France. Henry, sensible of the danger, sent to him the earl of Northumberland with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and that nobleman, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Castle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaster, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city entreated him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to those extremities. For this purpose he issued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament at Westminster.

He is secured in Flint castle, and taken to London.

A parliament is called.

KING DEPOSED AND MURDERED.

SUCH of the peers as were most devoted to the king were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the

barons, dared to appear against Henry. It is also easy to imagine that a house of commons, elected during this universal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be ready to second every suggestion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to stem the torrent, was always carried along with it. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, sensible that he should be entirely master, began to carry his views to the crown itself. He first extorted a resignation from Richard;* but, as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up against him, and presented to that assembly.

If we examine these articles, which are expressed with extreme acrimony against Richard, we shall find that, except some rash speeches, of whose reality, as they are said to have passed in private conversation, we may reasonably entertain some doubt, the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two last years of his reign, and naturally divides itself into two principal heads. The first and most considerable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons, who had usurped, and persevered in controlling his authority; the second is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former was fully supported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party. The detention of Lancaster's estate was, properly speaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace which the king himself had formerly granted him. The murder of Gloucester (for the secret execution, however merited, of that prince certainly deserves this appel-

No opposition is given to the Lancastrian party.

Steps are taken to depose Richard.

Charges are preferred against him.

His acts were supported by parliament.

* It appears from the parliamentary roll that the persons who had been present on this occasion stated, that the king, after signing the instrument, verbally added, that, if it had been in his power, the duke of Lancaster should succeed to him in the kingdom,

but as this did not depend on him, and as he had appointed the archbishop of York and bishop of Hereford his procurators, to declare his resignation and renunciation to all the estates of the kingdom; he requested them also to declare his intention and

lation) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped power of the crown, which could justly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a defect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves that, instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the second head of accusation, as it mostly consists of general facts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be answered, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of these grievances, imputed to Richard, seems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; such as the dispensing power, levying purveyance, employing the marshal's court, extorting loans, granting protection from law suits; prerogatives which, though often complained of, had often been exercised by his predecessors, and continued to be so by his successors. But, whether his irregular acts of this kind were not more frequent and violent than usual, or were exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather; he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax during his whole reign.* Scarcely a year passed, during the reign of Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But, perhaps, the ascendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives. This is a point which it would be rash to decide; but it is certain that a charge drawn up by the duke of Lancaster, and

assented to by a parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular.†

When the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament, it was not canvassed nor disputed in either house and seemed to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, the bishop of Carlisle, had the courage to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though some topics, employed by that virtuous prelate, may seem to favour too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind, he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his abhorrence of the present licentious factions; and such intrepidity, as well as disinterestedness, proves that his heart was elevated far above the meanness and abject submission of a slave. He represented to the parliament that all the abuses of government which could justly be imputed to Richard, instead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel, and admitted of a remedy more easy and salutary than a total subversion of the constitution: that if the maxim of inviolable loyalty, which formed the basis of the English government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the several orders of the state, instead of being fortified by that licentiousness, would thereby lose the surest foundation of their force and stability: that the parliamentary deposition of Edward II., far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of successful violence; that the succession, at least, of the crown was then preserved inviolate; the lineal heir was placed on the throne; and the people had an opportunity, by

No great irregularity is proved against Richard.

The bishop of Carlisle is not in favour of Richard.

His abuses are imputed to error, youth, and bad counsel.

The parliamentary deposition of Edward II. forms no precedent for his deposition.

will in this respect to the people; and in testimony thereof, took from his finger the ring which had been his signet, and put it on the finger of the duke of Lancaster.—*Reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the Peerage*, 1820.—Ed.

* We learn from Cotton, p. 362, that the king by his chancellor, told the commons, 'that they were sunderly bound to him, and namely in forbearing to charge them with dismes and fifteens, the which he

meant no more to charge them in his own person.' These words 'no more,' allude to the practice of his predecessors. He had not himself imposed any arbitrary taxes. Even the parliament, in the articles of his deposition, though they complain of heavy taxes, affirm not that they were imposed illegally, or by arbitrary will.

† See note T at end of the volume.

The suc-
cession to
the crown
fixed in the
descendants
of Lionel,
duke of
Clarence.

Reasons for
preferring
his true
heirs to the
Lancaster
family.

their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor; that a descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaster, had been declared in parliament successor to the crown; he had left posterity; and their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated: that if the turbulent disposition alone of the nation had overturned the well established throne of so good a prince as Richard, what bloody commotions must ensue when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? that the new government intended to be established, would stand on no principle, and would scarcely retain any pretence by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue: and that the duke of Lancaster would give them but a bad specimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of parliament, would, in case of Richard's demise or voluntary resignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy.

All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the revolution in 1688, shew the difference between a great and civilized nation, delibe-

ately vindicating its established privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous aristocracy, plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into those of another. This noble freedom of the bishop, instead of being applauded, was not tolerated; he was immediately arrested, by order of Lancaster, and sent a prisoner to the abbey of St. Albans. No farther debate was attempted. Thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard; and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who a little before had unanimously authorised those very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the suffrages of both houses; and, the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and, having crossed himself on the forehead, and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words, which we give in the original language, because of their singularity;

'In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blode, coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by default of governance, and ondoying of the gude lawes.'*

The bishop
of Carlisle
is arrested.

The charges
against
Richard are
unanimous-
ly voted.

Henry
claims the
crown.

* On the morrow, (Michaelmas day, 1399,) in the great hall at Westminster, in the place prepared for holding the parliament, the archbishops, the duke of Lancaster, and dukes and other lords, spiritual and temporal, and the people of the kingdom, then on account of the meeting of the parliament, assembled in great multitudes; and the duke of Lancaster taking his seat in his proper place, the royal seat being vacant, and the assembly without any president; the archbishop of York, in the name of himself and of the bishop of Hereford, read the renunciation of Richard in latin and in English. Then the archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the first voice amongst the prelates and "proceres" of the kingdom belonged, demanded of the states and people then present, if, for the interest of themselves, and the utility of the kingdom, they would admit the renunciation and cession thus stated. This being admitted, and publicly declared, it was represented that it would be expedient that the charge against Richard of misgovernment should be read, which was done accordingly.

Upon these charges the states resolved to proceed

to the deposition of the king by a solemn act; and for that purpose constituted seven commissaries, one of whom was William Thirnyng (styled in the record "Justiciarius," being chief justice of the common pleas, as appears by his writ of summons to the parliament), to pronounce the sentence of the deposition. This sentence was pronounced accordingly by the commissaries constituted "per pares et proceres regni Anglie, spirituales at temporales, et ejusdem regni communitates, omnes status ejusdem regni representantes," sitting before the throne (pro tribunali sedentes). The persons thus appointed commissaries, for the purpose of pronouncing the sentence of deposition, were also appointed procurators of the states, to resign and render to Richard the homage and fealty before made to him, and to intimate to him his deposition.

Immediately after this proceeding, as (according to the record) the kingdom of England was become vacant, Henry duke of Lancaster, rising from his seat, and standing up in sight of all the people, and speaking in the English language, claimed the vacant

In order to understand this, it must be observed that there was a silly story, received among the lowest vulgar, that Edmond earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of some deformity, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech: but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest. He was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. Still there is a third claim derived from his merits in saving the nation from tyranny and oppression; and this claim is also insinuated. He durst not speak openly even on this head; and, to obviate any notion of election, he challenges the crown as his due, either by acquisition or inheritance. The whole forms such a piece of jargon and nonsense as is almost without example; no objection, however, was made to it in parliament; the unanimous voice of lords and commons placed Henry on the throne; the title of the house of Marche, formerly recognised by parliament, was neither invalidated nor repealed, but passed over in total silence. But Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped some obscure hint concerning conquest, which, it was thought, might endanger these privileges, he soon after made a public declaration that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchises or liberties; which was the only circumstance where we shall find mean-

ing or common sense in all these transactions.

The subsequent events discover the same headlong violence of conduct, and the same rude notions of civil government. The deposition of Richard dissolved the parliament; it was necessary to summon a new one; and Henry, in six days after, called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. All the acts of the last parliament, confirmed by their oaths and by a papal bull, were abrogated. All the acts which had passed in the parliament where Gloucester prevailed, but which had been abrogated by Richard, were anew established. The answers of Tresilian, and the other judges, which a parliament had annulled, but which a new parliament and new judges had approved, here received a second condemnation. The peers who had accused Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had received higher titles for that piece of service, were all of them degraded from their new dignities. Even the practice of prosecuting appeals in parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy against an individual, rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly abolished, and trials were restored to the course of common law. The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with such perpetual changes, and to make them lose all notions of right and wrong in the measures of government.

The earl of Northumberland made a motion, in the house of peers, with regard to the unhappy prince. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, since Henry

kingdom, with the crown, and all its members and appurtenances, as descended by a right line of blood, coming from king Henry III., and through that right that God of his grace had sent him, with help of his kin and of his friends, to recover it; and thereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and all the states, with the people, consented that the duke should reign over them. It is to be collected from the language of the roll, that this general acclamation was considered as having made the duke of Lancaster king; the roll proceeding to state, that

immediately the king (meaning Henry) showed to the states of the kingdom the signet of Richard, given to him as a testimony of the desire of Richard that Henry should succeed to the crown, and the archbishop of Canterbury taking the king Henry by the hand, led him to the throne, and the two archbishops placed him in the seat. The king afterwards made a declaration, probably intended to obviate the construction which might otherwise have been put on some words before used by him.—*Reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the Peerage.*—Ed.

A so-called new parliament.

Former decisions are reversed.

The prosecution of appeals in parliament abolished.

The grounds of Henry's claim.

He insinuates what he cannot speak openly.

The title of the house of Marche is passed over.

King Richard is ordered to be imprisoned.

He is murdered.

Richard leaves no child.

Richard was unfit to govern.

was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with friends or partisans. It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such barbarous and sanguinary enemies. Historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion that Sir Piers Exton, and others, fell upon him in the castle, and despatched him with their halberts.* But it is more probable that he was starved to death in prison; and after all sustenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is said for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miseries. This account is more consistent with the story that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

CHARACTER OF THE KING.

ALL the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of Richard, lived during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes; and candour requires that we should not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. He ap-

* Daniel rejects the idea that Richard was starved; but believing that the reigning king, like Henry II. with regard to Becket, had regretted that no faithful friend would rid him of one who was dangerous to him, gives what follows. "A knight, called Sir Pierce of Exton, with eight of his followers, posteth to Pomphret, and, pretending warrant from the king, had entrance into the castle, where he commanded the esquire who served to king Richard, to surcease his service; whereupon, when king Richard being set at table, saw that he was not served as before with assay, and demanded of the esquire the reason of his neglect of duty therein; he was answered, that Sir Pierce had brought such order from king Henry coming lately from the court. Richard, moved with this act and answer, said 'the devil take thee and Henry of Lancaster;' with that Sir Pierce, with his retinue before him, entered into the chamber and locked the door after them; whereupon, king Richard spying their drift, and suspecting his own danger, stepped courageously to the first man, and wrestling the halbert out of his hands, therewith slew four of his mischievous assailants, and with admirable resolution fought with the other,

pears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government. He was violent in his temper; fond of idle shew and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure: passions all of them inconsistent with a prudent economy,† and consequently dangerous in a limited government. Had he possessed the talents of gaining, and those of overawing, his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign. But, when the grandees were tempted, by his want of prudence and of vigour, to resist his authority, and execute the most violent enterprises upon him, he was naturally led to retaliation; justice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were sacrificed: and all these enormities seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power than from the insolence of victory. The manners indeed of the age were the chief source of such violence; laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, lost all their authority during public convulsions; both parties were alike guilty; or, if any difference may be remarked, we shall find that the authority of the crown was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Ed-

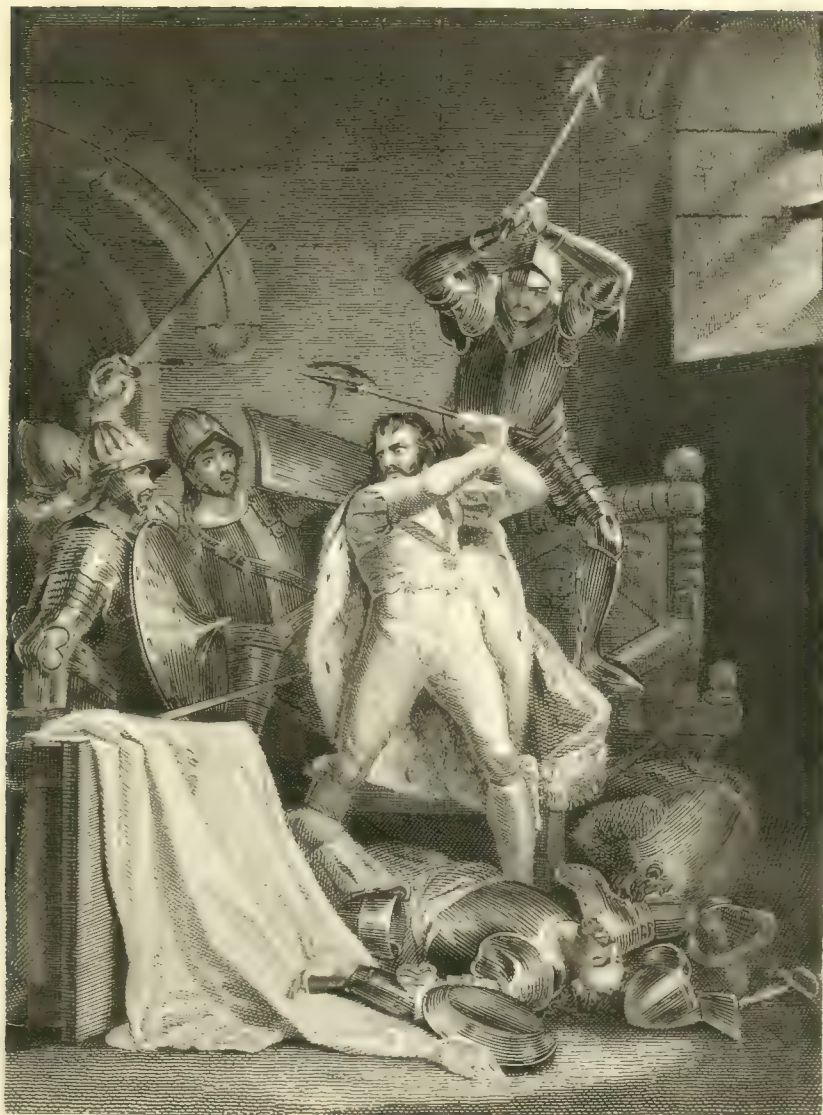
until coming by the chair where the King used to sit, into which the cowardly knight himself was got for his own safety, he was by him stricken with a poleaxe on the hinder part of his head, who being at the point of death, groaned forth these words, 'Edward the second, my great-grandfather, was in this manner deposed, imprisoned, and murdered; whereby my grandfather, Edward the third, obtained the crown, and now is this punishment fallen upon me, his next successor. This is right for me to suffer, but not for you to do. Your king may for a time joy at my death, and enjoy his desire, but let him qualifie his pleasure with expectation of like justice.'—Ed.

† "Anno 3 Richard II. The Speaker says, If the King were reasonably govern'd in his Expences, within and without the Realm, he should have little need to charge his Commons, who were already much impoverish'd. 'Dist qe lour sembloit a la dite commune, que si lour Seigneur lige eust este bien & raisonablement governez en ses despenses par dedeins le Royalme, & autrement, il neust ore besoigne de leur aide, per chargeant sa dite Commune, quore est trop poure, &c.'"—Discourse on Grants, &c.—Ed.

He was violent and profuse.

He was revengeful.

The crown, in times of difficulty, less oppressive than the aristocracy.



Richard wanted ability.

The royal authority was enfeebled.

The king's authority was enfeebled.

By complicity of power.

ward and to blame Richard ; but the circumstance of opposition, surely, will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, seems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every parliament assembled during the reign of Edward remonstrates against the exertion of some arbitrary prerogative or other : we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the assembling of his last parliament ; which was summoned by his inveterate enemies ; which dethroned him ; which framed their complaints during the time of the most furious convulsions. Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his parliament, and to sell some of his prerogatives for present supply ; but, as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with sovereign power. The weakness of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commission, which, in a manner, transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. Edward had no sooner gotten the supply than he departed from the engagements which had induced the parliament to grant it ; he openly told his people that he had but dissimulated when he seemed to make them concessions ; and he resumed and retained all his prerogatives. But Richard, because he was detected in consulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulness of restoring the constitution, found his barons immediately in arms ; was deprived of his liberty ; saw his favourites, his ministers, his tutor butchered before his face, or banished or attainted ; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contrast between the fortunes of two princes.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THERE was a sensible decay of ecclesiastical authority during this period. The disgust which the laity had received from

the numerous usurpations both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy, had very much weaned the kingdom from superstition ; and strong symptoms appeared of a general desire to shake off the bondage of the Romish church. In the committee of eighteen, to whom Richard's last parliament delegated their whole power, there is not the name of one ecclesiastic to be found ; a neglect which is almost without example while the catholic religion subsisted in England.*

The aversion entertained against the established church soon found principles, and tenets, and reasonings, by which it could justify and support itself. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of Edward III. to spread the doctrine of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings ; and he made many disciples among men of all ranks. He seems to have been a man of parts and learning ; and has the honour of being the first person in Europe that publicly called in question those principles, which had universally passed for certain and undisputed during so many ages. Wickliffe himself, as well as his disciples, who received the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards, was distinguished by a great austerity of life and manners. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being derived from his search into the scriptures and into ecclesiastical antiquity, were nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century ; he only carried some of them farther than was done by the more sober part of these reformers. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monastic vows ; he maintained that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith ; that the church was dependent on the state, and should be reformed by it ; that the clergy ought to possess no estates ; that the begging friars were a nuisance, and ought not to be supported ; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety ; he asserted that oaths were unlawful ; that dominion was founded in

In Richard's reign the tyranny of Rome was severely felt.

Wickliffe spreads the doctrine of reformation.

His principles nearly those of the reformers in the sixteenth century.

The forms of the church deemed opposed to piety.

* See note U at the end of the volume.

Wickliffe
enthu-
siastic.

He is cited
before the
bishop of
London.

The duke of
Lancaster
protects
Wickliffe.

grace; that every thing was subjected to fate and destiny, and that all men were pre-ordained either to eternal salvation or reprobation. Wickliffe appears to have been strongly tinctured with enthusiasm, and to have been thereby the better qualified to oppose a church whose chief characteristic is superstition.

The propagation of these principles gave great alarm to the clergy; and a bull was issued by pope Gregory XI. for taking Wickliffe into custody, and examining his opinions. Courteney, bishop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors. The duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickliffe; and he made no scruple, as well as lord Piercy the mareschal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial; he even insisted that Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence, while his principles were examined. Courteney exclaimed against the insult. The Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and mareschal, who escaped from their hands with some difficulty. And the populace soon after broke into the houses of these noblemen, threatened their persons, and plundered their goods. The bishop of London had the merit of appeasing their resentment.

The duke of Lancaster still continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had so far propagated themselves, that, when the pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated whether they should receive the bull; and they never

took any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders. Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favourable sentiments of this reformer: when he was cited before a synod at Lambeth, they broke into the assembly, and so overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court against them, that they dismissed him without any farther censure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to punish this new heresy.* But there was hitherto no law in England by which the secular arm was authorised to support orthodoxy; and the ecclesiastics endeavoured to supply the defect by an extraordinary and unwarrantable artifice. In the year 1381 there was an act passed, requiring sheriffs to apprehend the preachers of heresy and their abettors; but this statute had been surreptitiously obtained by the clergy, and had the formality of an enrolment without the consent of the commons. In the subsequent session the lower house complained of the fraud; affirmed that they had no intention to bind themselves to the prelates farther than their ancestors had done before them; and required that the pretended statute should be repealed; which was done accordingly. But it is remarkable that notwithstanding this vigilance of the commons, the clergy had so much art and influence that the repeal was suppressed; and the act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day upon the statute book; though the clergy still thought proper to keep it in reserve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it.†

But, besides this defect of power in the

* They had ample cause to be offended with Wickliffe. He spared not their irregularities; and their characters were not the most exemplary. "Their lives were a satire on the principles they professed. While celibacy was asserted to be most acceptable to heaven, the clergy abstained from marriage, but freely indulged in astounding licentiousness. The younger clergy were, in some cases, formally permitted to attach themselves to concubines. For a time, the bishops interfered to restrict each churchman to one female, and bound him to provide for any family that might be born from their intercourse, but, by degrees, these regulations were neglected. One, or even two paramours, would not content the clergy,

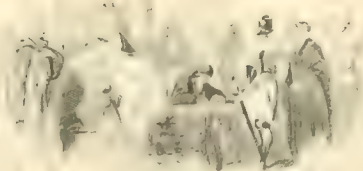
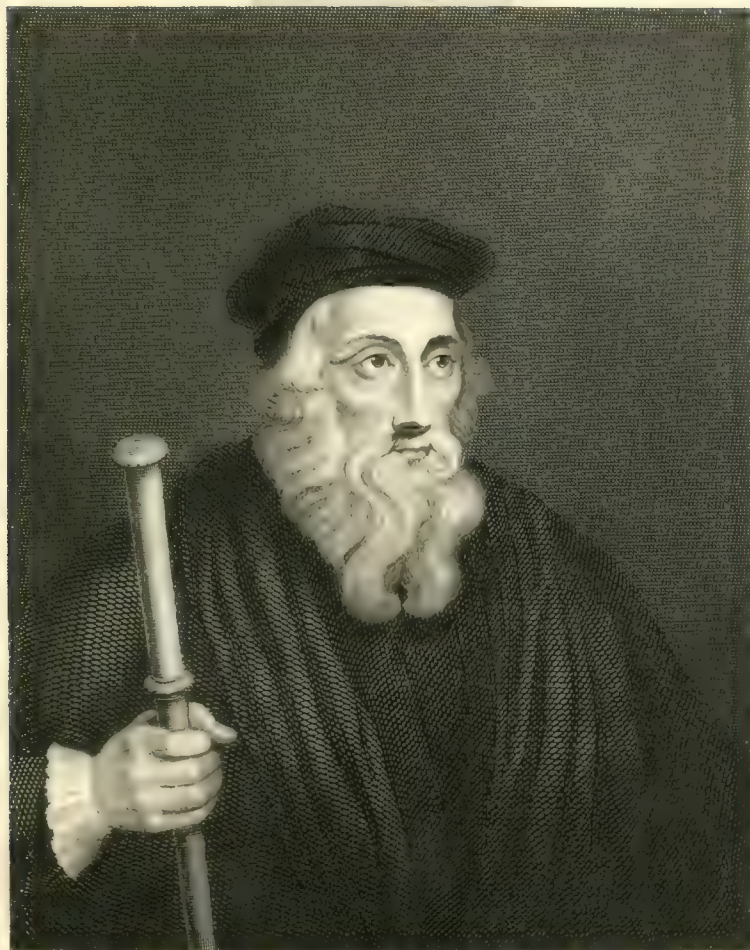
the sanctified admirers of the fair sex, and, in consequence, the most scandalous scenes were witnessed. Such disorders roused the manly spirit of Wickliffe. He condemned the profligate lives of the offenders, and the unscriptural doctrines which many of them taught, contending that 'those who could openly sin, were unworthy to be entrusted with the government of Christ's church upon earth.' The pope, who connived at their misconduct, he did not scruple to designate 'Antichrist, the worldly priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse kervers.'"—*Life and Times of the good Lord Cobham*.—ED.

† "Amongst the petitions of the Commons in the Parliament of the 51st of Edward the third, is one

The popu-
lace even-
tually
favour him.

An act
fraudulent-
ly framed
by the
clergy to
punish
heresy.

The act is
repealed,
but the re-
peal is sup-
pressed.



Wickliffe
had not the
spirit of a
martyr.

He died of a
palsy.

His princi-
ples and
ground in
England
and Bohemia.

The Eng-
lish parlia-
ment
checks the
court of
Rome.

church, which saved Wickliffe, that reformer himself, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and, in all subsequent trials before the prelates, he so explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings as to render it quite innocent and inoffensive. He died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; and the clergy took care, besides assuring the people of his eternal damnation, to represent his last distemper as a visible judgment of heaven upon him for his multiplied heresies and impieties.

The proselytes, however, of Wickliffe's opinions still increased in England. Some monkish writers represent one half of the kingdom as infected by those principles. They were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation, who studied at Oxford. But, though the age seemed strongly disposed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more curiosity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

Meanwhile the English parliament continued to check the clergy and the court of Rome by more legal expedients. They enacted anew the statute of provisors, and affixed higher penalties to the transgression of it, which, in some instances, was even made capital. The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increased their authority over the prelates. The pope, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depriving them was liable to opposition, attained the same end by transferring such of them as were obnoxious to poorer sees, and even to nominal sees, 'in partibus infidelium.' It was thus that the

that no statute nor ordinance should be made or granted at the petition of the clergy, if it should not be by the assent of the Commons; and that the Commons should not be bound by any constitutions which the clergy made for their own advantage without assent of the Commons: for the clergy would not be bound by any of the King's statutes or ordinances made without their assent. The answer was, 'Soit ceste matir declaree en especial.'

"Throughout this reign, and indeed those of Edward the first and second, there appears to have

archbishop of York, and the bishops of Durham and Chichester, the king's ministers, had been treated after the prevalence of Gloucester's faction. The bishop of Carlisle met with the same fate after the accession of Henry IV.; for the pope always joined with the prevailing powers when they did not thwart his pretensions. The parliament in the reign of Richard enacted a law against this abuse; and the king made a general remonstrance to the court of Rome against all those usurpations, which he calls horrible excesses of that court.

The usurpations of
Rome remonstrated
against by
the king.

It was usual for the church, that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their votaries leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest; the parliament also stopped the progress of this abuse. In the seventeenth of the king, the commons prayed 'that remedy might be had against such religious persons as cause their villains to marry free women inheritable, whereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collusion.' This was a new device of the clergy.

The clergy
defeated in
their
attempts to
elude the
statute of
mortmain.

The papacy was at this time somewhat weakened by a schism, which lasted during forty years, and gave great scandal to the devoted partisans of the holy see. After the pope had resided many years at Avignon, Gregory XI. was persuaded to return to Rome; and upon his death, in 1380, the Romans, resolute to fix the seat of the papacy in Italy, besieged the cardinals in the conclave, and compelled them, though they were mostly Frenchmen, to elect Urban VI., an Italian, into that high dignity. The French cardinals, as soon as they recovered their liberty, fled, and, protesting against the forced election, chose Robert, son of the count of Geneva, who

A schism in
the church.

been a continual struggle of the clergy to exempt themselves from the control of the temporal power, and a strong disposition on the part of the Lords and Commons, and especially of the Commons, to resist their pretensions; but the King, dreading a contest with the clergy, appears to have endeavoured to support the temporal authority to a much less extent than that to which the Commons would have carried it."—*Reports of the Lords' Committees on the Peerage.*—ED.

Two popes
are elected.

The follow-
ers of Urban
VI., and
Clement
VII con-
demn each
other.

Crusades
are under-
taken in
the quarrel.

The land-
owners re-
tain their
followers by
livery.

took the name of Clement VII., and re-
sided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of
Christendom, according to the several
interests, were divided between these two
pontiffs. The court of Rome adhered
to Clement, and was followed by its allies,
the king of Castile and the king of Scot-
land; England, of course, was thrown into
the other party, and declared for Urban.
Thus the appellation of Clementines and
Urbanists distracted Europe; and each
party damned the other as schismatics,
and as rebels to the true vicar of Christ.
The people attached themselves to their
own party, as to a religious opinion; and
conceived an extreme abhorrence to the
opposite party, whom they regarded as
little better than Saracens or infidels. Cru-
sades were even undertaken in this quarrel;
and the zealous bishop of Norwich, in
particular, led over, in 1382, near sixty
thousand bigots into Flanders against the
Clementines: but, after losing a great part
of his followers, he returned with disgrace
into England. Each pope, sensible, from
this prevailing spirit, that the kingdom
which once embraced his cause would
always adhere to him, boldly maintained
all the pretensions of his see, and stood
not much more in awe of the temporal
sovereigns than if his authority had not
been endangered by a rival.

We meet with this preamble to a law
enacted at the very beginning of this reign.
'Whereas divers persons, of small garrison
of land or other possessions, do make great
retinue of people, as well of esquires as
of others, in many parts of the realm,
giving to them hats and other livery of
one suit by year, taking again towards
them the value of the same livery, or per-
case the double value, by such covenant
and assurance, that every of them shall
maintain other in all quarrels, be they
reasonable or unreasonable, to the great
mischief and oppression of the people, &c.'
This preamble contains a true picture of
the state of the kingdom. The laws had
been so feebly executed, even during the
long, active, and vigilant, reign of Edward
III., that no subject could trust to their
protection. Men openly associated them-
selves, under some great baron, for their

mutual defence: they wore public badges,
by which their confederacy was distin-
guished: they supported each other in all
quarrels, extortions, murders, robberies,
and other crimes: their chief was more
their sovereign than the king himself; and
their own band more connected with them
than their country. Hence the perpetual
disorders and civil wars of those times;
hence the small regard paid to the opinion
of the public; hence the large discre-
tionary prerogatives of the crown, and the
danger which might have ensued from the
too great limitation of them. If the king
had possessed no arbitrary powers, while
all the nobles exercised them, there must
have ensued an absolute anarchy in the
state.

One great mischief attending these con-
federacies was the extorting from the king
pardons for the most enormous crimes.
The parliament often endeavoured, in the
last reign, to deprive the prince of this
prerogative; but, in the present, they were
content with an abridgment of it. They
enacted that no pardon for rapes or for
murder from malice prepense should be
valid, unless the crime were particularly
specified in it. There were also some
other circumstances required for passing
such pardon. An excellent law; but ill
observed, like most laws that thwart the
prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these volun-
tary associations, that the whole force of
the feudal system was in a manner dis-
solved; and that the English had nearly
returned to the same situation in which
they stood before the Norman conquest.
It was, indeed, impossible that that system
could long subsist under the perpetual re-
volutions to which landed property is every
where subject. When the great feudal
baronies were first erected, the lord lived
in opulence in the midst of his vassals;
he was in a situation to protect and cherish
and defend them; the quality of patron
naturally united itself to that of superior;
and these two principles of authority sup-
ported each other. But, when, by the
various divisions and mixtures of property,
a man's superior came to live at a distance
from him, and could no longer give him

They sup-
port each
other in
crime.

They ex-
tort par-
dons from
the king.

The whole
force of the
feudal sys-
tem is dis-
solved.

Changes
made by the
divisions of
of property.

Protection
is sought by
voluntary
service.

shelter or countenance, the tie gradually became more fictitious than real; new connexions were formed; protection was sought by voluntary services; the appearance of valour, spirit, abilities, in any great man, extended his interest very far; and, if the sovereign were deficient, he was no less, if not more, exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy than even during the vigour of the feudal system.

Peers are
first created
by patent
in this
reign.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first peer that was advanced to the house of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is also first mentioned in the present reign.

Nicholas I
lived most
prodigally.

This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of ten thousand persons; he had three hundred in his kitchen, and all the other offices were furnished in proportion. This enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expense. Such prodigality was probably the source of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of the public discontents.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY IV.

1399—1413.

TITLE OF THE KING.—AN INSURRECTION.—
AN INSURRECTION IN WALES.—THE
EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS.—
BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.—STATE OF
SCOTLAND.—PARLIAMENTARY TRANSAC-
TIONS.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF
THE KING.

TITLE OF THE KING 1399.

The Eng-
lish are
favourable
to heredi-
tary suc-
cession.

THE English had so long been familiarized to the hereditary succession of their monarchs, the instances of departure from it had always borne such strong symptoms of injustice and violence, and so little of a national choice or election, and the returns

to the true line had ever been deemed such fortunate incidents, that Henry was afraid lest, in resting his title on the consent of the people, he should build on a foundation to which the people themselves were not accustomed, and whose solidity they would with difficulty be brought to recognise. The idea too of choice seemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the consent upon any supposed violation of them: an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a sovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the subjects; who, lying so much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For these reasons Henry was determined never to have recourse to this claim, the only one on which his authority could consistently stand: he rather chose to patch up his title in the best manner he could from other pretensions: and, in the end, he left himself no ground of right but his present possession; a very precarious foundation, which was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great, or prejudice of the people. He had, indeed a present advantage over his competitor. The heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament heir to the crown, was a boy of seven years of age: his friends consulted his safety, by keeping silence with regard to his title. Henry detained him and his younger brother in an honourable custody in Windsor castle: but he had reason to dread that, as that nobleman grew to man's estate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud, violence, and injustice, by which he had been excluded from the throne. He was a native of England; possessed an extensive interest from the greatness and alliances of his family; however criminal the deposed monarch, this youth was entirely innocent; he was of the same religion, and educated in the same manners, with the people, and could not be governed by any separate interest. These views would all concur to favour his claim; and though the abilities of the present prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be ap-

Henry has
some diffi-
culty in ad-
vancing his
claim.

He patch-
es up a
title to the
crown.

The heir of
the house of
Mortimer is
kept in
honourable
custody

Many cir-
cumstances
favour
young Mor-
timer.

Henry's authority is not easily established.

prehended that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors.

Aristocratic challenges are given on the meeting of the peers

Henry, in his very first parliament, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocracy, always divided by faction, and at present inflamed with the resentments consequent on recent convulsions. The peers, on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the house by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and 'liar' and 'traitor' resounded from all quarters. The king had so much authority as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper composure, or to an amicable disposition towards each other.*

AN INSURRECTION. 1400.

An insurrection is planned.

It was not long before these passions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent and Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the respective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conspiracy, together with the earl of Salisbury and lord Lumley, for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He suddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor with a body of five hundred horse, found that they had missed this blow, on which all the success of their enterprise depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly drawn from the city; and his enemies dispersed themselves, with a view of raising their followers in the several counties which were the seat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit, and every where opposed them-

The conspirators are obliged to disperse.

selves to their progress. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the citizens; and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony. The citizens of Bristol treated Spencer and Lumley in the same manner. The earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely, who were also taken prisoners, suffered death, with many others, by orders from Henry. And, when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation.

The earls of Kent, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, are beheaded.

But the spectacle, the most shocking to every one who retained any sentiment of honour or humanity, still remained. The earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he presented in triumph to Henry as a testimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was soon after duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloucester; had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trusted; had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprise; and now displayed, in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonour.

The earl of Rutland carries his brother-in-law's head on a pole.

Henry was sensible that, though the execution of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animosities which remain after such bloody scenes are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprise, those numerous enemies with whom he was environed. While a subject, he was believed to have strongly imbibed all the principles of his father the duke of Lancaster, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the established church; but, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought supersti-

Henry is anxious not to increase his enemies.

* While this parliament was sitting, Henry took care to have his son Henry created prince of Wales,

duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and declared heir apparent to the crown.—ED.

tion a necessary implement of public authority, and he resolved to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against heresy; an indulgence which had proceeded, not from a spirit of toleration in the Romish church, but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But, when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king was easily induced to sacrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favour of the church by that most effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the parliament to pass a law for that purpose. It was enacted that, when any heretic, who relapsed or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate. This weapon did not long remain unemployed. William Sautre, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; the king issued his writ for the execution; and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the first instance of that kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to those dismal scenes which were already but too familiar to the people.

But the utmost prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death. But, though the confusions in England tempted the French to engage in some enterprise by which they might distress their ancient enemy, the

greater confusions at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, renewed the truce between the kingdoms.* The attack of Guienne was also an inviting attempt, which the present factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change masters: but the earl of Worcester, arriving with some English troops, gave countenance to the partisans of Henry, and overawed their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gascons had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the pope of Rome: and they were sensible that, if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration.

INSURRECTION IN WALES. 1401.

THE revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword; Henry sent assistance to Gray; the Welsh took part with Glendour; a troublesome and tedious war was kindled,

* Queen Isabella, at king Richard's death, was but ten years of age. After some negotiations, it was agreed that the princess should be restored to her father with her jewels, the claim of 200,000 gold

francs, given as her dowry, being abandoned by Charles. Some of the jewels Henry, in violation of the agreement which he had subscribed, is said to have kept.—Ed.

Glendour ravages the lands of the English.

The young earl of Mortimer becomes his prisoner.

Henry assembles the peers at Westminster.

Henry marches to Edinburgh.

which Glendour long sustained by his valour, aided by the natural strength of the country and the untamed spirit of its inhabitants.

As Glendour committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he infested the estate of the earl of Marche; and Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welsh chieftain. His troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner. The earl himself, who had been allowed to retire to his castle of Wigmore, and who, though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell also into Glendour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and, though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Piercies, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused to the earl of Northumberland permission to treat of his ransom with Glendour.

The uncertainty in which Henry's affairs stood during a long time with France, as well as the confusions incident to all great changes in government, tempted the Scots to make incursions; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, summoned at Westminster a council of the peers, without the commons, and laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal constitution was now much decayed; there remained only so much of that fabric as affected the civil rights and properties of men: and the peers here undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers. Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown. But, finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravado; and he disbanded his army.

In the subsequent season Archibald earl

of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as was Mordac earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Piercy.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND REBELS. 1403.

THE obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The sovereign became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life, and conferred other gifts on that family, these favours were regarded as their due; the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Piercy, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour; he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief; he roused up all his partisans to arms; and the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now

The Scots enter England.

Many Scottish noblemen are made prisoners by the Piercies.

The Northumberland family are disaffected.

The younger brother of Northumberland revolts.



followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join Glendour. The king had a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and he instantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle,* Percy sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which, he pretended, the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty when, on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering, that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permission to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason

of that prince's arraignment and deposition. This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties: the bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about twelve thousand men, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood on both sides, and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.

WE shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight: his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself on his father's footsteps; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Percy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible; he seemed determined that the king of England should that day fall by his arm; he sought him all over the field of battle; and, as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence every where, had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But, while the armies were contending, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gausel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Massey, Sir John Calverly. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Percy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners; the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury, the

An obstinate contest is expected.

The battle of Shrewsbury.

Percy is slain, and Henry is victorious.

The earl of Worcester is beheaded.

* July 20th.

latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but, being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for the offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in this dangerous enterprise seems to have perished by the hands of the executioner.

But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them: they rose in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing singly those insurrections, which, united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The earl of Nottingham, son of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, then duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Percy was in the field, still harboured a violent hatred against the enemy of their families; and they determined, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to seek revenge. They betook themselves to arms before that powerful nobleman was prepared to join them; and, publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored, and all public grievances redressed. The earl of Westmoreland, whose power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and being afraid to hazard an action, he at-

tempted to subdue them by a stratagem, which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He desired a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies; he heard their grievances with great patience; he begged them to propose the remedies; he approved of every expedient which they suggested; he granted them all their demands; he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and observed to them that, since amity was, in effect, now restored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces. The archbishop and Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose; their troops disbanded upon the field: but Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, seized the two rebels, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress the insurrection. The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry allowed time for an opposition; the celerity of the execution alone could here render it safe and prudent. Finding that Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting, he appointed Sir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced sentence of death, which was presently executed. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes were not to pass with impunity. Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner; but, though many persons of condition, such as lord Falconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others seem to have fallen victims to Henry's severity.

The earl of Northumberland fled into Scotland with lord Bardolf; and the king reduced all the castles belonging to these noblemen. He thence turned his arms against Glendour, over whom the prince of Wales had obtained some advantages: but that enemy still found means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of eluding all the force of England. In a

The earl of Northumberland raises an army; but disbands it, and is pardoned.

Henry's armies fail to act in proper concert.

A new conspiracy is formed.

The earl of Nottingham and the archbishop of York take up arms.

The earl of Westmoreland desires a conference.

He persuades them to disband their followers.

The rebel chiefs are treacherously seized.

The archbishop of York and the earl of Nottingham are executed.

Northumberland and lord Bardolf escape to Scotland.

subsequent season the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf entered the north, in hopes of raising the people to arms; but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, levied some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain. This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and this prince, by his valour, prudence, and address, accustomed the people to the yoke, and obtained a greater ascendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not supported by these active qualities, was ever able to confer.

STATE OF SCOTLAND. 1407.

ABOUT the same time fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour who was most enabled to disturb his government. Robert III., king of Scots, was a prince of slender capacity, extremely inoffensive in his conduct: but Scotland was still less fitted than England for cherishing, or even enduring, sovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous disposition, had assumed the government; and entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown. He threw in prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger. James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and king Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France, and intrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. The vessel was taken by the English; prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and, though there subsisted a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune; and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany. Henry was now more sensible than ever of the im-

portance of the acquisition which he had made: while he retained such a pledge he was sure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependance; or he could easily, by restoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the usurper. But, though the king, by detaining James, had shewn himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education; which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The hostile dispositions between France and England were restrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing in action. The jealousies and civil commotions, with which both nations were disturbed, kept each from taking advantage of the unhappy situation of its neighbour. But, as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had sooner been able to compose the English factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to foment the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted. He hoped, by giving a new direction to the restless spirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domestic wars and disorders. That he might unite policy with force, he first entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, which supported him against his enemies. Soon after he hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the duke of Orleans, and dispatched a greater body to support that party: but, the leaders of the opposite factions having made temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were sacrificed; and this effort of Henry proved entirely vain and fruitless. The declining state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate son carried to so great a length against the French monarchy.

PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS.

SUCH were the military and foreign transactions of this reign; the civil and parlia-

His son is detained, and educated in England.

Henry inflames the animosity of the families of Burgundy and Orleans.

He changes sides, but his policy is defeated.

The elections of the commons are no longer neglected.

Henry encourages abuses in elections.

The general institutions of the state, though temporarily disturbed, are still upheld.

Greater powers are assumed by the commons than had previously been exercised.

They make conditions with the king.

mentary are somewhat more memorable. During the two last reigns the elections of the commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of using unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partisans a seat in that house. This practice formed one considerable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to encourage the same abuses in elections. Laws were enacted against such undue influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made: but laws were commonly at that time very ill executed; and the liberties of the people stood on a surer basis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the house of commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the aristocracy, and though that house might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either, the general institutions of the state still remained invariable: the interests of the several members continued on the same footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign the king was obliged to court popularity; and the house of commons began to assume powers which had not usually been exercised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry they procured a law that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the sovereign. In the second year they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions; which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince. In the fifth year they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased

them, among whom was his own confessor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which these men had committed, complied with their request. In the sixth year they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. In the eighth year they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them. The abridger of the records remarks the unusual liberties taken by the speaker and the house during this period.* But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage. In a subsequent parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domestic difficulties, plainly told him that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained, by Henry than by any of his predecessors.

During this reign, when the house of commons were at any time brought to make unwary concessions, they shewed their freedom by a speedy retraction of them. Henry, though he entertained a well grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament: and, as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure what would not have been refused him, an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman; because he knew that such a declaration would only serve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful manner. He procured a settle-

The commons appoint treasurers to see their grants properly applied.

Henry yields, but afterwards reclaims his prerogative.

Henry claims no declaration against the Mortimer family.

* "In the 7th and 8th of this king, the saving prudence of the Commons went so far as to claim that the king should give away no lands that were to be conquered from the Welsh, till a quarter of a year

after they should have been acquired. Henry, in reply, promised to make no grant till the nature of the lands in his gift should have been ascertained."—*Resumption of Grants.*—Ed.

ment of the crown upon himself and his heirs male; thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the English government. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long contest with France the injustice of the Salic law had been so much exclaimed against by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men. The same house of commons, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family. A certain proof that nobody was, in his heart, satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.*

But, though the commons shewed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown, their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary, and seemed to anticipate very much the spirit which became so general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know that the credit of these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian; but that historian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the interests of his order to preserve the memory of such transactions, much more to forge precedents which posterity might be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident, that the most likely way of accounting for the silence of the records on this head is by supposing that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a rasure, with regard to these circumstances, which the indiscretion of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

In the sixth of Henry the commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed, in plain terms, to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigences of the state.

They insisted that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while at the same time they themselves, who staid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed; the king discouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill, which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues.

The commons were not discouraged; in the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before. They made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a year, and contained eighteen thousand four hundred ploughs of land: they proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and a hundred hospitals, besides twenty thousand pounds a year, which the king might take for his own use; and they insisted that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present by fifteen thousand parish priests, paid at the rate of seven marks apiece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes against the Lollards, which shews from what source the address came. The king gave a severe reply; and, farther to satisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earnest, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the dissolution of the parliament.

The commons complained of the riches of the clergy.

The archbishop of Canterbury successfully defends the church.

The commons renew the attack.

A Lollard is ordered to be burned.

* The defect in his title seems to have been the

source of incessant annoyance to Henry. His sus-

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1413.

No great action in this reign.

King Henry dies.

His usurpation caused him to be hated.

WE have now related almost all the memorable transactions of this reign. The king was so much employed in defending his crown, which he possessed by a bad title, that he had little leisure to perform any action which might redound to the honour of the nation. His health declined some months before his death; he was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and, though in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster the twentieth of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.*

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, was entirely lost before the end of his reign: and he governed his people more by terror than by affection; more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion against his prince; the deposition of a lawful king; the exclusion of the true heir; the murder of his sovereign and near relation; these were such enormities as drew on him the hatred of his subjects, and made the executions, though not remarkably severe, which he found necessary for the maintenance of his authority, appear iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologise for these crimes, it may be re-

picious extended even to his son, and these were, by the latter, so seriously regarded, that on the 29th of June, 1411, he proceeded, according to Daniel, with a long train of friends and servants, to the king's court at Westminster, "wearing a garment of blew sattin, wrought all with eyelet holes of black silk, at every hole the needle by which it was sewed, and about his arm a thing in fashion of an hound's collar, studded with S. S. of gold, and the tyrots of the same." Being admitted to the presence of the king, he expressed sorrow for the uneasiness of which he had been the cause; but wishing to set the king's mind at rest, he said, having taken the holy sacrament that morning, he had attired himself as preparing a victim for sacrifice, and now presenting a dagger, called upon the king to plunge it into his heart. The father, who was then in a very infirm state, was completely overcome by this theatrical display, embraced the repentant son, and declared he would "listen no more to re-

marked that he was insensibly led into this blamable conduct by a train of incidents which few men possess virtue enough to withstand. The injustice with which his predecessor had treated him, in first condemning him to banishment, then despoiling him of his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his lost rights; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own security, as well as his ambition, made him an usurper; and the steps have always been so few between the prisons of princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All these considerations make Henry's situation, if he retained any sense of virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude and the remorse by which, it is said, he was continually haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. But it must be owned that his vigilance and foresight, in maintaining his power, were admirable; his command of temper remarkable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after times, rather salutary, during his own reign, to the English nation.

Henry was twice married. By Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry his successor in the throne, Thomas duke of

A series of incidents conducted him to crime.

He was haunted by remorse.

He married twice.

ports to his prejudice," and that "at the next parliament the whisperers against him should undergo the censure of their peers." From that time the king is said to have had no doubt of his loyalty and affection, till, being attacked with apoplexy, and supposed to be dead, the crown, which he had caused to be kept in his chamber, was removed by the prince. Henry soon after revived, and missing it, was exceedingly hurt and angry. His son, however, appearing, gave such explanations as the dying king judged satisfactory. He shortly after expired, having given his successor a solemn admonition, with his blessing.—ED.

* He was attacked by his last fit while at the shrine of St. Edward, and carried into an apartment which was called the "Jerusalem Chamber." The name being mentioned reminded him of a prophecy which had formerly been made, that he should die at Jerusalem, and which he was inclined to think, by his breathing his last there, would be fulfilled.—ED.



Henry had four sons and two daughters.

Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

A savage spirit pervaded in his time.

By an act of the fifth of this reign it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act says, were very frequent. This savage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though perhaps it was increased by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

unreasonable strict impositions.

Commerce was very little understood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealousy prevailed against merchant strangers; and many restraints were by law imposed upon them; namely, that they should lay out in English manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the sale of their goods; that they should not buy or sell with one another; and that all their goods should be disposed of three months after importation. This last clause was found so inconvenient, that it was soon after repealed by parliament.

It appears that the expense of this king's household amounted to the yearly sum of nineteen thousand five hundred pounds, money of that age.

arts progress very slowly.

Guicciardin tells us that the Flemings in this century learned from Italy all the refinement in arts, which they taught the rest of Europe. The progress, however, of the arts was still very slow in England.*

* In this reign, as in that of Richard, the commons seem, at various periods, to have been anything but deficient in resolution. They scrupled not to attack those who might be supposed to be regarded with favour by the king. The same parliament which called for a decision with regard to lands not yet conquered, demanded that certain foreigners, whom they named, should be banished the kingdom. Their wish seems to have been complied with, as we read, "*Item, Samedy le 8 jour de May a les souvent priers & requestes des Communes, accorde feust per nostre Seignour le Roy, & les Seignours Esprituels & Temporels, qe tous les Aliens desqueux les noms sont comprises en une Cedula, laquelle feust livree al Seneschal del Houstiel du Roy, voidant la Roiaume devant un certain jour, compris en le Brief de Pro-*

CHAPTER XIX.

HENRY V.

1413—1422.

THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS—HIS REFORMATION.—THE LOLLARDS, AND PUNISHMENT OF LORD COBHAM.—STATE OF FRANCE.—INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM. BATTLE OF AZINCOUR.—STATE OF FRANCE. NEW INVASION OF FRANCE.—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—TREATY OF TROYE.—MARRIAGE OF THE KING.—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS DURING THIS REIGN.

THE KING'S FORMER DISORDERS.

THE many jealousies, to which Henry IV's situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of the armies; where his martial talents acquired him a renown which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humour, he indulged and

Henry IV. jealous of the prince of Wales.

The prince gives himself up to dissipation.

clamation ent fait, come par la tenure dycelle brief, enroulle en la Chancellerie, y purra apparoir." So much was effected by the parliament which sat in the 7th and 8th of his reign. In his 11th year we find the same jealousy of lavish expenditure on the part of the crown. "The Commons Pray, That for ever hereafter no Grant may be made of any Hereditament, or other Profits of the Crown, except Offices and Bailiwicks, till the King shall be quite out of Debt; and unless there be remaining in his Coffers sufficient for the Provision of his Family. To which the King agrees, directly, without Reservation, till his Debts be paid, or unless there be sufficient Provision for his Family, and with Reservation for the Queen, His Sons, and for the Duke of York, and the lord Grey."—Ed.

Henry indulges in unlawful outrages.

And is attached to low society.

He appears before the chief justice Gascoigne in behalf of a disorderly companion.

Gascoigne commits the prince to prison.

seconded; and he was detected in many sallies which appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these defenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreeable to his father, as that eager application to business which had at first given him occasion of jealousy; and he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation in general considered the young prince with more indulgence; and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment. There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occasion for favourable reflections to all men of sense and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of his extravagant career.

THE KING'S REFORMATION. 1413.

THE memory of this incident, and of many

others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing in his presence, and dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, found they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him, and were received with favour and confidence. The chief justice himself met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and cherished all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty towards him. Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealousy of his father had imposed on the earl of Marche, he received that young nobleman with singular favour; and by this magnanimity so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him. The family of Piercy was restored to its fortune and honours. The king seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion. The instruments of the preceding reign gave place everywhere to men of more honourable characters. Virtue seemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself; the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement. All men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

The nation is favourable to the new king.

The wise ministers of his father are taken into favour.

Henry orders a funeral ceremony for king Richard.

The Piercy family are restored to their honours.

THE LOLLARDS: PUNISHMENT OF COBHAM.

THERE remained only one party distinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar, and commonly a very obstinate, nature, the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil authority. The enthusiasm by which these sectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expressed against the established hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry; who was determined to execute the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and his military talents, and had on many occasions acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and his zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. He applied to Henry for a permission to indict lord Cobham; but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate that all gentle means ought first to be tried, in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himself would endeavour, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of such infinite moment to his complaisance for sovereigns. Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to ecclesiastical severity

against the inflexible heresiarch. The primate indicted Cobham; and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprises; and his unlimited authority over the new sect proved that he well merited the attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent designs against his enemies; and, dispatching his emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to seize the person of the king at Eltham, and put their persecutors to the sword.* Henry, apprised of their intention, removed to Westminster. Cobham was not discouraged by this disappointment, but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's. The king, having shut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night time, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of the several parties who were hastening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy; the rest implicitly followed their leaders. But, upon the trial of the prisoners, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence and from the confession of the criminals themselves. Some were executed; the greater number pardoned. Cobham, himself, who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pro-

He is sentenced to be burnt, but escapes from the Tower.

He plans a seizure of the king.

The scheme is defeated.

Cobham is hanged and burnt.

* This is told by Walsingham and others, the defenders of the church. There are, however, reasons to believe that such designs were falsely imputed to a brave zealot, who had attacked the abuses of the clergy with great determination, and whose destruction was consequently resolved upon. It is true that a riotous multitude assembled at Thicket's fields, near St. Giles's, but Cobham was never proved to have been with those who were there

attacked. In his youth he had been one of king Henry's dissipated companions. He had been satirical at the expense of the clergy, and favoured the attacks made on them in the house of commons. Such a man, when converted to the doctrine of Wickliffe, which he refused to forsake even at the recommendation of a king, was regarded by the bishops as an outcast from all grace, and as unworthy to live.—Ed.

Lollardism, or church reformation, is checked for a time.

Reformation is desired, but innovation dreaded.

Severe laws passed against the Lollards.

Heresy is to be extirpated.

nounced against him as a heretic.* This criminal design was somewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought discredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wickliffe, and at the same time aspired to a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses.

These two points were the great objects of the Lollards ; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree by both of them. Common sense and obvious reflection had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline ; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those abstruse doctrines which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people ; and even many, who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which, they feared, threw disgrace on so good a cause.† This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament, which was summoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy. That assembly passed severe laws against the new heretics ; they enacted that whoever was convicted of Lollardy before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king ; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of heresy. Yet this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer for-

merly pressed upon his father, and entreated him to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues and convert them to the use of the crown. The clergy were alarmed ; they could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent ; they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended on capital abbies in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to those abbies when that province remained united to England ; and Chichely, now archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost rights to that kingdom.

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his son not to allow the English to remain long in peace ; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour ; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person ; and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice ; and the civil disorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

STATE OF FRANCE. 1415.

THE death of Charles V., which followed soon after that of Edward III., and the youth of his son, Charles VI., put the two kingdoms for some time in a similar situation ; and it was not to be apprehended that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies also between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between

The parliament proposes seizing the revenues of the clergy.

Archbishop Chichely persuades the king to make war on France.

Henry is inclined to follow his advice.

England and France at the same time under kings who were minors.

* Thomas Cooper, in his *Epitome*, does not speak of Cobham as having been present at the rising or rioting of "Thicket's fields." He says : "Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, was appeched of heresy and fled the lande, many of his adherents, entending a commotion, assembled therein in great nombre. Whereof the kynge beyng enfourmed, by strength toke many of them. Of whiche nombre 38 were after for the same hanged and brent in Thickettes Felde, besyde S. Giles at London."—ED.

† "Many discreet observers never suffered a word to escape their lips which would betray the existence of a single doubt. Such persons being, in the general affairs of life, men of probity as well as of sense, became authorities ; and less reflecting characters gave sincere credence, on their account, to matters which they had only seemed to admit because it would be dangerous to deny."—*Life and Times of the Good Lord Cobham*.—ED.

the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England. But as Charles advanced in years, the factions were composed; his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died; and the king himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration: the unhappy prince suddenly fell into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be pursued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former; the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a lustre from his superior power; the people were divided; and the king, now resuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

At length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, seeming to be moved by the cries of the nation and by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into strict amity. They swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest

administered the sacrament to both; they gave every pledge which could be deemed sacred among men. But all this solemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy.* He procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris. He endeavoured for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime: but, being detected, he embraced a resolution still more dangerous to society, by openly avowing and justifying it. The parliament itself of Paris, the tribunal of justice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that assembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no sentence against this detestable doctrine. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision, in favour of the contrary opinion, was procured from these fathers of the church, the ministers of peace and of religion. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations; assassinations were everywhere committed from the ani-

The duke of Orleans is assassinated.

Assassination is defended before the parliament of Paris.

War between the partisans of Orleans and Burgundy.

* The circumstances connected with this crime were very remarkable. Taking advantage of the imbecility of the king, the duke of Orleans had become the favourite of the queen, and their scandalous intimacy was the talk of all Paris. It was in this state of things that a reconciliation was brought about between the two dukes. "On the 20th of August, 1408, they heard mass together at the church of the Augustines. The people, with great interest, beheld them kneel at the same altar, and receive the holy sacrament. Three days afterwards, on the 23rd, at about seven o'clock in the evening, the duke of Orleans being then with the queen, at a little hotel which she had purchased near the gate Barbette, received a message from a valet of the court, one Courtleuze, that the king had desired to

see him. He immediately got on his horse; and, followed by two squires sitting on the same animal, with five or six valets who carried flambeaux, he was leisurely passing through the old rue de Temple, singing, and playing with his glove, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by armed men, and received a blow from a battle-axe, which cut off his left hand. Not suspecting the snare which had been laid for him, he called out in surprise, 'I am the duke of Orleans,' 'And you are the man we have been looking for,' was the significant reply. The next moment he was violently thrown from his horse, his skull split open, his brains scattered on the ground, and his body covered with wounds from swords and clubs."—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.

Executions
are ordered
without
trial.

The king
and royal
family of
France are
often cap-
tives.

The univer-
sity of Paris
gains im-
portance.

The butch-
ers of Paris
side with
the Bur-
gundians,
and the
carpenters
with the
Armagnacs.

mosity of the several leaders ; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs ; so the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence ; the king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace ; their faithful ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their face ; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this scene of general violence there rose into some consideration the university of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance. But there was another society whose sentiments were much more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers ; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters ; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other ; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

The advantage which might be made of these confusions was easily perceived in England ; and it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel by

* It is reported by some historians that the dauphin, in derision of Henry's claims and dissolute character, sent him a box of tennis-balls, intimating that these implements of play were better adapted to him than the instruments of war : but this story

alternately sending assistance to each ; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, determined to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. But, while he was making preparations for this end, he sent over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, but demanding Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage ; two millions of crowns as her portion ; one million six hundred thousand as the arrears of king John's ransom ; and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus ; together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders. Such exorbitant demands shew that he was sensible of the present miserable condition of France ; and the terms offered by the French court discover their consciousness of the same melancholy truth.* They were willing to give him the princess in marriage ; to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns ; to resign the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. As Henry rejected these conditions, having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory, he came to the sea side with a purpose of embarking on his expedition.

But, while Henry was meditating conquests upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home. The earl of Cambridge, second son of the late duke of York, having espoused the sister of the earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family : and had held some conferences with lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conspirators, as soon as detected, acknow-

is by no means credible. The great offers made by the court of France show that they had already entertained a just idea of Henry's character, as well as of their own situation.

King
Henry
sends an
embassy to
Paris.

He claims
the princess
Catharine
in marriage
with an
enormous
dowry.

His de-
mands are
not com-
plied with.

Henry pro-
poses to in-
vade
France.

A conspi-
racy is de-
tected.

de Thomas Grey, the earl of Cambridge, and lord Scrope, are indicted and executed.

The earl of Marche, accused of assisting the conspirators, is pardoned.

uses of the successes of England over France.

The duke of Burgundy seeks an alliance with England.

ledged their guilt to the king; and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. A jury of commoners was summoned; the three conspirators were indicted before them; the constable of Southampton castle swore that they had separately confessed their guilt to him. Without other evidence, Sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed; but, as the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to summon a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence presided. The evidence given before the jury was read to them; the prisoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence, but received sentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unsatisfactory; and the sentence was soon after executed. The earl of Marche was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy, and received a general pardon from the king. He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to him, or had made reparation by his early repentance and discovery.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

THE successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favour their enterprise, they had reason to expect proportionable success. The duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England; and Henry knew that this prince would willingly, if he saw any probability of success, both assist him with his

Flemish subjects, and draw over all his numerous partizans in France. Trusting, therefore, to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the duke, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by d'Estouteville, and under him by de Guitri, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility; but, as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor promised to surrender the place if he received no succour before the eighteenth of September. The day came and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him. Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English.

The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts; and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army, of fourteen thousand men-at-arms and forty thousand foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albret. Henry offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but, his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journies till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanque-tague; the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank; and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe

Henry lands with his army at Harfleur.

Harfleur is surrendered.

Henry prepares to return to England.

He marches towards Calais.

The English army is greatly harassed by the French.

passage. He was continually harassed by flying parties of the enemy : saw bodies of troops on the other side ready to oppose every attempt ; his provisions were cut off ; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue ; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation : when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded. and he safely carried over his army.

BATTLE OF AZINCOUR.

Henry continues his march, pursued by the enemy.

HENRY then bent his march northwards to Calais ; but he was still exposed to imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his safety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur ; and they laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous ; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood ; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Cressy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers ; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance. The king observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders : he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank ; and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.

The French army oppose his retreat at Azincour.

Henry awaits the enemy's attack.

Had the French constable been able, either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity,

obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback, and their men-at-arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisades in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain, proved another obstacle to the French cavalry ; the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks ; the narrow compass in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order ; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay ; and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unencumbered, to advance upon the enemy. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable of flying or of making defence ; they hewed them in pieces without resistance ; and, being seconded by the men-at-arms, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over the English had leisure to make prisoners ; and, having advanced to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time they heard an alarm from behind ; some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death ; but, on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.*

The French nobility insist on giving battle.

The French are thrown into confusion.

The English gain a great victory.

King Henry's prisoners are ordered to be put to death.

* " He knew that the number of his prisoners

(who, according to Juvenal des Ursins, were fourteen



No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable himself, the count of Nevers and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the count of Marle. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the marshal of Boucicaut.* An archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed to have amounted to ten thousand men; and, as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners. The person of chief note, who fell among the English, was the duke of York, who perished fighting by the king's side, and had an end more honourable than his life. He was succeeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, son of the earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain exceeded not forty; though some writers, with greater probability, make the number more considerable.

The three great battles of Cressy, Poitiers and Azincour, bear a singular resemblance to each other. In all of them there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no

thousand) equal'd that of his soldiers; so that 'twas impossible at the same time to fight and to guard them; and therefore, they being at liberty, might with what weapons came next to hand stab his soldiers in the back, while they faced and fought the enemy. These rational fears forc'd him upon an action, which being equally contrary to his Merciful Nature, and to the Generosity of his Courage, he could not resolve without the greatest regret. He commanded all the Prisoners to be killed; and the soldiers being unwilling to do so, because they should be deprived of the expected price of their ransom, he gave his commission to a Gentleman, accompanied with two hundred Archers, to execute his Orders; which though in appearance Bloody and Barbarous, were rendered necessary to the extremity of his affairs."—*History of the reign of king Henry the fifth.*—Ed.

retreat; and were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But there appears, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution on the part of the English: the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French; and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences too of these three great victories were similar; the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour: he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interruptions in their hostilities. The lustre attending the victory of Azincour, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expenses of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables; and they conferred on him, for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his last parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition,

* The duke of Orleans was found under a heap of dead bodies, by the archers who came to rifle the field; they perceiving some signs of remaining life in him carried him to the king, who took a generous care of him, and entertained him like a noble enemy. But of all the prisoners, Arthur, count de Richemont (drawn from among the slain and known from his coat of armour all bloody,) was most acceptable to the English; for in a superstitious belief of Merlin's prophecies, they thought it would be their fate to be conquered by a prince named Arthur, born in the Armoric Britain, and carrying a wild boar in his ensign, as that bard had predicted. The count, it seems, had that beast displayed in his banner, and was born in that province; but so long as he was a prisoner they did not fear his conquests.—*P. Le Baud. Le Fevre.*—Ed.

The battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Azincour compared.

King Henry returns with his conquests to England.

Large supplies granted by the English parliament.

made so great an article of charge against him.

STATE OF FRANCE. 1416.

France is a prey to civil war.

The duke of Burgundy attempts to seize on the government.

Queen Isabella's treasure is seized, and her favourite put to death

She assists the Burgundians.

BUT, during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war. The duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the misfortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to reinstate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partisans in that city were overawed by the court; the duke despaired of success; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately disbanded. He was soon after invited to make a new attempt. The queen Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never able to forgive. The public necessities obliged the count of Armagnac, created constable of France, in the place of d'Albret, to seize the great treasures which Isabella had amassed; and, when she expressed her displeasure, he inspired into the weak mind of the king some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Bois-bourdon, her favourite, whom he accused of a commerce of gallantry with that princess.* The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard; and, after suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her son, the dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose effectual. The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France

at the head of a great army. He made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy. Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves of his party. He got possession of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, Meulant, Montlheri, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, carrying farther his progress towards the west, he seized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses; and was at last able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye, and openly declared against those ministers who, she said, detained her husband in captivity.

Meanwhile the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which became so impetuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his escape with difficulty; great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were butchered; the count, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison; murders were daily committed from private animosity, under pretence of faction; and the populace, deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons, and put to death the count of Armagnac, and all the other nobility who were there confined.

NEW INVASION OF FRANCE. 1417.

WHILE France was in such furious combustion, and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evereux and Caen submitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates; and having subdued all the lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from England, he formed the siege of Rouen, which

The duke of Burgundy captures many places.

An insurrection breaks out in Paris.

The count of Armagnac is murdered.

The king of England again invades France, and besieges Rouen.

* This dissolute queen suffered equally from both the great parties. By the Burgundians she was de-

prived of her lover Orleans; and by their opponents of Bois-bourdon.—ED.

was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of fifteen thousand. The cardinal des Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions: but the king replied to him in such terms as shewed that he was fully sensible of all his present advantages; 'Do you not see,' said he, 'that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom; every thing here is in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being, who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?'

But, though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he still continued to negotiate. He made offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other. The terms proposed on all sides were perpetually varying; the events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet intermingled with each other; and the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty. After many negotiations, Henry offered the queen and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the princess Catharine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III., by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were submitted to; there remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty; but in this interval the duke of Burgundy secretly finished his treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies.

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 1419.

THIS alliance, which seemed to cut off

from Henry all hopes of farther success proved, in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements is uncertain; but very fatal effects resulted from their momentary and seeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but, how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this conference, it seemed difficult to contrive. The assassination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and still more his open avowal of the deed and defence of the doctrine, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society; and even men of honour might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security which were proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montrean; the duke lodged in the castle; the dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne; the bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview; two high rails were drawn across the bridge; the gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke; the princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons, and, with all these marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship.* But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partisans of the late duke of Orleans; and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that prince. They no sooner entered the rails than they drew their swords, and attacked the duke of Burgundy: his friends were astonished, and thought not of mak-

The cardinal des Ursins strives to abate the king's pretensions.

The two princes agree to an interview.

They proceed to Montrean.

Great precautions are adopted from the suspicion they entertain of each other.

Burgundy's party is treacherously attacked.

Henry claims the crown of France

He offers peace to both parties

The duke of Burgundy secretly finishes a treaty with the dauphin

* He (the duke) was accompanied by only ten

persons. When they passed the first and second bar-

The duke and his friends are killed or made prisoners.

The duke's death is violently resented by the city of Paris.

His successor seeks to revenge his father's murder.

ing any defence; and all of them either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the dauphin.

The extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the secret of the conspiracy; but, as the deed was committed under his eye, by his most intimate friends, the blame of the action fell entirely upon him. The whole state of affairs was every where changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, passionately devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the highest fury against the dauphin. The court of king Charles entered from interest into the same views; and, as all the ministers of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foresaw their downfall if the dauphin should recover possession of his father's person, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the success of his enterprise. The queen, persevering in her unnatural animosity against her son, increased the general flame, and inspired into the king, as far as he was susceptible of any sentiment, the same prejudices by which she herself had long been actuated. But, above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassin to the utmost extremity. And, in this general transport of rage, every consideration of national and family interest was buried in oblivion by all parties.

The king of England had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, profited by the distractions of France, and was making progress in Normandy. He had taken Rouen after an obstinate siege;

riers it was observed that they were closed and locked by persons stationed for that purpose. Sir Tanneui de Chatel, who had been instrumental in promoting the conference, now met him; and the duke, tapping him on the shoulder, said, "This is the man in whom I put my trust, and moved on towards the dauphin, who, completely armed, was leaning over one of the barriers, and who, on seeing the duke, gave him no sign of affection or courtesy, but reproached him for breaking his promise by continuing the war. The duke had fallen on one knee before the dauphin, but Sir Robert de Loire, taking him by the right arm, said; "Rise, sir, you are too great a man to bend." The sword of the duke, while

he had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors; he even threatened Paris, and had obliged the court to remove to Troye; and, in the midst of his successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his enemies, instead of combining against him, disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, without stipulating anything for himself, except the prosecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, accompanied by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing anything but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they, on their part, saw everything through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted, was immediately drawn, and signed, and ratified; Henry's will seemed to be a law throughout the whole negotiation; nothing was attended to but his advantages.

TREATY OF TROYE. 1420.

THE principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine; that king Charles, during his lifetime, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be

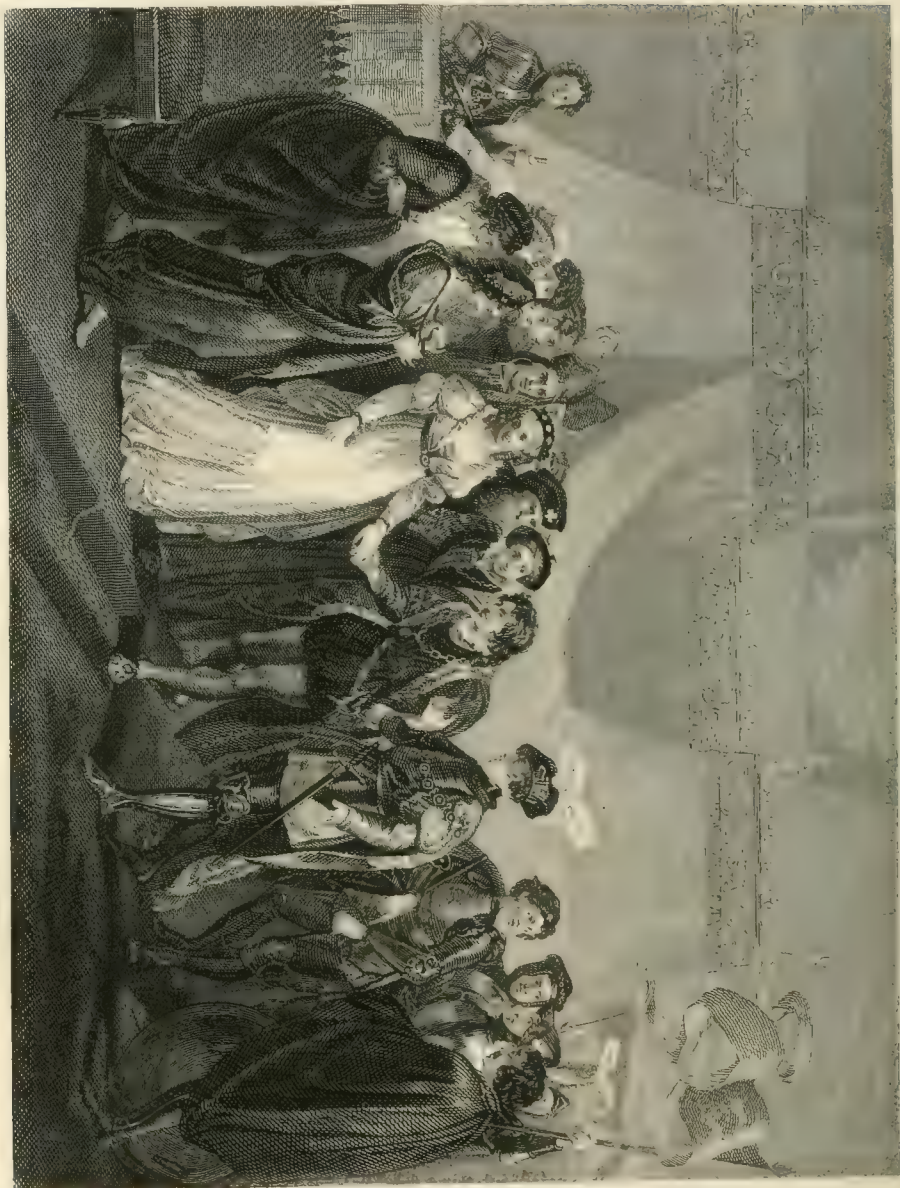
he was kneeling, having got too much behind, he put his hand to it in order to replace it, when Sir Robert fiercely exclaimed, "What! do you put your hand on your sword in the presence of the dauphin?" Sir Tanneui de Chatel then made a sign, saying, "It is time," and struck the duke in the face with a small battle-axe, which took off part of his chin. John then drew his sword to defend himself; but the blows of the assailants now fell heavy upon him, and he was stretched on the ground, when Oliver Layet, assisted by Pierre Froterre, thrust a sword under his haubergeon into the lower part of his body."—*Pictorial History of France*.—ED.

Henry advances towards Paris.

The duke of Burgundy forms a league with him.

Everything claimed by Henry is conceded.

The treaty of Troye





acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities, of France should swear that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles, the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.

Such was the tenor of this famous treaty; a treaty which, as nothing but the most violent animosity could dictate it, so nothing but the power of the sword could carry into execution. It is hard to say whether its consequences, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province: it would have entirely disjointed the succession of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family. There was a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim, which no art could palliate: for, besides the insuperable objections to which Edward III's pretensions were exposed, he was not heir to that monarch. If female succession were admitted, the right had devolved on the house of Mortimer. It could not possibly be pretended that the crown of France was become an appendage to that of England; and that a prince, who by any means got possession of the latter, was, without farther question, entitled to the former. So that, it must be allowed, that Henry's claim to France was,

if possible, still more unintelligible than the title by which his father had mounted the throne of England.

MARRIAGE OF THE KING.

BUT, though all these considerations were overlooked amidst the hurry of passion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to push his present advantages, and allow men no leisure for reason or reflection. In a few days after he espoused the princess Catharine;* he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital; he obtained from the parliament and the three estates, a ratification of the treaty of Troye; he supported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father; and he immediately turned his arms with success against the adherents of the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title.

The first place that Henry subdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a slight resistance. With the same facility he made himself master of Montereau.† The defence of Melun was more obstinate; Barbason the governor held out for the space of four months against the besiegers, and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the garrison, except such as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and, as Barbason himself was suspected to be of the number, his punishment was demanded by Philip: but the king had the generosity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution.

The necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged Henry to go

* The marriage was performed in the church of St. John at Troye, on the 2nd of June, 1420. The archbishop of Sens, who officiated, afterwards attended to bless the nuptial bed; and, wishing to conform to the ancient customs of France, Henry allowed, through the night, the intrusion of numbers of persons into his bedchamber, who were the bearers of

wine and soups for the refreshment of the royal pair.—ED.

† After the tower was taken, "the Castle held out, and during the siege thereof King Henry created an officer of arms to be King of Heralds over the Englishmen, and entitled him Garter whom he had formerly sent with offers of mercy to the Castle,

Henry returns to England for additional supplies.

A new army is raised.

Scotland is alarmed at the union of the crowns of England and France.

over to England; and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his absence. The authority which naturally attends success procured from the English parliament a subsidy of a fifteenth: but, if we may judge by the scantiness of the supply, the nation was nowise sanguine on their king's victories; and, in proportion as the prospect of their union with France became nearer, they began to open their eyes, and to see the dangerous consequences with which that event must necessarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry that he had other resources besides pecuniary supplies from his native subjects. The provinces which he had conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his standard all men of ambitious spirits in England, who desired to signalize themselves by arms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thousand archers and four thousand horsemen, and marched them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Everything had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the duke of Exeter; but there had happened, in another quarter of the kingdom, a misfortune which hastened the king's embarkation.

The detention of the young king of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry: and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preserved, during the whole course of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But, when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progress made by Henry, and the near prospect of his succession to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foresaw their own inevitable ruin, if the subjection of their ally left them to combat

but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided, for punishment of which presumption a Gibbet was erected, and, in view of Monsieur Guitry the Castle Captain, twelve of his friends were executed; whereupon the Castilians treated for peace, but the King in eight days together would not vouchsafe a Parly; so that after they had borne a six weeks' siege they were enforced, with saving of their lives simply, to yield."—*Daniel*. At Montrezeu the duke of Burgundy visited the church in which his father had been buried. He caused the mangled remains to be exhumed, and found the corpse half naked. None of the jewels he had worn

alone a victorious enemy, who was already so much superior in power and riches. The regent, though he declined an open rupture with England, permitted a body of seven thousand Scots, under the earl of Buchan, his second son, to be transported into France for the service of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he obliged to send orders to his countrymen to leave the French service; but the Scottish general replied that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity. These troops, therefore, continued still to act under the earl of Buchan, and were employed by the dauphin to oppose the progress of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Bauge. The English were defeated; the duke himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men-at-arms; and the earls of Somerset,* Dorset, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners. This was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his service, and reward the valour and good conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of constable.

But the arrival of the king of England was more than sufficient to repair this loss. Henry was received at Paris with great expressions of joy; and he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been besieged by the dauphin. That prince raised the siege on the approach of the English; and retired with his army. Henry made himself master of Dreux without a blow. He laid siege to

were found about him; but his breviary was there. The body was ordered to be removed to Dijon, that it might be placed in the family tomb. The earl of Warwick was appointed to "examine by poll" all prisoners, in order to discover the persons who had been concerned in the murder of the duke.—*Ed.*

* His name was John, and he was afterwards created duke of Somerset. He was grandson of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. The earl of Dorset was brother to Somerset, and succeeded him in that title.

The regent clandestinely assists the French.

A body of Scotch troops serve the dauphin.

The English are defeated at Bauge.

King Henry arrives at Paris.

Meaux at the solicitation of the Parisians, who were much incommoded by the garrison of that place. This enterprise employed the English arms during the space of eight months. The bastard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, distinguished himself by an obstinate defence; but was at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery; he was accustomed to hang, without distinction, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands; and Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

This success was followed by the surrender of many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which held for the dauphin; that prince was chased beyond the Loire, and he almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces; he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians. Notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his captains, he found it necessary to avoid all hazardous actions, with a rival who had gained so much the ascendant over him. And, to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous and no less sincere at Paris than at London. The infant prince seemed to be universally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1422.

BUT the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the summit, was stopped short. He was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons had not skill enough to cure; and he was sensible that his distemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching. He sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, whom he had honoured with his friendship; and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated

them to continue towards his infant son, the same fidelity and attachment which they had always professed to himself during his lifetime. He expressed his indifference on the approach of death; and, though he regretted that he must leave unfinished a work so happily begun, he declared himself confident that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the duke of Bedford; that of England, to his younger, the duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; and advised them never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Azincour till his son were of age, and could himself hold the reins of government. And he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy, by the cession of Normandy and its annexation to the crown of England, made compensation for all the hazard and expense of his enterprise.

He next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm was read, 'build thou the walls of Jerusalem,' he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his serious intention, after he should have fully subdued France, to conduct a crusade against the infidels, and recover possession of the holy land. So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in those moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve. He expired the thirty-first of August, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and, if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and the field; the boldness of his enterprises was no less re-

Henry exhorts his nobles to be faithful to his son.

He counsels them not to liberate the French princes till the young king shall be of age.

Henry prepares for death.

He dies.

Henry had abilities both for the cabinet and the field.

Meaux surrenders to Henry, who hangs the governor.

Many other places fall to the English.

Henry's queen gives birth to a prince.

The king is attacked by a fatal malady.

The duke of Bedford and others are summoned to his death bed.

The English
are dazzled
by his vic-
tories.

His magna-
nimity is
proved by
his conduct
to the earl
of Marche.

His person
was good.

The king of
France dies.

markable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The English, dazzled by the lustre of his character still more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title; the French almost forgot that he was an enemy; and his care of maintaining justice in his civil administration, and preserving discipline in his armies, made some amends to both nations for the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short reign was almost entirely occupied. That he could forgive the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown than himself, is a sure indication of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied so entirely on his friendship is no less a proof of his established character for candour and sincerity. There remain in history few instances of such mutual trust, and still fewer where neither party found reason to repent it.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises. He left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, not full nine months old.*

In less than two months after Henry's death Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for several years, possessed only the appearance of royal authority; yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English; and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. That prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poitiers by the name of Charles VII.

* His body was brought to England and buried at Westminster, near the shrine of King Edward the Confessor, with more pomp and ceremony than had been usual for the two centuries preceding. His body was embalmed and closed in lede, and laid in a charet royal richly appparelled with cloth of golde; upon the corps was layde a representaiyon of his person, adorned with robes, diademe, sepre, and bal, like a kyng; the which charet was drawn

Rheims, the place where the ceremony is usually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catharine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper; of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond, the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THE long schism, which had divided the Latin church for near forty years, was finally terminated in this reign by the council of Constance; which deposed the pope, John XXIII, for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place, who was acknowledged by almost all Europe. This great and unusual act of authority in the council gave the Roman pontiffs ever after a mortal antipathy to those assemblies. The jealousy which had long prevailed in most European countries, between the civil aristocracy and monarchy, now also took place between these powers in the ecclesiastical body. But the great separation of the bishops in the several states, and the difficulty of assembling them, gave the pope a mighty advantage, and made it more easy for him to centre all the powers of the hierarchy in his own person. The cruelty and treachery which attended the punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the unhappy disciples of Wickliffe, (who, in violation of a safe conduct, were burned alive for their errors by the council of Constance) prove that toleration is none of the virtues of priests in any form of ecclesiastical government. But,

with syx horses richly trapped, with several armes: the first wyth the armes of St. George, the II with the armes of Normandy, the III with the armes of England, the IIII with the armes of S. Edward, the fyfth with the armes of France onely, and the syxt with the armes of England and France. On this charet gaue attendance James Kyng of Scottes, the principal mourner."—Hall.

His son is
proclaimed
Charles VII.

King
Henry's wi-
dow mar-
ries Sir
Owen Tu-
cor.

The council
of Con-
stance sits
in this reign,
and deposes
pope John
XXIII.

It con-
demns John
Huss and
Jerome of
Prague to
the stake.

as the English nation had little or no concern in these great transactions, we are the more concise in relating them.

The first commission of array which we meet with was issued in this reign. The military part of the feudal system, which was the most essential circumstance of it, was entirely dissolved, and could no longer serve for the defence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, empowered certain commissioners to take, in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. This was the era when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps still less orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts only to fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds ten shillings and ten pence a year. This is nearly the same with the revenue of Henry III. The ordinary expense of the government amounted to forty-two thousand five hundred and seven pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence; so that the king had a surplus only of thirteen thousand two hundred and six pounds fourteen shillings for the support of his household, for his wardrobe, for the expense of embassies, and other articles. This sum was nowise sufficient; he was, therefore, obliged to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies; and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expense; and the sovereign was always reduced to many miserable shifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and sometimes the crown itself; he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy. The high pay

which was given to soldiers agreed very ill with this low income. All the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry during the course of his reign were only seven tenths and fifteenths, about two hundred and three thousand pounds. It is easy to compute how soon this money must be exhausted by armies of twenty-four thousand archers and six thousand horse, when each archer had sixpence a day, and each horseman two shillings.* The most splendid successes proved commonly fruitless when supported by so poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred made him pay dear for his victories. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales. It was in vain that the parliament pretended to restrain him from arbitrary practices when he was reduced to such necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the commons, it was found absolutely impracticable to abolish it; and the parliament at length, submitting to it as a legal prerogative, contented themselves with enacting laws to limit and confine it. The duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Richard II., possessed a revenue of sixty thousand crowns (about thirty thousand pounds a year of our present money), as we learn from Froissard, and was consequently richer than the king himself, if all circumstances be duly considered.

It is remarkable that the city of Calais alone was an annual expense to the crown of nineteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds; that is, above a third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortress was of no use to the defence of England, and only gave that kingdom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland cost two thousand pounds a year over and above its own revenue, which was certainly very low. Every

The extraordinary grants of parliament not great.

King Henry paid dearly for his victories.

The duke of Gloucester richer than the king.

Calais and Ireland cause expense to England.

* It appears from many passages of Rymer that the king paid 20 marks a year for an archer, which is a good deal above sixpence a day. The

price had risen, as is natural, by raising the denomination of money.

thing conspires to give us a mean idea of the state of Europe in those ages.

From the most early times, till the reign of Edward III., the denomination of money had never been altered: a pound sterling was still a pound troy; that is, about three pounds of our present money. That conqueror was the first that innovated in this important article. In the twentieth of his reign he coined twenty-two shillings from a pound troy; in his twenty-seventh year he coined twenty-five shillings. But Henry V., who was also a conqueror, raised still farther the denomination, and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy; his revenue, therefore, must have been about one hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money; and, by the cheapness of provisions, was equivalent to above three hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of parliament; their doubtful or bad title became so far of advantage to the constitution. The rule was then fixed,* and could not safely be broken afterwards, even by more absolute princes.

* To the church, besides giving up the Lollards to their vengeance, Henry thought it politic to be liberal. One establishment which he formed, as we have it on the authority of Walsingham and others, deserves to be noticed. It appears that, "at Shene, now Richmond, he founded three monasteries, A.D. 1414; one of Carthusians, another of Cælestine monks; the third, named Sion, was for religious men and women of St. Bridget's order. It was to consist of sixty nuns, of which one was to be the abbess; and of five-and-twenty friars. They were strictly enjoined to pray daily for the life and health of the king while he lived, and for his soul after his death; and for the souls of Henry IV., Queen Mary, John duke of Lancaster, and Blanche his wife, and for all others his royal relations, and for all Christians deceased. This abbey was endowed with many acres of land, in the king's manor of Isleworth, in the parish of Twickenham in Middlesex. There was also a yearly allowance of a thousand marks paid out of the exchequer. In this abbey were two convents, one for the nuns, the other for the friars, in which they were separately enclosed, and were bound not to leave them without special license from the pope. They had one common chapel in which they assembled; the nuns in the upper part, and the monks below. They were obliged to wear woollen only, to have no property in anything, and were not so much as to touch money. When, by donations, they had obtained a

CHAPTER XXI.

HENRY VI.†

1422—1461.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY.—STATE OF FRANCE.—MILITARY OPERATIONS.—BATTLE OF VERNEUIL.—SIEGE OF ORLEANS.—THE MAID OF ORLEANS. THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED.—THE KING OF FRANCE CROWNED AT RHEIMS. PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—EXECUTION OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS.—DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE.—TRUCE WITH FRANCE.—MARRIAGE OF THE KING WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU.—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER.—STATE OF FRANCE, AND RENEWAL OF THE WAR—THE ENGLISH EXPELLED FRANCE.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY. 1422.

DURING the reigns of the Lancastrian princes the authority of parliament seems to have been more confirmed, and the privi-

sufficient maintenance, they were to accept no more. An account of their yearly income was to be rendered every All Saints' day, and what was more than necessary to keep them was to be distributed to the poor. This establishment was found at the dissolution to be endowed with £1731. 8s. 4d.—ED."

† Henry the sixth at the death of his father was a child. A parliament was summoned in his name, and opened by the duke of Gloucester, his uncle, under the authority of a commission, to which the great seal had been affixed by the bishop of Durham, who had been chancellor to the late king, and had delivered the seal to the infant king, and taken it back from him, in the presence of the duke of Gloucester and other lords. The bishop, with their authority, then issued the writs for summoning the parliament, and other usual writs, and sealed the commission for opening the parliament. These proceedings were approved by the lords and commons in parliament; and the parliament proceeded to authorise, by its act, the appointment of the duke of Bedford, whilst in England, protector and principal counsellor of the king; and the duke of Gloucester to execute the same functions in the absence of the duke of Bedford; and a council, consisting of the duke of Gloucester and several bishops, dukes, earls, and barons, was appointed to assist in the government.—*Reports of the Lords' Committees on the peerage.*—ED.

Changes
are made in
the coin of
the realm.

The defec-
tive title of
the Lancas-
trian
princes fa-
vourable to
the consti-
tution.

The autho-
rity of parli-
ament
more con-
firmed than
formerly.

The privileges of the people being guarded.

leges of the people more regarded, than during any former period ; and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity. The long minority of which there was now the prospect encouraged still farther the lords and commons to extend their influence ; and they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of regent with regard to England ; they appointed the duke of Bedford protector or guardian, a title which they supposed to imply less authority ; they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother ; and, to limit the power of both princes, they appointed a council, without whose approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster ; a prelate, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge. The two princes, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, being persons of great integrity and honour, acquiesced in any appointment which tended to give security to the public ; and avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign conquests.

STATE OF FRANCE.

WHEN the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former ; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared to be an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the administration was devolved on the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age ; whose

experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, qualified him for his high office. The whole power of England was at his command ; he was at the head of armies inured to victory ; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolfe ; and, besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital, and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English forces.

But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his situation, partly from his personal character. He was the undoubted heir of the monarchy : all Frenchmen, who desired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him : the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate consent of the states, had plainly no validity : that spirit of faction, which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in so gross a delusion : their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must soon revive, and inspire them with indignation at bending their necks under the yoke of that hostile people : great nobles and princes, accustomed to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers : and, though most of the princes of the blood were, since the fatal battle of Azincour, detained prisoners in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting foreign invaders.

Charles, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments ; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most benign disposition, of easy and familiar man-

The duke of Bedford is a most accomplished prince.

He is supported by renowned commanders.

Advantages possessed by the new French king.

The French impatient of the English yoke.

King Charles is the object of general good will.

The goodness of his heart, amidst his irregularities, is conspicuous.

Foreign aid is necessary to complete the conquest of France.

The duke of Bedford marries the princess of Burgundy.

He is anxious to conciliate the duke of Brittany.

ners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous, understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the services of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are so frequently exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his general remissness proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition or of personal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay some time in obscurity, the duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France. The chief circumstance, which had procured to the English all their present advantages, was the resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles; and, as that prince seemed intent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was the more easy for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent, therefore, all his endeavours to that purpose; he gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard; he even offered him the regency of France, which Philip declined; and, that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

Being sensible that, next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the duke of Brittany was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests; he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The duke of Brittany, having received many just reasons of displeasure from the ministers of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vassals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in

quality of heir to the kingdom; but as the regent knew that the duke was much governed by his brother the count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendship by paying court and doing services to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour; had been treated with great indulgence by the late king; and permitted, on his parole, to take a journey into Brittany, where the state of affairs required his presence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended that, as his word was given personally to Henry V., he was not bound to fulfil it towards his son and successor: a chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, at which the count of Richemont was also present. The alliance was renewed between these princes; and the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to prosecute the same object in forwarding the success of the English arms.

While the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming these allies, he did not overlook the state of remote countries. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdac his son, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent disposition; who was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or restrain the petulance and insolence of his sons. The ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke out afresh under this feeble administration: new succours filled the armies of the French king: the earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of five thousand men: and it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by

The duke is governed by the count of Richemont.

Arthur, a count of Brittany, and prisoner of war, breaks his parole.

He marries the sister of the duke of Burgundy.

The regent of Scotland dies.

The Scots are anxious to serve in the French army.

The duke of Bedford seeks an alliance with the captive king of Scots.

commencing open hostilities in the north, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present oppressed. The duke of Bedford, therefore, persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerset, and cousin of the young king. As the Scottish regent, tired of his present dignity, was now become entirely sincere in his application for James's liberty, the treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated; and the king of Scots was soon restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traitorous kinsman the earl of Athole. His affections inclined to France; but the English had never reason to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland.

The constable of Scotland and the count of Ventadour are made prisoners.

The king of Scotland is restored to liberty.

MILITARY OPERATIONS. 1423.

BUT the regent was not so much employed in these political negotiations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to succeed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief seat of Charles's power lay in the southern provinces beyond the Loire, his partisans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford to clear these countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Dorsoy was taken after a siege of six weeks; that of Noyelle and the town of Rue in Picardy underwent the same fate; Pont sur Seine, Vertus, Montaigu, were subjected by the English arms; and a more considerable advantage was soon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. John Stuart, constable of Scotland, and the lord of Estissac, had formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy; the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk,

with the count of Toulangeon, were sent to its relief; a fierce and well disputed action ensued; the Scots and French were defeated; the constable of Scotland, and the count of Ventadour, were taken prisoners; and above a thousand men, among whom was Sir William Hamilton, were left on the field. The taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of la Charite upon the Loire, followed; and, as this latter place opened an entrance into the southern provinces, the acquisition appeared of the greater importance to the duke of Bedford, and seemed to promise a successful issue to the war.

The more Charles was threatened with an invasion in those provinces which adhered to him, the more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The duke of Bedford had besieged in person, during the space of three months, the town of Yvri in Normandy; the brave governor was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to surrender the town if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots; and he sent them thither under the command of the earl of Buchan, constable of France; who was attended by the earl of Douglas, his countryman, the duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount Narbonne. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that the place was already surrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and sat down before Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him. Buchan might now have returned, with the glory of making an acquisition no less important than the place which he was sent to relieve; but, hearing of Bedford's approach, he called a council of war, in order to deliberate concerning the conduct which he should hold in this emergence. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat; and represented that all the past misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their

Yvri is besieged by the English.

Charles attempts to relieve it in vain.

Verneuil is given up to the French.

The duke of Bedford repairs the damage against the French.

Military operations commenced with success.

The constable of France resolves to meet the English under Bedford.

A battle fought under the walls of Verneuil.

The French are defeated.

Verneuil surrenders to the English.

rashness in giving battle; that every reason invited him to embrace cautious measures, and give leisure for discord to arise among the king's enemies, who, being united by no common band of interest or motive of alliance, could not long persevere in their animosity. All these prudential considerations were overborne by a vain point of honour, not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they resolved to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

BATTLE OF VERNEUIL. 1424.

THE numbers were nearly equal in this action; and, as the long continuance of war had introduced discipline, the battle was fierce, and well disputed. The constable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, and resolved to abide the attack of the enemy: but the impatience of the viscount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately, and obliged the whole line to follow him, was the cause of the misfortune which ensued. The English archers, fixing their palisades before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows amidst the thickest of the French army; and, though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take shelter among the baggage, they soon rallied, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, broke their ranks, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory complete. The constable himself perished in battle, as well as the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other considerable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the lords of Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four thousand of the French, and sixteen hundred of the English; a loss esteemed at that time so unusual on the side of the victors, that the duke of Bedford forbade all rejoicings for his success. Verneuil surrendered next day by capitulation.

The condition of the king of France now appeared almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army and the bravest of

his nobles in this fatal action: he had no resource either for recruiting or subsisting his troops: he wanted money even for his personal subsistence; and, though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, supplied with the plainest necessaries, for himself and his few followers: every day brought him intelligence of some loss or misfortune: towns, which were bravely defended, were obliged at last to surrender for want of relief or supply: he saw his partisans chased from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire: and he expected soon to lose all the territories of which he had hitherto continued master; when an incident happened which saved him, and lost the English such an opportunity for completing their conquests as they never were able to recal.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heir of these provinces, had espoused John duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy; but, having made this choice from the usual motives of princes, she soon found reason to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding; the duke of Brabant was of a sickly complexion and weak mind; she was in the vigour of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year: these causes had inspired her with such contempt for her husband, which soon proceeded to antipathy, that she determined to dissolve a marriage, where, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly very open to applications of this nature, when seconded by power and money; but, as the princess foresaw great opposition from her husband's relations, she made her escape into England, and threw herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by vehement passions; and he was rashly induced, as well by the charms of the countess herself, as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation, without endeavouring to reconcile the duke of

Desperate situation of the king of France.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, marries the duke of Brabant.

The duke is in his fifteenth year, Jaqueline in the vigour of life.

She forsakes her husband for the protection of the duke of Gloucester.

He seeks to marry her and to possess himself of her dominions.

The dukes of Gloucester and Burgundy become enemies.

They exchange messages.

Great embarrasment is experienced by the duke of Bedford.

Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her dominions. Philip resented the injury done to the duke of Brabant, his near relation; he dreaded to have the English established on all sides of him; and he foresaw the consequences which must attend the extensive and uncontrouled dominion of that nation, if before the full settlement of their power they insulted and injured an ally, to whom they had already been so much indebted, and who was still so necessary. He encouraged, therefore, the duke of Brabant to make resistance; he engaged many of Jaqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince; he himself marched troops to his support: and as the duke of Gloucester still persevered, a sharp war was suddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel soon became personal as well as political. The English prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the opposition made to his pretensions; and, though in the main he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of some falsehoods into which, he said, Philip had been betrayed during the course of these transactions. This expression was highly resented; the duke of Burgundy insisted that he should retract it; and mutual challenges and defiance passed between them on this occasion.

The duke of Bedford could easily foresee the bad effects of so ill timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the succours which he expected from England, and which were so necessary in this critical emergence, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault; the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars; and, besides, he was in imminent danger of alienating for ever that confederate whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard. He represented all these topics to the duke of Gloucester; he endeavoured to mitigate the resentment of the duke of Burgundy; he interposed his good offices between these

princes: but was not successful; and he found that the impetuosity of his brother's temper was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation. For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Verneuil, he found himself obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester.

There had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry, which had proceeded to great extremities. The bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been intrusted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing character; and, as he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew, the protector. The duke of Bedford employed the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise, before that assembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion. Time also seemed to open expedients for composing the difference with the duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope; by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloucester was annulled, but it was also declared that, even in case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But, though the affair was thus terminated to the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression; it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interests; and as nothing but his animosity against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connexions with his family and his native country.

He visits England to press moderate counsels on the duke of Gloucester.

Differences between the duke of Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester.

They are reconciled by the parliament.

The duke of Gloucester marries his mistress.

Jaqueline declares the duke of Burgundy her heir.

The duke of Brittany withdraws from the English alliances.

About the same time the duke of Brittany began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest; and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made for obtaining his friendship. The staff of constable, vacant by the earl of Buchan's death, was offered him; and, as his martial and ambitious temper aspired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered ever after to his engagements. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his master's confidence, and even prompted him to assassinate the other favourites, had so much disgusted Charles, that he once banished him the court, and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigour for the service of that monarch, and obtained at last the pardon of all past offences.

He is appointed constable of France.

The duke of Bedford finds the English power declining in France.

In this situation the duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France, after passing eight months in England. The duke of Burgundy was much disgusted. The duke of Brittany had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the astonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident too had happened, which served extremely to raise their courage. The earl of Warwick had besieged Montargis with a small army of three thousand men, and the place was reduced to extremity, when the bastard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural son of the prince assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of sixteen hundred men to Montargis; and made an attack on the enemy's trenches with so much valour, prudence,

The bastard of Orleans attempts to relieve Montargis.

and good fortune, that he obliged Warwick to raise the siege. This was the first signal action that raised the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to those great honours which he afterwards attained.

Dunois compels the English to raise the siege of Montargis.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the English arms by an important enterprise. He secretly brought together, in separate detachments, a considerable army to the frontiers of Brittany; and fell so unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make resistance, yielded to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of 'Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France; and promised to do homage for his duchy to king Henry. And the English prince, having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an undertaking which would, he hoped, prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The duke of Brittany is compelled to submit to the English.

SIEGE OF ORLEANS. 1428.

THE city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and, as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south, it behoved him to begin with this place, which was become the most important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of six thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself during the present war. Salisbury, passing the Loire, made himself master of several small places; and, as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions to maintain a long siege. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor; many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place; the troops, inured to war, were determined to make the most obstinate resistance; and even the inhabitants, dis-

The duke of Bedford proposes to besiege Orleans.

Vast efforts are made to defend the place.

ciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene ; where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their sovereign.

The earl of Salisbury approached the place with an army, which consisted only of ten thousand men ; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beausse, still open. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge ; and, after an obstinate resistance, carried several of them ; but was himself killed by a cannon ball as he was taking a view of the enemy. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command ; and, being reinforced with great numbers of English and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult in that season to throw up intrenchments all around, contented himself with erecting redoubts at different distances, where his men were lodged in safety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the first sieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance), the art of engineering was so imperfect, that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force ; and he purposed in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valour were performed both by the besiegers and besieged during the winter ; bold sallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness ; convoys were sometimes introduced, and often intercepted ; the supplies were still unequal to the consumption of the place ; and the English seemed daily, though slowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterprise.

But, while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French parties ravaged all the country around ; and the besiegers were themselves exposed to the danger of famine. Sir John Fastolffe was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores, which he escorted with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the counts of Clermont and Dunois. Fastolffe drew up his troops behind the waggons ; but the French generals planted a battery of cannon against him, which threw everything into confusion, and would have ensured them the victory, had not the impatience of some Scottish troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolffe was victorious. The count of Dunois was wounded ; and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was of great importance in the present conjuncture, was commonly called the battle of Herings ; because the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of provisions, for the use of the English army during the Lent season.

Charles seemed now to have but one expedient for saving the city. The duke of Orleans, who was still prisoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to consent that all his demesnes should be allowed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and should be sequestered, for greater security, into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much less cordial in the English interests than formerly, went to Paris, and made the proposal to the duke of Bedford ; but the regent coldly replied that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game ; an answer which so disgusted the duke, that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the siege. The place, however, was every day more closely invested by the English. Great scarcity began to be felt. Charles, in despair of collecting an army which should dare to approach the enemy's intrenchments, began to entertain a very dismal prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs. He saw that the

The besiegers are exposed to danger from famine.

Sir John Fastolffe, attacked by the French, gains a victory.

The action is named the battle of Herings.

The duke of Burgundy withdraws his troops from the siege of Orleans.

France appears in a hopeless state.

Mary of Anjou and Agnes Sorel revive the courage of Charles.

Joan d'Arc is servant at a small inn.

country, in which he had hitherto with great difficulty subsisted, would be laid entirely open to the invasion of a powerful and victorious enemy; and he entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny. But it was fortunate for this good prince that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women, whom he consulted, had the spirit to support his sinking resolution in this desperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit, vehemently opposed this measure, which she foresaw would discourage all his partisans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened that, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite; he resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy, when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions to be met with in history.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS. 1429.

IN the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, a servant in a small inn, who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering place, and to perform other offices, which, in well frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men servants. This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity. It is easy to imagine that the present situation of France was an interesting object even to persons of the lowest rank, and would become the frequent subject of conversation. A young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects,

and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to move the compassion of all his people whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, so strongly inclined to friendship and the tender passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that sex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The siege of Orleans had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook the dangers which might attend her; and, thinking herself destined by heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity natural to her sex, her years, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudricourt the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but, on her frequent returns to him, and importunate solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined to make so easy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar of so uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary: but he adopted at last the schemes of Joan; and he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the miraculous and the marvellous; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the second; and, when obliged by

The distress of the French king fixes general attention.

Joan believes celestial voices order her to save France.

She offers her services to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs.

He adopts her views.

unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside everything which might distinguish him; that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and, on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give in to the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiously examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was sent to the parliament, then residing at Poitiers; and was interrogated before that assembly: the presidents, the counsellors, who came persuaded of her imposture, went away convinced of her inspiration. A ray of hope began to break through that despair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Few could distinguish between the impulse of inclination and the force of conviction, and none would submit to so disagreeable a scrutiny.

After these precautions and preparations, Joan's requests were at last complied with; she was armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horseback, and shewn in that martial ha-

biliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her former occupation was even denied; she was no longer the servant of an inn; she was converted into a shepherdess, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To render her still more interesting, near ten years were subtracted from her age; and all the sentiments of love and of chivalry were thus united to those of enthusiasm, in order to inflame the fond fancy of the people with prepossessions in her favour.

When the engine was thus dressed up in full splendour, it was determined to essay its force. Joan was sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men, under the command of St. Severe, assembled to escort it. She ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out on the enterprise; she banished from the camp all women of bad fame; she displayed in her hands a consecrated banner, where the Supreme Being was represented grasping the globe of the earth and surrounded with flower de luces; and she insisted, in right of her prophetic mission, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the side of Beausse: but the count of Dunois, unwilling to submit the rules of the military art to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was stationed.

Previous to this attempt the maid had written to the regent, and to the English generals before Orleans,* commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege and to evacuate France, and menacing them with divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. All the English affected to speak with derision of the maid; and said that

Joan is presented to the people, armed cap-a-pie, and on horseback.

She is sent to Blois to defend a convoy.

A consecrated banner is displayed.

The English are ordered by Joan, in the name of the Creator, to raise the siege.

* She caused them to be written to. Joan was destitute of education. When examined at Poitiers,

one of her answers was, "I know neither A nor B: but I come from the king of heaven."—*Burette*.—Ed.

Joan is treated by the English with derision.

the French king was now indeed reduced to a sorry pass when he had recourse to such ridiculous expedients: but they felt their imagination secretly struck with the vehement persuasion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with an anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror, for the issue of these extraordinary preparations.

A convoy is safely escorted by her to the city.

As the convoy approached the river a sally was made, by the garrison on the side of Beause, to prevent the English general from sending any detachment to the other side; the provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had sent to receive them; the maid covered with her troops the embarkation; Suffolk did not venture to attack her; and the French general carried back the army in safety to Blois: an alteration of affairs which was already visible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

She enters Orleans in triumph.

The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard; and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themselves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himself, perceiving such a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, consented that the next convoy should enter by the side of Beause. The convoy approached: no sign of resistance appeared: the waggons and troops passed without interruption: a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat.

A second convoy reaches the garrison in safety.

The earl of Suffolk was in a situation very unusual and extraordinary, and which might well confound the greatest capacity and firmest temper. He saw his troops overawed, and strongly impressed with the idea of a divine influence accompanying the maid. Instead of banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the soldiers should recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leisure for these prepossessions to sink still deeper into their minds. The English felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed, and

The English are depressed, and the French gain new courage.

thence inferred a divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. The spirit resulting from a long course of uninterrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

The maid called aloud that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking the enemy. The generals seconded her ardour: an attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful. All the English who defended the intrenchments were put to the sword, or taken prisoners: and Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops to bring them relief, durst not appear against so formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their intrenchments: but Dunois, still unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other side of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprise. Joan was persuaded, and these forts were vigorously assailed. In one attack the French were repulsed; the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but, displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By all these successes the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side. They had lost above six thousand men in these different actions; and,

Joan calls on the garrison to act on the offensive.

She urges an attack on the English in their intrenchments.

Joan is wounded, but is again victorious.

what was still more important, their wonted courage and confidence was wholly gone, and had given place to amazement and despair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing such miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission. It was in vain for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence; they themselves were probably moved by the same belief; the utmost they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an instrument of God, she was only the implement of the devil: but, as the English had felt, that the devil might be allowed sometimes to prevail, they derived not much consolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED.

It might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy; he therefore raised the siege, and retreated. The French resolved to allow the English no leisure to recover from their consternation. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The siege lasted ten days, and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity. She descended into the fosse in leading the attack; and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground: but she soon recovered, and in the end rendered the assault successful. Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but, before he submitted, he asked his adversary whether he were a gentleman? On receiving a satisfactory answer, he demanded whether he were a knight? Renaud replied that he had not yet attained that honour. 'Then I make you one,' replied Suffolk: upon which he gave him the blow with his sword, and immediately surrendered himself his prisoner.

The remainder of the English army was commanded by Fastolffe, Scales, and Talbot; who thought of nothing but of

making their retreat; while the French esteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xaintrailles, attacked the rear of the enemy at the village of Patay. The battle lasted not a moment; the English were discomfited, and fled; the brave Fastolffe himself shewed the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the garter was taken from him as a punishment for this instance of cowardice. Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of 'the Maid of Orleans') as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain that the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain this appearance with the public; but it is much more probable that Dunois and the wiser commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a sudden, become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely; that she could seize their suggestions, and deliver their opinions as her own; and that she could curb that visionary and enthusiastic spirit with which she was actuated, and temper it with prudence and discretion.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles, the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine that such an attempt could so soon come within the

The English are defeated at Patay.

The maid of Orleans is described as acting the part of an experienced general.

She could distinguish merit in others.

Joan calls for the crowning of Charles at Rheims.

The French king resolves to act on her advice.

bounds of possibility. But as it was the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war; as the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been persuaded to restrain his military ardour: but he now determined to appear at the head of his armies. The French nobility saw their young sovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune, and conducted by the hand of Heaven; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.

THE KING OF FRANCE CROWNED AT RHEIMS.

He enters Rheims without opposition.

CHARLES set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men; he passed by Troye, which opened its gates to him; Chalons imitated the example: Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it; and he scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to king Clovis from Heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy. The maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often confounded his fiercest enemies; and the people shouted with the most unfeigned joy on viewing such a complication of wonders. After the completion of the

ceremony, the maid threw herself at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and, with a flood of tears, which pleasure and tenderness extorted, she congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event.*

Joan congratulates the king on his coronation.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects. The inclinations of men swaying their belief, no one doubted of the inspirations and prophetic spirit of the maid; so many incidents, which passed all human comprehension, left little room to question a superior influence; and the real and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could scarcely be more wonderful. Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after Charles's coronation, submitted to him on the first summons, and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

Many towns and fortresses submit to him.

PRUDENCE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

NOTHING can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution, of the duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contagious example. This prince seemed present every where by his vigilance and foresight: he put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence: he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the

The duke of Bedford acts with great wisdom under the most trying circumstances.

*"After mass had been celebrated, she threw herself at the feet of Charles in tears, and exclaimed, 'Gentle king, the will of God is now fulfilled.' The king being crowned, she conceived her mission at an end; the 'voices' had prompted her to seek nothing beyond that. 'I could much desire,' said she to Dunois, 'that the gentle king would let me return to my father and mother, who would have great joy at seeing me once more. I can again tend their sheep and cattle, and do for them all I was formerly accustomed to do.' Disinterestedness, so touching and sublime, moved not the counsellors of Charles, any more than her original enthusiasm had done in the first instance. The Pucelle had become too valuable in war, for them to be willing to allow

her so soon to return to her flock; and, treating her like a true man-at-arms, they led her with the army on the side of Paris. But her inspiration was not to be prolonged, like a lease advantageously renewed at pleasure. The Pucelle, detained in his service by the prince who owed to her his crown, now acted against the feelings of her own heart, and felt that she was guilty of a profanation of the spirit of God; and from that time forth she was no longer what she had been. She had ceased to believe in herself—her animation had passed away, and 'her voices' were silent. To these circumstances, it may be added, the miraculous sword of Fierbois had been broken on the march, a symbol that the charm had been dissolved."—*Pictorial History of France*.—ED.

French towards an insurrection: he retained the Parisians in obedience, by alternately employing caresses and severity: and, knowing that the duke of Burgundy was already wavering, he acted with so much skill and prudence as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmost importance to the support of the English government.

The small supplies which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardour of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely abated by time and reflection; the parliament seems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their farther progress; no supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses; and men enlisted slowly, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England of the magic, and sorcery, and diabolical power, of the maid of Orleans. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to oppose the French king, who was advancing to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary capacity of the duke of Bedford appeared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution as always to render it impossible for Charles to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every false step of the enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers, who served at their own expense, soon after retired. Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence; but not till he made himself master of Compiègne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St.

Denis, and of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

The regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of affairs by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vassals of the crown, who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, swore a new allegiance, and did homage to him. But this ceremony was cold and insipid, compared with the lustre which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident, which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

The maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the count of Dunois that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no farther desire than to return to her former condition, but that nobleman exhorted her to persevere, till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The maid, next day after her arrival, headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg; she twice drove the enemy from their entrenchments; finding their numbers to increase every moment she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being here deserted by her friends, and surrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exerting the utmost valour, taken prisoner by the Burgundians. The common opinion was that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

The envy of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A com-

The king of England is crowned at Paris.

Joan of Arc, with her troops, but she persuaded to remain with the army.

She was taken prisoner.

Te Deum is sung on the occasion at Paris.

Joan deserved all courtesy as a prisoner of war.

plete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. The service of Te Deum, which has so often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The duke of Bedford fancied that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and, to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable.

There was no possible reason why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtesy and good usages which civilized nations practise towards enemies on these occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment; she was unstained by any civil crime; even the virtues and the very decorums of her sex had ever been rigidly observed by her; and, though her appearing in war, and leading armies to battle, may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity, and was, on that very account, the more an object of praise and admiration. It was necessary, therefore, for the duke of Bedford to interest religion in the prosecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of justice and humanity.*

The bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly

* "The duke of Bedford, though generally honoured as a prince of great capacity, on this occasion mournfully lost sight of what he owed to his own honour. He seems to have imagined that, by the cruel punishment of a captive female, he could revive the faded laurels of England. He ransomed the prisoner from John of Luxembourg, by whom she had been taken, and decided on bringing her to trial for a series of awful crimes, which were falsely laid to her charge.

"In those days, when deeds were to be done that would make ordinary men

"Hold up their hands and wonder who could do them,"

it is melancholy to remark the ministers of religion were commonly brought forward in the front rank, to shut the gates of mercy on the unfortunate who

devoted to the English interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request: several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges. They held their court in Rouen, where the young king of England then resided: and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She first desired to be eased of her chains: her judges answered, that she had once already attempted an escape, by throwing herself from a tower: she confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches shewed the same firmness and intrepidity. Though harrassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, she never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission. The point, which her judges pushed most vehemently, was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her whether she would submit to the church the truth of these inspirations? She replied that she would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed that she was a heretic, and denied the authority of the church. She appealed to the pope; they rejected her appeal.

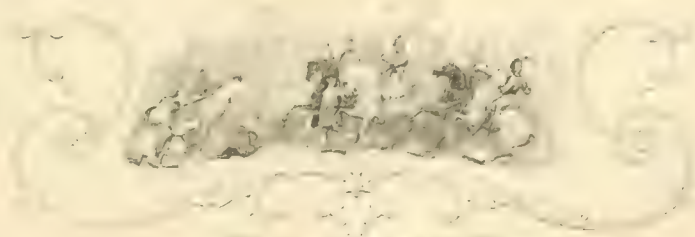
They asked her why she put trust in

were under accusation. It was so on this occasion. Jeanne, though she had acted an unusual part for one of her sex, could quote examples in that age, which were deemed illustrious, of females who had braved the battle's rage; and therefore she had as good a right, viewed simply as a warrior, to be treated with as much consideration as the Captal de Buche, and du Guesclin, had received in the moment of defeat, from their conquerors. A very different course was pursued with the maid of Orleans. The bishop of Beauvais, who was in the interest, and, no doubt, in the pay of England, claimed, as the Pucelle had been captured within the limits of his diocese, that she should be tried by an ecclesiastical commission for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. —*Pictorial History of France.*—Ed.

She is charged with sorcery, impiety, and magic.

Joan defends herself with presence of mind and resolution.

She is denied an appeal to the pope.



THE END OF THE WORLD

her standard, which had been consecrated by magical incantations? She replied that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded why she carried in her hand that standard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims? She answered, that the person who had shared the danger was entitled to share the glory. When accused of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her sex, and of assuming government and command over men; she scrupled not to reply that her sole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the kingdom. In the issue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Joan, so long surrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely, browbeaten and overawed by men of superior rank, and men invested with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had been accustomed to revere, felt her spirit at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration, in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of success and the applauses of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was sentenced. She publicly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated; she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

EXECUTION OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS. 1431.

ENOUGH was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the

French and English that the opinion of divine influence was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which she once believed she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, her former ideas revived; and she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation; her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy; no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the market place of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames; and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and to her native country.*

The affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination, which had seized the French, to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was surprised by a stratagem of the count of Dunois: a body of the English, under lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarthe: the fair in the suburbs of Caen, seated in the midst of the English territories, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer: the

Joan is still pursued by her enemies.

Assuming male attire, she is condemned as a relapsed heretic.

She is burnt alive.

The affairs of the English continue to decline.

* She was carried in a cart to the place of execution in the old market place, on the 30th of May. In the centre of the open area a stake had been fixed. She manifested a natural terror, while she tearfully gazed on this dismal object, and on the faggots prepared to consume a guiltless victim. On temporary erections, commanding a near view of the

stake, the cardinal Beaufort, and other dignitaries had taken their places. Joan was asked by the bishop of Beauvais if she had recently heard her "voices." She answered in the affirmative, and that they declared she had done wrong in signing the confession prepared by her enemies. Such a reply, at such a moment, more strongly confirmed the holy murderers

Bedford is obliged by Dunois to raise the siege of Lagni.

The duchess of Bedford dies.

Differences arise between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy.

The union of the crowns of France and England is unfavourable to the house of Burgundy.

duke of Bedford himself was obliged by Dunois to raise the siege of Lagni, with some loss of reputation: and all these misfortunes, though light, yet being uninterrupted, brought discredit on the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent sustained was by the death of his duchess, who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy; and his marriage soon afterwards, with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them. Philip complained that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that so sudden a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omers for that purpose. The duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was son, brother, and uncle to a king, and because he had already made such advances as to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: but Philip, proud of his independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent: and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without seeing each other. A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past amity!

DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 1432.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the interests of the house of Burgundy, than to unite the crowns of France and England on the same head. The title to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been sacrificed by the treaty of Troye; and strangers and enemies were thereby fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolitic measures, and a point

in their purpose. "Go, in peace Joan," exclaimed the cardinal, which meant no less than, "I now commit you to the flames." He withdrew, affecting to shed tears, and several prelates followed the *compassionate*

of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But, as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority, the duke had, for some years, appeared to relent in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; the ascendant gained over him by his ministers; and his inability to resent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the king of France had banished from his court and presence Tanneui de Chatel, and all those who were concerned in that assassination; and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required. The distress which Charles had already suffered had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the miseries, to which France had been so long exposed, had begun to move his compassion; and the cries of all Europe admonished him that his resentment would, if carried farther, be condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England made a double impression upon him; the entreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon, who had married his two sisters, had weight; and he finally determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended. For this purpose a congress was appointed at Arras under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Basle: the duke of Burgundy came thither in person, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and other persons of high rank, appeared as ambassadors from France; and the English having also been invited to attend, the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the

example, while the executioners bound the helpless maid to the stake, having placed on her head a black cap, inscribed, "Heretic, Relapsed Idolator, Apostate."—ED.

The duke of Burgundy is inclined to be reconciled to the king.

Charles seeks to conciliate Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy determines to unite with the royal family of France.

A congress assembles at Arras.

The conference is held in the abbey of St. Vaast.

An accommodation between France and England is proposed, but fails.

The duke of Gloucester is created a peer of France.

An accommodation is proposed in England by a herald.

protector and council a commission for that purpose.

The conferences were held in the abbey of St. Vaast; and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the usual homage and vassalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were universally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reasonable; and the cardinal of Winchester, with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. These were easily adjusted. The vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonourable and disadvantageous to the crown of France. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded several other territories; he agreed that these and all the other dominions of Philip should be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing fealty, to the present king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. Such were the conditions upon which France purchased the friendship of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke sent a herald to England with a letter, in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologised for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldness; they even assigned him his lodgings in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult; and the populace were so incensed, that, if the duke of Gloucester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger. The Flemings,

and other subjects of Philip, were insulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations. These violences were not disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy, as they afforded him a pretence for the farther measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. 1435.

A FEW days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, so fatal to the interests of England, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whose memory, except from the barbarous execution of the maid of Orleans, was unsullied by any considerable blemish. Isabella, queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her latter years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progress and successes of her own son in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was also signalized by the death of the earl of Arundel, a great English general; who though he commanded three thousand men, was foiled by Xaintrailles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

The violent factions, which prevailed between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest, which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties kept every thing in suspense; foreign affairs were much neglected; and, though the duke of York, son to that earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford, it was seven months before his commission passed the

Much indignation at the treaty of Arras is manifested in England.

The duke of Bedford dies.

Isabella queen of France dies.

The earl of Arundel, defeated by Xaintrailles, dies.

The duke of York succeeds to the duke of Bedford's office.

The English in France left without a leader.

seals ; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country without a proper head or governor.

DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE. 1436.

Lord Willoughby, and the English under his command, are compelled to leave Paris.

THE new governor, on his arrival, found the capital already lost. The Parisians had always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest ; and, after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, universally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign. The constable, together with Lile-Adam, who had before put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens. Lord Willoughby, who commanded only a small garrison of fifteen hundred men, was expelled. This nobleman discovered valour and presence of mind, but, unable to guard so large a place against multitudes, he retired into the Bastile, and, being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops into Normandy.

The duke of Burgundy declares against the English.

In the same season the duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the English any sure hold of France. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of Good, from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the success of this enterprise ; and he invested that place with an army, formidable from its numbers, but without experience, discipline, or military spirit. On the first alarm the duke of Gloucester assembled some forces, sent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promised to give as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius

The duke of Gloucester defies Burgundy to battle.

of the English had rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe ; especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms ; and the duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raise the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.

The duke of Burgundy besieges Calais.

He finds it necessary to withdraw.

The English were still masters of many fine provinces in France ;* but retained possession more by the extreme weakness of Charles than by the strength of their own garrisons, or the force of their armies. Nothing can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made, during the course of several years, by these two potent nations against each other ; while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its rival. The general want of industry, commerce, and police, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burdens of war, when it was prolonged beyond one season ; and the continuance of hostilities had, long ere this time, exhausted both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either side ; and all the operations consisted in the surprisal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incursions upon the open country, by small bodies, assembled on a sudden from the neighbouring garrisons. In this method of conducting the war the French king had much the advantage. The duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, struggled against these difficulties during five years ; and, being assisted by the valour of lord Talbot, soon after created earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well had this feeble war, in sparing the blood of the people, prevented oppressions ; and had the fury of men, which reason and

Both the English and the French are in a state of exhaustion.

No armies can be brought into the field.

The duke of York is assisted by lord Talbot.

* Fortescue, who soon after this period visited France in the train of prince Henry, speaks of that kingdom as a desert in comparison to England. Though we make allowance for the partialities of

Fortescue, there must have been some foundation for his account ; and these destructive wars are the most likely reason to be assigned for the difference remarked by this author.

justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotence and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted such small force, were stretching beyond their resources, which were still smaller; and the troops, destitute of pay, were obliged to subsist by plundering both friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, which was the seat of war, were laid waste and left uncultivated. The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood spilt in battle, but by the more destructive pillage of the garrisons. And both parties, weary of hostilities, at last desirous of peace, set on foot negotiations. But the proposals of France, and the demands of England, were still so wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district; and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the usual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negotiation while there was so little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more suitable to the present condition of the two kingdoms.

The duke of York soon after resigned his government to the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and, during his administration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of their subjects. The war with France continued in the same languid and feeble state as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England had long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was now entirely lost. Some of these princes had died; some had been ransomed; and the duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the hands of the English. He offered fifty-four thousand nobles for his liberty;* and, when this proposal was laid before the council of England, the party of the duke of Gloucester and that of the cardinal of Winchester were divided in their sentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of these prisoners should on any account be released till his son should be of sufficient age to hold, himself, the reins of government. The cardinal insisted on the greatness of the sum offered, which, in reality, was near equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies that the parliament, during the course of seven years, granted for the support of the war. And he added, that the release of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the English interests; by filling the court of France with faction. The cardinal's party, as usual, prevailed; the duke of Orleans was released, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years; and the duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ransom. The princes and nobility, in those ages, went to war on very disadvantageous terms. If they were taken prisoners, they either remained in captivity during life, or purchased their liberty at the price which the victors were pleased to impose, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

TRUCE WITH FRANCE. 1443.

THE sentiments of the cardinal prevailed in another point of still greater moment.

A great advantage enjoyed by England in her five royal prisoners.

Fifty-four thousand nobles are offered by the duke of Orleans for his ransom.

The duke of Gloucester's party are opposed to the duke's liberation.

The cardinal of Winchester's party prevails, and the duke is set at liberty.

Winchester is again successful.

* This sum was equal to £36,000 sterling of our present money. A subsidy of a tenth and fifteenth was fixed by Edward III. at £29,000, which, in the

reign of Henry VI. made only £58,000 of our present money. The parliament granted only one subsidy during the course of seven years, from 1437 to 1444.

The troops on both sides are obliged to subsist on plunder.

Negotiations are opened.

No accommodation is effected.

A truce is concluded between England and the duke of Burgundy.

The cardinal is anxious for peace with France.

It is opposed by the duke of Gloucester.

A truce is concluded for twenty-two months.

Henry proves a prince of slender capacity.

A consort is sought for him.

That prelate had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France. He insisted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant supplies; the disorders in which the English affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progress made by the French king; and the advantage of stopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favour of the English. The duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquish all hopes of prevailing over France. But, notwithstanding his opposition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was dispatched to Tours, in order to negotiate with the French ministers. It was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties. The numerous disorders under which the French government laboured, induced Charles to assent to this truce; and the same motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it. But Suffolk, not content with executing this object of his commission, proceeded also to finish another business, which seems rather to have been implied than expressed in the powers that had been granted him.

KING'S MARRIAGE WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners; but of the most slender capacity; he was fitted to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand; as it was probable that this circumstance would decide for ever the

victory between them. The duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but had not credit to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V., who had left these magnificent titles, but without any real power or possessions, to his posterity. This princess was the most accomplished of her age both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect that, when she should mount the throne they would break out with still superior lustre. The earl of Suffolk, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, besides preoccupying the princess's favour by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with her and her family by very extraordinary concessions. Though Margaret brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the council, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle; who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke: and even received the thanks of parliament for his services. The princess fell into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

This generous prince, worsted in all

Margaret of Anjou preferred to a daughter of the count of Armagnac.

She is a highly gifted princess.

Proposals of marriage are made to her, and accepted.

Great concessions are made by the earl of Suffolk.

The ruin of the duke of Gloucester is planned.

court intrigues, but possessing, in a high degree, the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates.* The nature of this crime seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed. But, as these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people acquitted the unhappy sufferers; and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus exposed, without protection, to those mortal injuries.

MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOCESTER. 1447.

THESE sentiments of the public made the

* "Though acquitted of the treason she is adjudged to open penance, namely, to go with a wax Taper in her hand, hoodless, (save a Kerchiffe) through London divers days together, and after to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the isle of Man. The crime objected against her was, procuring Thomas Southwel, John Hunne, Priests, Roger Bullingbrook a supposed necromancer, and Margery Jordan, to devise a picture of wax in proportion of the King, in such sort by sorcery, that as the King's picture consumed, so the King's body should consume: for which they were all condemned. The Witch was burned in Smithfield, Bullingbrook was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Dutchess, nor any other from her, did

cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. In order to effect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondsbury, where they expected he would lie entirely at their mercy. As soon as he appeared he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison. He was soon after found dead in his bed; and, though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice, formerly practised in the case of Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, could deceive nobody. The reason of this assassination of the duke seems not that the ruling party apprehended his acquittal in parliament on account of his innocence, but that they imagined his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder, which they pretended to deny. Some gentlemen of his retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treasons, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were hanged and cut down; but just as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered.† The most barbarous kind of mercy that can possibly be imagined!

This prince is said to have received a

ever require more of him than only to know by his art how long the King should live. John Hunne had his pardon, and Southwel died the night before he should have been executed."—*Baker*.—Ed.

† "Five of his menial servants, Sir Roger Chamberlain, Knight; Middleton, Herbert, Artizis, Esquires; and John Needham Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at Tyburn, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, but then the Marquis of Suffolk, to make a show as though he had no hand in the business, brought their pardon, and so their lives were saved."—*Baker*.—Ed.

The accusation of the duke is resolved upon.

He is accused of treason, and found dead in his prison.

His enemies crowded him to trial.

The duke's presumed accomplices are hanged, but pardoned, and recovered.

Gloicester
was well
educated.

better education than was usual in his age, to have founded one of the first public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. This turn of mind tended much to cure him of credulity; of which the following instance is given by Sir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his sight by touching the shrine of St. Albans. The duke happening to pass, questioned the man, and, seeing no doubt of his sight, asked him the colours of several cloaks worn by persons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. 'You are a knave,' cried the prince; 'had you been born blind, you could not so soon have learned to distinguish colours;' and immediately ordered him to be set in the stocks as an impostor.

His shrewd-
ness detects
an impostor.

The cardi-
nal of Win-
chester dies.

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is said, gave him more remorse in his last moments than could be naturally expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt is uncertain; her usual spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened, soon after, an event, of which she and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore incontestably the whole odium.

The queen
is suspected
of partici-
pation in the
murder of
Gloicester.

That article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been kept secret; and, during the lifetime of the duke of Gloucester, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it; but, as France strenuously insisted on its performance, orders were now dispatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to surrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either questioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his sole fortune, refused compliance; and it became necessary for a

Mans is or-
dered to be
surrendered
to Charles
of Anjou.

French army, under Dunois, to lay siege to the city. The governor made as good a defence as his situation could permit; but, receiving no relief from Edmond duke of Somerset, who was governor of Normandy, he was at last obliged to capitulate, and to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

The bad effects of this measure stopped not here. Surienne, at the head of all his garrisons, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in some towns of that province. But Somerset, who had no means of subsisting such a multitude, and who was probably incensed at Surienne's disobedience, refused to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Brittany, seized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. James de Beuvron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province. The duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the king of France; Charles remonstrated with the duke of Somerset: that nobleman replied that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions. Though this answer ought to have appeared satisfactory to Charles, who had often felt severely the licentious, independent spirit of such mercenary soldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He still insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation should be made: and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than one million six hundred thousand crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England, and determined to take advantage of it.

Surienne,
the gover-
nor, defends
it, but is
forced by
the French
army to
yield.

Surienne
ravages
Brittany.

One million
six hundred
crowns are
claimed by
Charles as
reparation.

STATE OF FRANCE. WAR RENEWED. 1449.

No sooner was the truce concluded between



King Charles greatly improves the condition of France.

England is in a distressed state.

The French king invades Normandy.

Many towns fall to the French, and the duke of Somerset withdraws to Rouen.

Somerset purchases a retreat to Harfleur.

Dunois compels the surrender of Harfleur.

All Normandy is wrested from the English.

Dunois overruns Guienne.

the two kingdoms than Charles employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numberless ills to which France had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline in his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to its neighbours. Meanwhile affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other; the people were discontented; conquests in France were overlooked amidst domestic incidents; the governor of Normandy, ill supplied with money, was obliged to dismiss the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous; and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by the king himself, a second by the duke of Brittany, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them; Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, Pont de l'Arche, fell into the hands of the enemy. The duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was master, into Rouen; and thought it sufficient, if, till the arrival of succours from England, he could save that capital. The king of France, at the head of fifty thousand men, presented himself before the gates; the dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants, and they called

aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist at once both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle; which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to surrender. He purchased a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns; by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in the higher Normandy; and by delivering hostages for the performance of articles. The governor of Honfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation. Harfleur made a better defence under Sir Thomas Curson the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at last appeared from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourg: but these came very late, amounted only to four thousand men, and were soon after put to rout at Fournigni by the count of Clermont. This battle, or rather skirmish, was the only action fought by the English for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchased at such an expense of blood and treasure. Somerset, shut up in Caen, found it necessary to capitulate; Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury should be restored; and Cherbourg, the last place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom.

THE ENGLISH EXPELLED FRANCE. 1450.

A LIKE rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were better inclined to the English government. Dunois was dispatched thither, and met with no resistance in the field, and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been

Great improvements are made in artillery.

Bordeaux and Bayonne are recovered by the French.

The English ineffectually attempt the recovery of Guienne.

made in the structure and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or since, to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bordeaux were reduced, the city agreed to submit if not relieved by a certain time: no relief appeared; the place surrendered; and Bayonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II., was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne;* and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing against the intrigues of his factious son, Lewis the dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them by availing himself of their intestine confusions.

* The result was unfortunate, but hardly deserves to be called feeble. "Moved by the reproaches of the English, Margaret of Anjou, who felt the humbled mind of the feeble Henry sinking beneath her, wished to oppose the progress of her countrymen. A plot was formed in Guienne. The Sieur Lesparre crossed the sea to announce that Medoc was prepared to declare against the French. Margaret, upon this, as a last effort, collected a force of five thousand men, under the command of Talbot, who was considered the best captain in the English army, though he was now eighty years of age. Talbot embarked on the 17th of October, 1452. The seventh day after his arrival the Bordelais rose against their garrison, and opened their gates to the old soldier of Henry V. Talbot's son joined him in the course of the winter with an additional four thousand men, and several places in the vicinity of Medoc were captured by the English; but in the month of July following, Charles appeared at the head of his ordnance companies in the revolted country, and carried on hostilities with a degree of activity which almost partook of the character of spite. He was incensed against this fickle people, which had repeatedly called him again to the lists immediately after he had quitted them. At the capture of the fort de Chalais, four-score of the inhabitants were handed over to Tristan l'Hermite, who hanged them without mercy. On the other side, the French established themselves under the walls of Castillon, in a camp strongly fortified by the brothers Bureau, who directed all the sieges. Talbot, sent to oppose him, advanced to the enemy's

CHAPTER XXI.

HENRY VI.

CLAIM OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE CROWN.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.—HIS BANISHMENT AND DEATH.—POPULAR INSURRECTION.—THE PARTIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.—FIRST ARMAMENT OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.—BATTLE OF BLORE-HEATH.—OF NORTHAMPTON.—A PARLIAMENT.—BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD.—AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS.—SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.—EDWARD IV. ASSUMES THE CROWN.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

A WEAK prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, how gentle soever and innocent, to be infested with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and, as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, these dangerous consequences began to be

A weak English prince is always exposed to discontent and rebellion.

entrenchments, and boldly planted his banner within the first enclosure. Once more the artillery gave victory to the French. The English men-at-arms were thundered on by this new power, which was now much more formidable than the dreaded arrows of the English archers had been in former times, and they fell by whole ranks before the ditch. Talbot in vain went from rank to rank, on a little hackney, to animate his men. A shot from a culverine broke his thigh, and killed his hackney, which falling, threw him on the ground, and terminated the battle. Dunois immediately advanced, and dispersed all those who were collected round the English chief. Talbot's son fell defending him; and a volunteer archer, by thrusting his dirk in the wounded chief's throat, put an end to his life. On the next morning, (July 17th) the body of the old general could scarcely be recognised, it was so disfigured by the numerous wounds he had received. His herald at length approached a corpse supposed to be his, and putting his finger in the mouth, felt for the place of a tooth which Talbot had lost, and did not feel for it in vain. The body had been stripped during the night. 'Ah, sir, my master,' exclaimed the servant, having ascertained his identity, 'it is then you! May God pardon all your sins! For forty years and more I have been your herald at arms, and have worn your coat, and now I give it back to you.' He then took his coat of arms, and covered the remains of the lifeless Talbot. This day brought the war to a conclusion. All the cities which had received the English again, were speedily taken."—*Burette*.—Ed.



Intestine
disorders
are threat-
ened.

A preten-
der to the
crown ap-
pears.

Richard,
son of
the de-
posed
king, re-
turned to
England
and III.

universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, were the more likely to excite intestine disorders, and, by their emulation, rivalry, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But, though these causes were sufficient to breed confusion, there concurred another circumstance of the most dangerous nature. A pretender to the crown appeared. The title itself of the weak prince, who enjoyed the name of sovereignty, was disputed: and the English were now to pay the severe, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II.; and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.

DUKE OF YORK'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN. 1450.

ALL the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard duke of York.* This prince, thus descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in

many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions: he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France: and though recalled from that command by the intrigue of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland, had succeeded much better in that enterprise than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attack to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families, and had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions; those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other: which last inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

Richard is distinguished by valour and prudence.

He suppressed a rebellion in Ireland.

He possesses immense wealth.

Marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, he gained extensive connexions among the nobility.

* The origin of this claim is well set forth by Shakspeare, or at least in the first part of Henry VI., one of the plays ascribed to him, though the authorship has been called in question. We there find, in the scene of Mortimer's death, Richard Plantagenet is informed by the dying Mortimer of the condition of his family, and the rights transmitted to him.

"Henry the fourth, grandfather to this king,
Deposed his nephew Richard, Edward's son,
The first-begotten, and the lawful heir
Of Edward king, the third of that descent;
During whose reign, the Percies of the north,
Finding his usurpation most unjust,
Endeavour'd my advancement to the throne.
The reason moved these warlike lords to this,
Was—for that (young king Richard thus removed,
Leaving no heir begotten of his body)
I was the next by birth and parentage;
For by my mother I derived am

From Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son
To king Edward the third, whereas he
From John of Gaunt doth bring his pedigree,
Being put fourth of that heroic line.
But mark; as in his haughty great attempt,
They laboured to plant the rightful heir,
I lost my liberty, and they their lives.
Long after this, when Henry the fifth,—
Succeeding his father Bolingbroke,—did reign,
Thy father, earl of Cambridge, then derived
From famous Edmond Langley, duke of York,—
Marrying my sister, that thy mother was.
Again in pity of my hard distress,
Levied an army, weening to redeem,
And have install'd me in the diadem.
But, as the rest, so fell that noble earl,
And was beheaded. Thus the Mortimers,
In whom the title rested, were suppressed."

Ed.

THE EARL OF WARWICK.

THE family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time the most potent, both from their opulent possessions and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England; for, besides the earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themselves the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldest son by a second marriage of the earl of Westmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Salisbury, killed before Orleans, the possessions and title of that great family. His eldest son, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the possessions, and had acquired the title, of that other family, one of the most opulent, most ancient, and most illustrious, in England. The personal qualities also of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increased their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known by the appellation of the 'King-maker,' had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity, of his expense, and by the bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquests over men's affections the more certain; his presents were regarded as sure testimonies of esteem and friendship, and his professions as the overflowings of his genuine sentiments. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. The military men were zealously attached to his interests: the people in general bore him an unlimited affection; his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will than to the prince or to the laws: and he was the greatest, as

well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government.

But the duke of York, besides the family of Nevil, had many other partisans among the great nobility. Courtney earl of Devonshire, descended from a very noble family of that name in France, was attached to his interests; Moubray duke of Norfolk had, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaster, embraced the same party: and the discontents which universally prevailed, rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the established government.

Though the people were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions; and fancied, because a sudden irruption could make conquests, that, without steady counsels and a uniform expense, it was possible to maintain them. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne: they still considered Margaret as a French woman, and a latent enemy of the kingdom: and when they saw her father and all her relations active in promoting the success of the French, they could not be persuaded that she, who was all powerful in the English council, would very zealously oppose them in their enterprises.

But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was by the assassination of the virtuous duke of Gloucester, whose memory being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family suffered a double prejudice; it was deprived of its firmest support, and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous assassination.

As the duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamours which necessarily rose against him as prime minister, and declared

The Nevil family is most powerful.

The earls of Warwick and Salisbury, by their personal qualities, increase its splendour.

Warwick, "the king maker," is distinguished by valour, magnificence, and generosity.

The people regard him with affection.

He was the last of the mighty barons.

The earl of Devonshire and the duke of Norfolk join the duke of York's party.

Queen Margaret is considered an enemy to England.

The Lancaster interest suffers from the murder of the duke of Gloucester.

The duke of Suffolk is hated by the people, and envied by the nobility.

favourite of the queen, became absolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to see a subject exalted above them, much more one who was only great grandson to a merchant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs. The great acquisitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and, as they were gained at the expense of the crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared, on that account, the more exceptionable and invidious.

The revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry, both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the necessary expenses of the French war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants of parliament. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and the king was loaded with a debt of three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, a sum so great, that the parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures. The household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people. The public clamour rose high, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice.

The revenues of the crown are now dilapidated.

Every grievance is imputed to the duke of Suffolk.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

asserts his innocence, and his merit.

THIS nobleman, sensible of the public hatred under which he laboured, and foreseeing an attack from the commons, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge, and by insisting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family, in the public service. He rose in the house of peers; took notice of the clamours propagated against him; and complained that, after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars of France; after being himself a prisoner, and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom; it should yet be suspected that he had been debauched from his allegiance, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his services by the highest honours that it was in his power to confer. This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The commons, rather provoked at this challenge, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason, divided into several articles. They insisted that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king, and to place on the throne his own son, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John duke of Somerset, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown: that he had contributed to the release of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would assist king Charles in expelling the English from France, and recovering full possession of his kingdom: that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces: and that he had, without any powers or commission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it: which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy.

It is evident, from a review of these articles, that the commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamours against the duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible than that a nobleman, so little eminent by his birth and character, could think of acquiring the crown to his family, and of deposing

His defence fails to satisfy his enemies, and he is impeached.

The accusations are incredible.

Suffolk shews that his views were wholly different from those imputed.

No treachery is proved against ministers.

The giving up of Maine is the only suspicious proceeding

To give it up might be policy.

Henry by foreign force, and, together with him, Margaret, his patron, a princess of so much spirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the house, who knew that he had intended to marry his son to one of the coheirs of the earl of Warwick, and was disappointed in his views only by the death of that lady ; and he observed that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown, because she herself was not so much as comprehended in the entail settled by act of parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guienne, from the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English ministers ; and it may safely be affirmed that greater vigour was requisite to defend these provinces from the arms of Charles VII., than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions ; much less of one who was so well established in his master's favour, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle. But Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by several at the council table ; and it seems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French ; Maine, an inland province, must soon after have fallen ; and, as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract their force, and to render the defence practicable by reducing it within a narrower compass.

SUFFOLK'S BANISHMENT AND DEATH.

THE commons were probably sensible that

* A ship of war, called "The Great Nicholas Tower," came up to the vessel in which Suffolk sailed, and he was peremptorily ordered to go on

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this charge of treason against Suffolk would not bear a strict scrutiny ; and they, therefore, soon after, set up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining iniquitous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders. The articles are mostly general, but are not improbable ; and, as Suffolk seems to have been a bad man and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that many of these articles could be proved against him. The court was alarmed at the prosecution of a favourite minister. The king summoned all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment. The prisoner was produced, and asked what he could say in his own defence. He denied the charge, but submitted to the king's mercy. Henry expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason ; but, in consideration of the second, for misdemeanors, he declared that, by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained silent ; but, as soon as they returned to their own house, they entered a protest that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges ; and that, if Suffolk had insisted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was easy to see that these irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's confidence, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, be reinstated in his former power and credit. A captain of a vessel was, therefore, employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France : he was seized near Dover ; his head struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea.* No

board the former. The mandate was obeyed, and he was immediately greeted by the captain of the Great Nicholas, with "Welcome, traitor." He was

The commons charge him with misdemeanors, instead of treason.

He is required to defend himself before the king.

Henry banishes him for five years.

He is beheaded at sea.

enquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry, and credit with the queen; and, as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and, however it might be suspected that his partisans had excited and supported the prosecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, soon after, an incident which roused the jealousy of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretensions of that popular prince.

POPULAR INSURRECTIONS.

THE humours of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent which was attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of

the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is supposed, to pass himself as a son of that Sir John Mortimer who had been sentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason given in against him.* On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard; and he excited their zeal by demanding a redress of grievances. The court sent a small force against the rioters, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoke; and Cade, advancing towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation; and, sending to the court a plausible list of grievances, he promised that, when these should be redressed, and when lord Say the treasurer and Cromer sheriff of Kent should be punished for their malversations, he would lay down his arms. The council, who observed that nobody was willing to fight against men so reasonable, carried the king, for safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers.† He always led them

John Cade calls himself Mortimer.

The Kentish men flock to the standard of Cade.

He encamps on Blackheath.

The city opens its gates to him.

detained on board two days, during which those who had him in custody are supposed to have communicated with his enemies on shore. His fate having been decided upon, on the third day a cock boat, bringing a block, and an axe, and an executioner, appeared. The rest of his melancholy story is soon told; being thus described, in a letter written by one William Lomner, addressed "To the right worshipful John Paston, at Norwich," and dated, Tuesday, May 5th, 1442.

"Yn the syht of all his men, he (the duke) was drawn ought of the grete shippe yn to the bote, and there was an exe, and a stoke, and oon of the lewdeste of the shippe badde him ley down hys hedde and he shuld be fair ferd wyth, and dye on a swerde, and toke a rusty swerde, and smotte off hys hedde wythin half-a-dozen strokes, and toke away his gown of russette, and hys dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde hys body on the sands of Dover, and some sey his hedde was sette on a pole by it."—ED.

* Cotton wonders that such a piece of injustice should have been committed in peaceable times; he might have added, and by such virtuous princes as Bedford and Gloucester. But it is to be presumed that Mortimer was guilty; though his condemnation was highly irregular and illegal. The people had at this time a very feeble sense of law and a constitution: and power was very imperfectly restrained by these limits. When the proceedings of a parliament were so irregular, it is easy to imagine that those of a king would be more so.

† Cade affected loyalty, but claimed to be regarded as a personage of no small importance. He, "assuming to himself the title and place of chief, sendeth out his letters of safe conduct to such whom he pleased to make use of, amongst whom he wrote this to Thomas Cock, Draper of London:

"By this our writing ensealed, we grant and will permit truly, that Thomas Cock of London, Draper, shall come in surety and in safeguard to our presence, without any hurt to his person, and to avoyd

Cade issues
several
edicts.

into the fields during the night; and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind: but, being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial, he found that, after the commission of this crime, he was no longer master of their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were neglected. They broke into a rich house, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this violence, shut their gates against them; and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentish men were so discouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence: a price was set on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.*

Cade's fol-
lowers
plunder a
rich house
in the city.

The rebels
are defeat-
ed.

Cade is
killed.

It was imagined, by the court, that the duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try the dispositions of the people towards his title and family; and, as the event had so far succeeded, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and, fearing that he meant to bring an armed force, they issued orders, in the king's name, for opposing him. But the duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: the precautions of the

The duke of
York re-
turns from
Ireland.

from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him coming in.

His Majesties Loyal Subject,

John Mortimer,

Captain Amend-all."

Upon Cock's admission he had private conference, with three others with him: and the captain at his departure gave him these instructions in writing, "You shall charge all Lombards and merchant strangers, Genoways, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us, the captain, twelve harness, compleat, of the best fashion, four and twenty Bridgantines,

ministers served only to shew him their jealousy: he was sensible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was also become dangerous to himself: he now saw the impossibility of remaining in his present situation, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partisans, therefore, were instructed to maintain, in all companies, his right by succession, and by the established laws and constitution of the kingdom. These questions became every day more and more the subject of conversation. The minds of men were insensibly sharpened against each other by disputes, before they came to more dangerous extremities; and various topics were pleaded in support of the pretensions of each party.

His title to
the crown
is the cause
of danger.

The right
of the duke
of York to
the crown
is asserted.

THE PARTIES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

THE partisans of the house of Lancaster maintained that, though the elevation of Henry IV. could not be justified by any of those principles on which that prince chose to rest his title, it was yet founded on general consent, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being loosened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a sense of public interest, to intrust the sceptre into the hands of their deliverer: that, even if that establishment were allowed to be at first invalid, it had acquired solidity by time; that the right of succession was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity; that

The claim
of the house
of Lancaster
is as-
serted to be
founded on
general
consent.

The right of
succession
is establish-
ed for the
general
good.

twelve Battle axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses with saddle and bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand marks in ready money: and if this our demand be not performed and done, we shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them."—*Daniel*.—ED.

* Jack Cade, having sent his pillage by water with some few followers, bent his journey to Quinborough castle; when, contrary to expectation, being debarred entrance, he disguised himself and privily fled; but proclamation being made that he that should bring him alive or dead, should have for his reward a thousand marks, he was, afterwards, by one Alexander Eden, gentleman, attacked; but

the principles of liberty, no less than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by these pretensions of the house of York; and, if so many reiterated acts of the legislature, by which the crown was entailed on the present family, were now invalidated, the English must be considered not as a free people, who could dispose of their own government, but as slaves, who were implicitly transmitted by succession from one master to another: that the nation was bound to allegiance under the house of Lancaster by moral, no less than by political, duty; and, were they to infringe those numerous oaths of fealty which they had sworn to Henry and his predecessors, they would thenceforth be thrown loose from all principles: that the duke of York himself had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful sovereign, and had thereb., in the most solemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of those claims with which he now dares to disturb the tranquillity of the public: that, even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the deposition of Richard, was perhaps rash and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the mischief; the people, accustomed to a government, which, in the hands of the late king, had been so glorious, and in that of his predecessor so prudent and salutary, would still ascribe a right to it; by causing multiplied disorders, and by an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another; and the house of York itself, if established on the throne, would, on the first opportunity, be exposed to those revolutions which the giddy spirit excited in the people gave so much reason to apprehend: and that, though the present king enjoyed not the shining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might still have a son who should be endowed with them; he was himself eminent for the most inoffensive manners; and, if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain, in the

constitution, no established rule of obedience to any sovereign.

These strong topics, in favour of the house of Lancaster, were opposed by arguments no less convincing on the side of the house of York. The partisans of this latter family asserted that the maintenance of order in the succession of princes, was established only for the purposes of government, and served to prevent those numberless confusions which must ensue if no rule were followed but the uncertain and disputed views of present convenience: that the same maxims which ensured public peace were also salutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the observance of laws, and, if no account were made of the rights of the sovereign, it could less be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; that usurpers would be happy if their present possession of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people if all restraints on violence and ambition were thus removed: that time, indeed, might bestow solidity on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect, and the total extinction of those claimants whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution: that the deposition of Richard II., and the advancement of Henry IV., were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from those very defects in human nature which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: that the subsequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the same usurpation; they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from

making resistance in a garden at Hothfield in Sussex, he was slain: His body was brought to London and there beheaded and quartered; the one placed on

London Bridge, the others sent into divers places in Kent to be set up."—Ed.

A restoration of the true order of succession is judged necessary.

Advantages of restoring the true heir to the crown are insisted upon.

Present possession of royal authority supports the house of Lancaster.

The Lancaster party is greatly strengthened.

present necessity, and implied no renunciation of their pretensions : that the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarized the people to revolutions ; but as the correction of a former abuse, which had encouraged innovations, rebellion, and disobedience : and that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV., on present convenience, even this principle had now entirely gone over to the other side ; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers, or by an imperious queen engaged in foreign and hostile interests, and a prince of mature years, of approved wisdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration, would replace every thing on ancient foundations.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides that the people were extremely divided in their sentiments ; and, though the noblemen of greatest power and influence seem to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party, who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The earl of Northumberland adhered to the government : the earl of Westmoreland, in spite of his connexions with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party ; and the whole north of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry, were great supports of that cause ; as were also Henry Holland duke of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this situation it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent barons would immediately

have flown to arms, and have decided the quarrel by war under the standards of the contending princes. But there were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities. By the gradual progress of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance ; laws were beginning to be respected by them ; and it was requisite, by various pretences, to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of such an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster, ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The duke of York himself, the new claimant, was an enemy to violence, and disposed to trust rather to time and policy than to sanguinary measures for success. The very imbecility of Henry tended to keep the factions in suspense, and make them stand in awe of each other ; it rendered the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow ; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope that, after banishing the king's ministers, and getting possession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without a civil war, to change the succession by parliamentary and legal authority.

The dispositions, which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after the arrival of the duke from Ireland, favoured these expectations of his partisans, and both discovered an unusual boldness in the commons, and were a proof of the general discontents which prevailed. The lower house, without any previous inquiry, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to present a petition against the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank ; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. This was a violent attack, and supported but by few precedents against the ministry ; yet the king durst not openly oppose it : he replied that, except the lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their ser-

Civil war is deferred by many causes.

The duke of York is an enemy to violence.

His friends hope to change the succession by parliamentary authority.

A petition is presented against the duke of Somerset.

The king fears to oppose it.

A bill for
attainting
the late
duke of
Suffolk is
rejected by
Henry.

vice in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time he rejected a bill, which had passed both houses, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in several of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the measures of the court.*

FIRST ARMAMENT OF THE DUKE OF YORK. 1452.

THE duke of York, trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of ten thousand men, with which he marched towards London; demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset. He unexpectedly found the gates of the city shut against him: and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king at the head of a superior army; in which several of Richard's friends, particularly Salisbury and Warwick, appeared; probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of seconding, on occasion, the duke of York's pretensions. A parley ensued; Richard still insisted upon the removal of Somerset, and his submitting to a trial in parliament. The court pretended to comply with his demand, and that nobleman was put in arrest. The duke of York was then persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his

A reform is
claimed by
the duke of
York, and
the removal
of Somerset.

The two
armies meet
in the tent.

* It ought not to be passed over that the Commons complained of the heavy burdens thrown on the nation. In the record preserved in the Rolls of Parliament of a petition praying the king to resume all grants that he had improvidently made, they thus earnestly press their suit. "*Anno 28, Hen. 6.* Prayen the Commons in this youre present Parlement Assembled, to consider that where youre Chancellor of youre Reaume of *England*, youre Tresorer of *England*, and many of the Lords of youre Counseill, by youre high Commandement to youre said Commons, atte youre Parliament holden last atte *Westminster* shewed and declared the State of this youre Reaume, which was, that ye were endetted in CCCLXXII. M. *li.* which is grete and grevouse, and that youre Livelode in yerely value was but V. M. *li.* And for as moche as this V. M. *li.* to youre high and notable Estate, to be kept, and to paie youre said dettes woll noght suffice. Therefore that youre high Estate might be releved.

"And furthermore it was declared, that youre Expenses Necessaries to youre Househould, with-

innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become necessary to lower his pretensions. No violence was attempted against him; he was dismissed, and he retired to his seat at Wigmore on the borders of Wales.

While the duke of York lived in this retreat there happened an incident which, by increasing the public discontents, proved favourable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords, disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry. The earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of eight thousand men, was sent over to support them. Bordeaux opened its gates to him: he made himself master of Fronsac, Castillon, and some other places. Affairs began to wear a favourable aspect. But, as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior, above fourscore years of age, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bordeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king; and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were for ever extinguished.†

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, they expressed great discontent; and they threw all the blame on the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities.

cuten all other ordinarie Charges, came to 24000 *li.* yerely, the which exceedeth every Yere in expenses necessarie over youre Livelode 19000 *li.*

"Also please it your Highness to consider, that the Commons of youre said Reaume, been as well willed to their pore power, to releving of youre Highness, as ever were Peple to ony Kyng, of youre Progenitours, that ever reigned in youre said Reaume of *England*, but youre said Commons been so empoverished, what by taking of Vitaile to youre Household, and other things in youre said Reaume, and noght paid fore, And the Quinszisme by youre said Commons, afore this time so often graunted, and by the Graunt of Tonnage and Poundage, and by the Graunt of the Subsidie upon the Wolles, and other Grauntes to youre Highness, And for lakke of Execution of Justice, that youre pore Commons been full nyght destroued, And if it shuld continue lenger in such grete Charge, it cowde noght in oney wyse be hade or borne."—*Grants and Resumptions.*—Ed.

† See page 486.

The duke
of York re-
tires.

The Gas-
cons main-
fest a dispo-
sition to re-
turn to
their alle-
giance to
the king of
England.

Shrewsbury
is killed in
battle.

Queen Margaret is delivered of a son

While they were in this disposition the queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and, as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and, even when no visible obstacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party. They sent Somerset to the tower, and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly also, created him protector, during pleasure. Men, who thus entrusted sovereign authority to one that had such strong pretensions to the crown, were not surely averse to his taking full possession of it; yet the duke appeared somewhat timid and irresolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He desired that it might be recorded in parliament that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part; and he required that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of parliament. This moderation was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad consequences, and, by giving time to the animosities of faction to rise and ferment, it proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS. 1455.

THE enemies of the duke of York soon found it in their power to make advantage of his excessive caution. Henry being so

far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, they moved him to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the duke, to release Somerset from the tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commission should he submit to the annulling of it, levied an army, but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown; he complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans, in which the Yorkists were superior, and, without suffering any material loss, slew about five thousand of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness; he was only obliged to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.

This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments, which at that time men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit, which was considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities; the nation was kept some time in suspense; the vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irresolute temper. A parliament which was soon after assembled, granted the Yorkists a general indemnity; and they restored the protectorship to the duke,

The king partly recovers.

The duke of York will not resign the authority given to him by parliament.

He gains a battle at St. Albans, Somerset is slain, and king Henry made prisoner.

This the commencement of a protracted contest between the houses of York and Lancaster.

The king is attacked by illness.

The duke of York is appointed lieutenant of the kingdom.

Richard receives it with hesitation.

His moderation proves the source of war.

Oaths of fealty to Henry are renewed.

who in accepting it, persevered in all his precautions : but they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to the majority of his son Edward, who was vested with the usual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. The only decisive act, passed in this parliament, was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V., and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

A resumption of grants ordered by parliament.

It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as those of the duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince's absence, produced her husband before the house of lords ; and, as his state of health permitted him at that time to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This measure, being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party ; and the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority.

The king is declared to be reinstated.

Even the duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the peers, and no disturbance ensued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it were too evident, ever to allow sincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick to attend the king's person. When they were on the road they received intelligence that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated : Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore ;

he duke of York with-
drew.

Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire ; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Albans, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance. Still men of peaceable dispositions, and among the rest Bouchier archbishop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpose with their good offices, in order to prevent that effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. The duke of York and his partisans came thither with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near each other for mutual security.* The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the same precaution. The mayor, at the head of five thousand men, kept a strict watch night and day, and was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them. Terms were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference. An outward reconciliation only was procured ; and, in order to notify this accord to the whole people a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The less real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident that a contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated ; and that much blood must yet be spilt ere the nation could be restored to perfect tranquillity, or enjoy a settled and established government.†

Warwick repairs to Calais.

A general reconciliation is proposed.

One is effected, but only in appearance.

* The following particulars relating to localities may not be unacceptable. "The duke of York having intimated to his confederates his resolution, and given them admonition to provide for prevention of wrong, observantly came, and with four hundred men well appointed, lodged at his house called Bainard's Castle. The earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men, likewise lodged at his house called the Herbor ; the dukes of Exeter (lately released) and Somerset, with eight hundred men, were lodged without Temple Bar. The earl of Northumberland, the lord Egrimond, and the lord Clifford, with fifteen hundred men, were lodged at Holborn ; the earl of Warwick, with six hundred in red jackets, with ragged staves, embroidered behind and before, were

lodged at the Grey Friars in London."—*Daniel*.—ED.

† Such was the ignorance which prevailed that, according to some writers, the coming evil was presaged by startling signs. "The appearance of the Blazing Stars, the strange apparitions in the Elements, the more strange sight of a seeming monstrous Cock to come out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at Portland, to make a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about, and clapping his wings, and beckoning towards the north, the south, and the west, with many prodigies, did but presage the admirable occurrence of things this year following, in which, as if with a general deluge of civil dissention, the whole christian world should be overthrown."—*Daniel*.—ED.

The seeming harmony is liable to be disturbed by the slightest incidents.

Even the smallest accident was sufficient to dissolve the seeming harmony between the parties; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it difficult to restrain their followers. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's; their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat ensued; the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at; he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and arms.

BATTLE OF BLORE-HEATH. 1459.

The earl of Salisbury gains a victory over the Lancastrians under lord Audley.

THE earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces; and a small rivulet with steep banks ran between the armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers by stratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few instances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation: but, when the van of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon them; and, partly by the surprise, partly by the division, of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout. The example of flight was followed by the rest of the army; and Salisbury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow.

Warwick brings a body of veterans from Calais.

The earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occasioned the immediate ruin of the duke of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected. Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the nighttime; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this treachery, that they separated next day without striking a stroke. The duke fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, at-

Their commander, Sir Andrew Trollop, goes over to the king.

tended by many of the other leaders, escaped to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, soon drew to him partisans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the house of York, in England, kept everywhere in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders.

Warwick escapes to Calais.

BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON. 1460.

AFTER meeting with some successes at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York; and, being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people, to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and, his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton; and was soon decided against the royalists by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the enemy during the heat of the action, and spread a consternation through the troops. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie, were killed in the action or pursuit; the slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility; the common people were spared by orders of Warwick and Marche. Henry was again taken prisoner; and, as the innocence and simplicity of his manners, which bore the appearance of sanctity, had procured him the tender regard of the people, the earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanour towards him.

Warwick returns, and enters London in triumph.

He defeats the Lancastrians at Northampton.

Henry again made prisoner, treated with respect.

A PARLIAMENT.

A PARLIAMENT was summoned in the king's name, and met at Westminster, where the duke soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown; and, even in the present crisis, when the

The duke of York appears in parliament.

He mani-
fests great
regard for
law and
liberty.

He lays
claim to the
crown as
of right by de-
scent.

The peers
see his
claim
to consi-
deration.

Some of the
commons
objected
to it in
their deli-
berations.

The whole
question is
de-
cided.

parliament was surrounded by his victorious army, he shewed such a regard to law and liberty as is unusual during the prevalence of a party in any civil dissensions. He advanced towards the throne; and, being met by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him whether he had yet paid his respects to the king; he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title.* He then stood near the throne, and, addressing himself to the house of peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by descent; mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to sovereign power; insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; exhorted them to return into the right path, by doing justice to the lineal successor; and thus pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown intimidated his friends, and encouraged his enemies: the lords remained in suspense, and no one ventured to utter a word. Richard, who had probably expected that the peers would have invited him to place himself on the throne, was much disappointed at their silence; but, desiring them to reflect on what he had proposed to them, he departed the house. The peers took the matter into consideration with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate; they desired the assistance of some considerable members among the commons in their deliberations; they heard, in several successive days, the reasons alleged for the duke of York; they even ventured to propose objections to his claim, founded on former entails of the crown, and on the oaths of fealty sworn to the house of Lancaster; they also observed that, as Richard had all along born the arms of York, not those of Clarence, he could not claim as successor to the latter family; and after receiving answers to these objections, derived from the violence and power by which the house of Lancaster supported their present possession of the crown, they proceeded to give a

decision. Their sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but, in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown without dispute or controversy during the course of thirty-eight years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with Richard; that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one should swear to maintain his succession, and it should be treason to attempt his life; and that all former settlements of the crown, in this and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded. The duke acquiesced in this decision; Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it; and the act passed with the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks of a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the commons a settlement more consistent and uniform: but, as many, if not all the members of the upper house, had received grants, concessions, or dignities, during the last sixty years, when the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government, they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too sudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and, thus temporising between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to arise from the genius and spirit of queen Margaret, sought a pretence for banishing her the kingdom: he sent her, in the king's name, a summons to come immediately to Lon-

The title of
the duke to
the crown was
decided on.

Henry is
to possess it
for life.

Richard
approves of
the decision
of parlia-
ment.

The tem-
porising
course pur-
sued leaves
the throne
insecure.

The duke
of York
mediates
the banish-
ment of the
queen.

* The duke had laid his hand on the cloth of gold, which covered the throne, but did not seat himself on it. When asked if he had waited on

Henry, he did not scruple to reply that it was rather Henry's place to wait upon him.—Ed.

The queen actively defends the rights of her family.

She appeals to the northern barons.

The queen raises an army of twenty thousand men.

The duke of York hastens to meet the queen.

don; intending, in case of her disobedience, to proceed to extremities against her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton she fled with her infant son to Durham, thence to Scotland; but, soon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation and address, (qualities in which she excelled) her caresses, her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her: the admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition. The nobility of that quarter were moved by indignation to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown; and, that they might allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the provinces on the other side of the Trent. By these means the queen had collected an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD: DEATH OF YORK.

THE duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither, with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself much outnumbered by the enemy. He threw himself into Sandal castle, which was situated in the neighbourhood; and he was advised by the earl of Salisbury, and other prudent counsellors, to remain in that fortress till his son, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance. But the duke, though deficient in political

courage, possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree; and thought that he should be for ever disgraced if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was sufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain. The duke was killed in the action; and, as his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title.* His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brought to lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Albans, murdered,† in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable. The earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law at Pomfret. There fell near three thousand Yorkists in this battle. The duke himself was justly lamented; a prince who merited a better fate, and whose errors proceeded entirely from such qualities as render him the more an object of esteem. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS. 1461.

THE queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller

capitated. His head was presented on a lance in triumph to the queen.—ED.

† Harmless Rutland, not above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a sacrifice for his father's transgressions; who, kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the lord Clifford.—*Baker*.—ED.

He offers battle to the Lancastrians.

He is defeated and slain.

The earl of Rutland is murdered by lord Clifford.

Three thousand Yorkists fall in the battle of Wakefield.

* According to John Wethamstede he was not so fortunate as to die in battle; but was taken prisoner, covered with wounds, and in that condition dragged to an anthill and mocked by being crowned with something in the form of a diadem, made of knotted grass. He was then heartlessly insulted with ironical shouts of "Hail, king, without a kingdom;" "Hail, prince, without a people;" and at length de-

division, under Jasper Tudor earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men; his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight: but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice once begun, was continued by both parties from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation.

SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

MARGARET compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Albans. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many instances in those civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About two thousand three hundred of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was sure to be almost equally a prisoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by the one than the other in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been intrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry: but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner. Sir Thomas Kiriell, a brave warrior, who had signalized himself in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

EDWARD IV. ASSUMES THE CROWN.

THE queen made no great advantage of this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other side; and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat to the north. Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favour, that he determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels. But, as a national consent, or the appearance of it, still seemed, notwithstanding his plausible title, requisite, and as the assembling of a parliament might occasion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniences, he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then asked whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for king; they unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York: they expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, and magistrates and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was on the subsequent day proclaimed in London by the title of Edward IV.

The queen gains little by her victory.

The duke of York enters London.

Edward claims the crown.

He assembles his army in St. John's Fields.

They and the populace elect him to be king, and he is proclaimed in form.

Henry's
reign ends.

To Henry
the loss of
power is
of little im-
portance.

His reign
presents
few public
violations of
the law.

The elec-
tion of
members of
parliament
in counties
is regulated
by law in
Henry's
time.

The quali-
fication of an
elector
made by law
was nearly
twenty
pounds a
year of
our present
money.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI; a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who provided he personally met with good usage, was equally easy, as he was equally enslaved, in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities.* There remain no proofs on record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the usual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THE most remarkable law, which passed in this reign, was that for the due election of members of parliament in counties. After the fall of the feudal system the distinction of tenures was in some measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry IV. which gave right to such a multitude of electors as was the occasion of great disorder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were enacted limiting the electors to such as possessed forty shillings a year in land, free from all burdens within the county. This sum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our present money; and it were to be wished that the spirit, as well as letter of this law, had been maintained.

The preamble of the statute is remark-

* His disposition is represented to have been most amiable; his morals positively exemplary. On one occasion he reprehended some ladies for being too negligently dressed. Moreover, he was "so pitiful, that when he saw the quarters of a traitor over Cripplegate, he caused them to be taken down; saying 'I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled

able. 'Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and excessive numbers of people, many of them of small substance and value, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires; whereby manslaughters, riots, batteries, and divisions, among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf, &c.' We may learn from these expressions what an important matter the election of a member of parliament was now become in England; that assembly was beginning in this period to assume great authority. The commons had it much in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and if they failed of success in this particular, it proceeded less from any exorbitant power of the crown than from the licentious spirit of the aristocracy, and perhaps from their own ignorance of the advantages resulting from a regular administration of justice.

When the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, fled the kingdom upon the desertion of their troops a parliament was summoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This parliament seems to have been very irregularly constituted, and scarcely deserves the name; insomuch that an act passed in it 'that all such knights of any county as were returned by virtue of the king's letters, without any other election, should be valid, and that no sheriff should, for returning them, incur the penalty of the statute of Henry IV.' All the acts of that parliament were afterwards reversed, 'because it was unlawfully summoned, and the knights and barons not duly chosen.'

The parliaments in this reign, instead of relaxing their vigilance against the usurpations of the court of Rome, endeavoured to enforce the former statutes enacted for

for my sake.' So free from swearing that he never used other oath than 'forsooth,' and 'verily.' So patient, that to one who struck him when he was taken prisoner, he only said; 'Forsooth, you wrong yourself more than me, to strike the Lord's anointed.' So devout, that on principal holidays he used to wear sackcloth next his skin.—*Baker.*—*Ed.*"

The preamble of the law proves the growing importance of the commons.

A parliament is irregularly constituted at Coventry.

The usurpations of the court of Rome are resisted.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD IV.

1461.—1483.

BATTLE OF TOUTON.—HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND.—A PARLIAMENT.—BATTLE OF HEXHAM.—HENRY TAKEN PRISONER, AND CONFINED IN THE TOWER.—KING'S MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY ELIZABETH GRAY.—WARWICK DISGUSTED.—ALLIANCE WITH BURGUNDY.—INSURRECTION: BATTLE OF BANBURY.—WARWICK AND CLARENCE BANISHED.—WARWICK AND CLARENCE RETURN.—EDWARD IV. EXPELLED.—HENRY VI. RESTORED.—EDWARD IV. RETURNS.—BATTLE OF BARNET, AND DEATH OF WARWICK.—BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.—MURDER OF PRINCE EDWARD, AND DEATH OF HENRY VI.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE OF PECQUIGNI.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion, which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. A tradesman of London, who kept a shop

faith; or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a general council shall determine: also that he had held, that spiritual persons ought to have no temporal possessions; and that personal tythes were not due by God's law. These points he openly renounced, but was, notwithstanding, deprived of his bishopric; only a certain pension was assigned him to live on, in an abbey, where, soon after, he died.—*Baker.*—ED.

that purpose. The commons petitioned that no foreigner should be capable of any church preferment, and that the patron might be allowed to present anew upon the non-residence of any incumbent: but the king eluded these petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a severe letter against the statute of provisors; which he calls an abominable law, that would infallibly damn every one who observed it. The cardinal of Winchester was legate; and, as he was also a kind of prime minister, and immensely rich from the profits of his clerical dignities, the parliament became jealous lest he should extend the papal power; and they protested that the cardinal should absent himself in all affairs and councils of the king, whenever the pope or see of Rome was touched upon.*

Permission was given by parliament to export corn when it was at low prices; wheat at six shillings and eight pence a quarter, money of that age; barley at three shillings and fourpence. It appears from these prices that corn still remained at near half its present value, though other commodities were much cheaper. The inland commerce of corn was also opened in the eighteenth of the king, by allowing any collector of the customs to grant a license for carrying it from one county to another. The same year a kind of navigation act was proposed with regard to all places within the Straits; but the king rejected it.

The first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security occurs in this reign. The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted; a practice the more likely to become pernicious the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation.

* In the six and thirtieth year of this king, Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, who had laboured many years in translating the Holy Scriptures into English, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held heretical, which at last, openly, at Paul's Cross, he revoked: that he had held, there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell; also no necessity to believe in the communion of saints, or that the universal church cannot err in matters of

Edward's character distinguished for war and devastation.

He was energetic, but very cruel.

The commons petition against foreign churchmen.

Parliament is said to be the extension of papal power.

Commerce in corn was encouraged.

There is a note in the margin of the original text, which is not in the copy.

A tradesman is executed for a jest.

The red and white roses are chosen as symbols of party.

The queen assembles a large army.

The Yorkists are repulsed.

Warwick stabs his horse, and swears to share the fate of the meanest soldier.

at the sign of the Crown, having said that he would make his son heir to the Crown; this harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's assumed title, and he was condemned and executed for the offence. Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which ensued. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party: the partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction, those of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

The license, in which queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops, infused great terror and aversion into the city of London, and all the southern parts of the kingdom; and, as she there expected an obstinate resistance, she had prudently retired northwards. The same license, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her standard; and she was able, in a few days, to assemble an army, sixty thousand strong, in Yorkshire. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened, with an army of forty thousand men, to check her progress; and, when they reached Pomfret, they dispatched a body of troops, under the command of lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him; but was not able to maintain it against lord Clifford, who attacked him with superior numbers. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter, and lord Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action. The earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army; and kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier. And a pro-

clamation was issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle. Lord Falconberg was sent to recover the post which had been lost: he passed the river some miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, revenged the former disaster by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader.

BATTLE OF TOUTON. 1461.

THE hostile armies met at Touton; and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge there happened a great fall of snow, which, driving full in the faces of their enemies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they were gotten within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the dismayed Lancastrians. The bow, however, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter. The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great bloodshed and confusion, and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit: among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward, and was soon after beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Salisbury were taken down, and buried with their bodies.

The Yorkists revenge their late discomfiture, and lord Clifford is killed.

A fall of snow favours the Yorkists in battle.

Edward orders no quarter to be given to the defeated Lancastrians.

The earl of Devonshire is beheaded.

HENRY ESCAPES INTO SCOTLAND.

HENRY and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's sister, had taken part with the Lancastrians; and by Henry duke of Somerset, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Tooton, and who was the son of that nobleman killed in the first battle of St. Albans.

Notwithstanding the great animosity which prevailed, Scotland had never exerted itself with vigour to take advantage, either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I., more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his son and successor James II., and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority, visibly acquired by France, rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interpose in her defence. But, when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and became absolutely incurable but by the total extinction of one party, James, now risen to man's estate, was tempted to seize the opportunity, and he endeavoured to recover those places which the English had formerly conquered from his ancestors. He laid siege to the castle of Roxborough in 1460, and had provided himself with a small train of artillery for that enterprise: but his cannon was so ill framed, that one of them burst as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His son and successor, James III., was also a minor on his accession; the usual distractions ensued; the queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency; the family of Douglas opposed her pretensions; and queen Margaret, when she fled into Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those by whom she had been expelled. Though she pleaded

the connexions between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the earl of Somerset, she could engage the Scottish council to go no farther than to express their good wishes in her favour; but, on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of king James, she found a better reception; and the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne. But, as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen, but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government.

A PARLIAMENT.

ON the meeting of this assembly Edward found the good effects of his vigorous measure in assuming the crown, as well as of his victory at Tooton. The parliament recognised the title of Edward, by hereditary descent, through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation and intrusion of the house of Lancaster, particularly that of the earl of Derby, otherwise called Henry IV. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns; they reinstated the king in all the possessions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended deposition of Richard II.; and, though they confirmed judicial deeds and the decrees of inferior courts, they reversed all attainders passed in any pretended parliament: particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Salisbury and Gloucester, and of lord Lumley, who had been punished for adhering to Richard II.

Many of these votes were the result of the usual violence of party; the common sense of mankind, in more peaceable times, repealed them; and the statutes of the

Queen Margaret seeks aid from Scotland.

She offers her son in marriage to the sister of James III.

Edward returns to London.

The parliament recognise him as the rightful king.

The grants and attainders of former reigns are annulled and reversed.

The statutes of the house of Lancaster are held to be valid.

The parliament disregards equity and justice.

Acts of attainder passed against noblemen who recognised with Edward a Lancastrian prince.

Trial and execution take place by martial law.

A sudden revolution leaves roots of discontent.

house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The parliament, however, in subverting such deep foundations, had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis; but, in their subsequent measures, they were more guided by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. They passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and queen Margaret, and their infant son prince Edward: the same act was extended to the dukes of Somerset and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke, and Wilts; to the viscount Beaumont; the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, and Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmond Mountfort, John Heron, and many persons of distinction. The parliament vested the estates of all these attainted persons in the crown; though their sole crime was the adhering to a prince whom every individual of the parliament had long recognised, and whom that very king himself, who was now seated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful sovereign.

The necessity of supporting the government established, will more fully justify some other acts of violence, though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John, earl of Oxford, and his son Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, and were condemned and executed. Sir William Tyrrel. Sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the same arbitrary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil government was a high strain of prerogative.* It was impossible but such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or, in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them.

* See note X at the end of the volume.

The latter was more suitable to the genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

BATTLE OF HEXHAM. 1464.

BUT the new establishment still seemed precarious; not only from the domestic discontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had succeeded to his father Charles in 1460; and was led, from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing genius of this prince was here checked by itself; having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vassals, he had excited such an opposition at home as prevented him from making all the advantage which the opportunity afforded of the dissensions among the English. He sent, however, a small body to Henry's assistance under Varenne, seneschal of Normandy; who landed in Northumberland, and got possession of the castle of Alnwick. But, as the indefatigable Margaret went in person to France, where she solicited larger supplies, and promised Lewis to deliver up Calais if her family should by his means be restored to the throne of England, he was induced to send along with her a body of two thousand men at arms, which enabled her to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster, she received a check at Hedgley-moor from lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the east marches between Scotland and England. Montague was so encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham; and he obtained a complete victory. The duke of Somerset, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary justice was in like

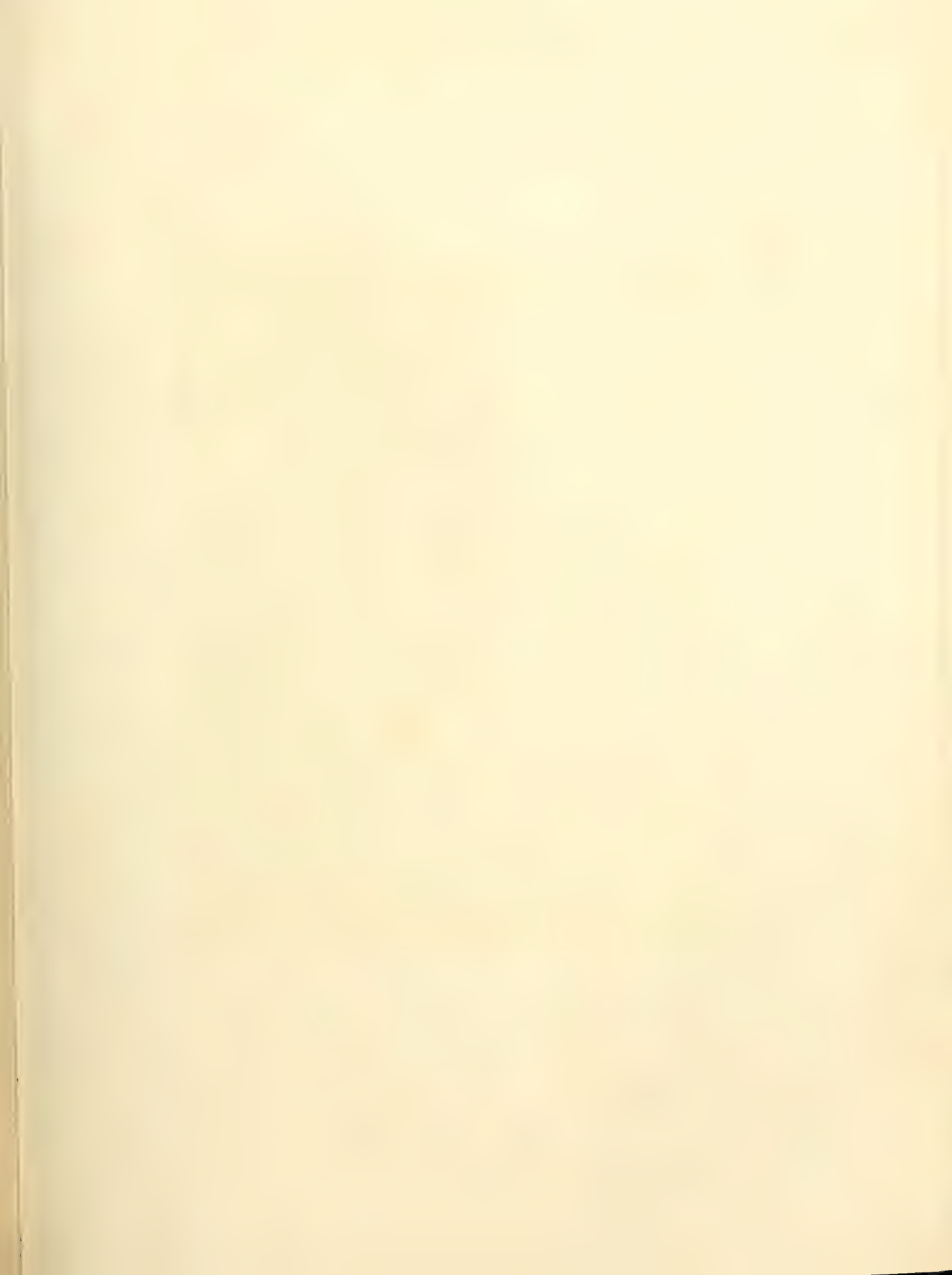
Lewis XI. attempts to assist Henry.

He is checked by his own intriguing spirit.

Queen Margaret promises Calais as the price of effectual aid.

Her troops are routed at Hedgley-moor.

The Lancastrians are defeated at Hexham.





manner executed at Newcastle on Sir Humphrey Nevil and several other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party; a conduct which received but too plausible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancastrians.

HENRY TAKEN AND CONFINED IN THE TOWER.

THE fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and, while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape, with her son, into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, over-spent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and, finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his generosity. She advanced towards him; and, presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, 'Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son.' The man was struck with the singularity of the event; was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and vowed, not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate. Some of his friends conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed a twelvemonth; but he was at

last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the tower. The safety of his person was owing less to the generosity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government; whose title by blood, being now recognised by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached. In this prosperous situation the king delivered himself up, without control, to those pleasures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper, invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were less attended to than the dissipation of amusement or the allurements of passion. The cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward was extremely devoted to the softer passions, which, without mitigating his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him. During the present interval of peace he lived in the most familiar and sociable manner with his subjects, particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which, even unassisted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This course of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes. But, as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within strict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a snare, which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

KING'S MARRIAGE WITH LADY ELIZABETH GRAY.

JACQUELINE of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, so far sacrificed her ambition to love, that she espoused, in second marriage, Sir Richard Woodeville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and,

King Henry
is con-
fined in the
Tower.

Edward in-
dulges in
dissipation.

The softer
passions
have great
influence
over him.

They lead
him into a
snare.

Jacqueline
of Luxem-
bourg mar-
ries Sir
Richard
Woodeville.

Elizabeth Woodville is remarkable for grace and beauty.

As the widow of a Lancastrian she implores Edward's compassion.

The king becomes enamoured of her.

Edward marries Lady Elizabeth Gray

among the rest, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had children; and, her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father at his seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, in order to pay a visit to the duchess of Bedford; and, as the occasion seemed favourable for obtaining some grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herself at his feet, and with many tears entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward; love stole insensibly into his heart under the guise of compassion; and her sorrow, so becoming a virtuous matron, made his esteem and regard quickly correspond to his affection. He raised her from the ground with assurances of favour; he found his passion increase every moment by the conversation of the amiable object; and he was soon reduced, in his turn, to the posture and style of a suppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and all the importunities of Edward proved fruitless against her virtue. His passion, increased by his veneration for such honourable sentiments carried him beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person and dignity of character seemed so well to entitle her to both. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton* The

* "King Edward, though he knew no superior upon the earth, he obeys the summons of love: and upon the first day of May marries the said lady Gray at Grafton; the first of our kings since the conquest that married his subject. At which marriage none was present but the duchess of Bedford, the priest, two gentlewomen, and a young man to help the priest at mass. The year after, with great solemnity, she was crowned queen at Westminster. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which king Edward had with his mother, who sought to cross the

secret was carefully kept for some time; no one suspected that so libertine a prince could sacrifice so much to a romantic passion; and there were in particular strong reasons, which at that time rendered this step to the highest degree dangerous and imprudent.

WARWICK DISGUSTED.

THE king, desirous to secure his throne as well by the prospect of issue as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, ensure him the friendship of that power. The earl of Warwick had been dispatched to Paris; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and bringing over the princess to England. But, when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage. The influence of passion over so young a man as Edward might have served as an excuse for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error: but shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwick; and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court full of the same ill-humour and discontent which he brought to it.

Every incident now tended to widen the breach between the king and this powerful subject. The queen, who lost not her influence by marriage, was equally solicitous to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred; and to exclude

match. 'When you say (saith he) that she is a widow, and hath already children, by God's blessed lady, I am a batchelor, and have some too; and so each of us hath a proof that neither of us is like to be barren: and as for your objection of bigamy, (for his mother had charged him with being contracted to the lady Elizabeth Lucy) let the bishop (saith he) lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for, I understand, it is forbidden a priest, but I never wist it was forbidden a prince.'—*Baker.*—ED.

The marriage is dangerous at this moment.

Edward had wished to marry Bona, the sister of the queen of France.

A treaty of marriage with her is concluded by the earl of Warwick.

The earl is incensed and disgusted at Edward's conduct.

The queen heaps benefits on her friends.



those of the earl, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy. Her father was created earl of Rivers; he was made treasurer in the room of lord Mountjoy; he was invested in the office of constable for life, and his son received the survivance of that high dignity. The same young nobleman was married to the only daughter of lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catharine, the queen's sister, was married to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown; Mary, another of her sisters, espoused William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon; Ann, a third sister, was given in marriage to the son and heir of Gray lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent. The daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, who was also the king's niece, was contracted to Sir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's sons by her former husband; and, as lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his son and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was deemed an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.

The earl of Warwick could not suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he thought he had merited. Though he had received so many grants from the crown, that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his patrimonial estate, to eighty thousand crowns a year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines, his ambitious spirit was still dissatisfied, so long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence. Edward also, jealous of that power which had supported him, was well pleased to raise up rivals in credit to the earl of Warwick; and he justified, by this political view, his extreme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the Woodvilles, were inclined to take part with Warwick's discontent. And, as Edward obtained from parliament a general resumption of all grants which he had made since his accession, and which had extremely impoverished the crown, this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favour of the earl of

Warwick, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and disgusted many, even zealous partisans of the family of York.

But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party was George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less injured than the other grandees by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and, as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing while theirs were fully established, this neglect inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents. The favourable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, and co-heir of his immense fortunes; a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foresee the extremities to which they might be carried; and civil convulsions and disorders were likely to be soon the result of these intrigues and confederacies.

ALLIANCE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 1466.

WHILE this cloud was gathering at home Edward endeavoured to secure himself against his factious nobility by entering into foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI., the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vassals; and they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip duke of Burgundy was now dead: his rich and extensive dominions were devolved to Charles his only son, whose martial disposition acquired him the surname of 'Bold,' and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with a more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more a

Edward's brother, the duke of Clarence, deemed it his duty to oppose the queen.

He married Warwick's daughter.

A formidable combination is formed against the government.

Edward seeks foreign alliances.

A combination is formed against Lewis.

The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick declare against the government.

They retreat to Calais,

But are not permitted to land there.

Vaucler, the governor, secretly apologizes to Warwick.

Warwick appears satisfied with Vaucler.

raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they retired northwards into Lancashire, where they expected to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister; but, as that nobleman refused all concurrence with them, and as lord Montague also remained quiet in Yorkshire, they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked, and made sail towards Calais.*

The deputy governor, whom Warwick had left at Calais, was one Vaucler, a Gascon, who, seeing the earl return in this miserable condition, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the duchess of Clarence to land, though a few days before she had been delivered on shipboard of a son, and was at that time extremely disordered by sickness. With difficulty he would allow a few flagons of wine to be carried to the ship for the use of the ladies. But, as he was a man of sagacity, and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was subject, he secretly apologized to Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He said that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand, and that of the duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should become safe and prudent, to restore Calais to its ancient master. It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with this apology, or suspected a double infidelity in Vaucler; but he feigned to be entirely

convinced by him; and, having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made sail.

The king of France, uneasy at the close conjunction between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received with the greatest demonstrations of regard the unfortunate Warwick, with whom he had formerly maintained a secret correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and re-establishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that house and the earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret; he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all their most zealous partisans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that such inveterate rancour could never admit of any reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name when he took up arms against Edward; and he rather endeavoured to prevail by means of his own adherents, than revive a party which he sincerely hated. But his present distresses, and the entreaties of Lewis, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret, sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was from common interest soon concluded between them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse Henry's cause, and endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy less natural, or

Warwick is courteously received by the king of France.

The greatest animosity subsists between the house of Lancaster and the earl of Warwick.

He and queen Margaret consent to an accommodation.

* The king offered by proclamation a reward of £1000 or £1000 a year in land to any that would

seize them: whence we may learn that land was at that time sold for about ten years' purchase.

more evidently the work of necessity ; but Warwick hoped that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political views, and that, at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would suffice to give him security, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this purpose he sent over a lady of great sagacity and address, who belonged to the train of the duchess of Clarence, and who, under colour of attending her mistress, was empowered to negotiate with the duke. She represented to Clarence that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had thrown himself entirely in the power of his most inveterate enemies ; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had suffered from the other were now passed all forgiveness, that, even if the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents would prevent a sincere coalition of parties, and that a prince who deserted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one and twenty years of age, and seems to have possessed but a slender capacity, yet could he easily see the force of these reasons ; and upon the promise of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to desert the earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negotiation Warwick was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward ; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, resolved, on his side to watch a

favourable opportunity for committing his perfidy, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

After these mutual snares were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced apace. Lewis prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. The duke of Burgundy, enraged at that nobleman for his seizure of the Flemish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the Channel ; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed. But Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger ; he made no suitable preparations against the earl of Warwick ; he even said that the duke might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick set foot on English ground. A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all sound reason and reflection.

WARWICK AND CLARENCE RETURN.

THE event soon happened of which Edward seemed so desirous. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwick. That nobleman seized the opportunity, and, setting sail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops ; while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick.

EDWARD IV. EXPELLED.

THE scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwick, the zeal of the

Most of the
people were
sensible of his
conduct.

King Edward is
warned by
the duke of
Burgundy
against
Warwick,
but in vain.

Warwick and the
duke of
Clarence
land at
Dartmouth.

Warwick is
extremely
popular.

Multitudes flock to Warwick's standard.

The marquis of Montague acts treacherously by Edward.

The king escapes with difficulty.

Warwick in eleven days becomes master of the kingdom.

Edward reaches Holland in great poverty.

Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had here an opportunity of striking the first blow. He communicated the design to his adherents, who promised him their concurrence. They took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king was alarmed at the noise, and, starting from bed, heard the cry of war usually employed by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his escape by speedy flight from an army where he had so many concealed enemies. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynne in Norfolk where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked. And after this manner the earl of Warwick, in eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Easterlings, or Hanse-towns, were then at war both with France and England; and some ships of these people, hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, and gave chase to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his escape into the port of Alcaer in Holland. He had fled from England with such precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him: and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over, was a robe lined with sables; promising him an ample recompense if fortune should ever become more propitious to him.

It is not likely that Edward could

be very fond of presenting himself in this lamentable plight before the duke of Burgundy; and that, having so suddenly after his mighty vaunts, lost all footing in his own kingdom, he could not be insensible to the ridicule which must attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke was no less embarrassed how he should receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever borne a greater affection to the house of Lancaster than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foresaw that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance against him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this reason, when the first rumour of that event reached him, attended with the circumstance of Edward's death, he seemed rather pleased with the catastrophe; and it was no agreeable disappointment to find that he must either undergo the burden of supporting an exiled prince, or the dishonour of abandoning so near a relation. He began already to say that his connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and it was indifferent to him, whether the name of Edward, or that of Henry, were employed in the articles of treaty. These sentiments were continually strengthened by the subsequent events. Vaucer, the deputy governor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a pension from the duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no sooner saw his old master Warwick reinstated in authority than he declared for him, and with great demonstrations of zeal and attachment put the whole garrison in his livery. And the intelligence, which the duke received every day from England, seemed to promise an entire and full settlement in the family of Lancaster.

He seeks the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy is prepared to receive Edward coldly.

Vaucer, governor of Calais, declares for Warwick.

HENRY VI. RESTORED.

IMMEDIATELY after Edward's flight had left the kingdom at Warwick's disposal, that nobleman hastened to London; and, taking Henry from the tower, into which

Warwick hastens to London.

King Henry was taken from his prison in the Tower to meet his parliament

Henry was taken from his prison in the Tower to meet his parliament

The late attainders were reversed

John of the Lancastrians

He was an accomplished scholar, but deficient in humanity

he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and, as this assembly could pretend to no liberty while surrounded by such enraged and insolent victors, governed by such an impetuous spirit as Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here fully executed; Henry was recognized as lawful king; but, his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and, in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business also of reversals went on without opposition; every statute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an usurper; he and his adherents were attainted, and in particular Richard duke of Gloucester, his younger brother; all the attainders of the Lancastrians, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed; and every one was restored who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the cause of Henry.

The ruling party were more sparing in their executions than usual. The only victim of distinction was John Tiptot, earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and schoolmasters, for whom indeed the spurious erudition that prevailed was best fitted, had been struck with the first rays of true science, which began to penetrate from the south, and had been zealous to propagate the love of letters among his countrymen. It is pretended that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman himself the effect which so naturally attends it, of harmonizing the temper and softening the heart; and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him by the severities which he exercised upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He endeavoured to conceal himself

after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned, and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists either fled beyond sea, or took shelter in sanctuaries. In London alone it is computed that no less than two thousand persons saved themselves in this manner; and, among the rest, Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a son, called by his father's name.

Queen Margaret, the rival queen, had not yet appeared in England; but, on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with prince Edward for her journey. All the banished Lancastrians flocked to her; and, among the rest, the duke of Somerset, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the confiscure of his friends; and, as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us, that he himself saw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till, being discovered by Philip duke of Burgundy, they had small pensions allotted them, and were living in silence and obscurity, when the success of their party called them from their retreat. But both Somerset and Margaret were detained by contrary winds from reaching England, till a new revolution in that kingdom, no less sudden and surprising than the former, threw them into greater misery than that from which they had just emerged.

Though the duke of Burgundy, by neglecting Edward, and paying court to the established government, had endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the Lancastrians, he found that he had not succeeded; and the connexions between the king of France and the earl of Warwick still held him in great anxiety. This nobleman, too hastily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had sent over to Calais a body of four thousand men, who made inroads into the Low Countries; and the duke of Burgundy saw himself in danger

The earl of Worcester is executed

The queen of Edward is delivered of a son, called by his father's name

Queen Margaret and the duke of Somerset prepare to return to England

Contrary winds delay their arrival till after a new revolution

Warwick threatens the duke of Burgundy

The duke of Burgundy assists Edward with a small squadron.

He issues a proclamation forbidding his subjects to aid Edward

Edward lands in Yorkshire.

His friends assemble in great numbers.

of being overwhelmed by the united arms of England and of France; he resolved, therefore, to grant some assistance to his brother-in-law, but in such a covert manner as should give the least offence possible to the English government. He equipped four large vessels, in the name of some private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand; and, causing fourteen ships to be secretly hired from the Easterlings, he delivered this small squadron to Edward, who, receiving also a sum of money from the duke, immediately set sail for England. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure than he issued a proclamation, inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance; an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwick, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so disposed, for maintaining friendship with the duke of Burgundy.

EDWARD IV. RETURNS. 1471.

EDWARD, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not two thousand men, on the coast of Norfolk; but, being there repulsed, he sailed northwards, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York. His partisans flocked to his standard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. The marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties; but, from some mysterious reasons which no historian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an insurrection which he ought

* We have here but a sorry picture of the moral virtue which prevailed in those days. Faithless wives, it would seem, endeavoured to make their husbands ungrateful, and forgetful of the hospitality which they had enjoyed at the earl of Warwick's expense. Yet such was his unsparing liberality, that Stowe tells

to have esteemed so formidable. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. Had he there been refused admittance, he was totally undone: but there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, issuing from their sanctuaries, were active in his cause; many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money saw no other chance for their payment but his restoration; the city dames, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends * in his favour; and, above all, the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had secretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him, and he facilitated Edward's admission into London. The most likely cause which can be assigned for those multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itself, is the spirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.

BATTLE OF BARNET, AND DEATH OF WARWICK.

It appears not that Warwick, during his short administration, which had continued only six months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywise deserved to lose that general favour with which he had so lately overwhelmed Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the

Warwick raises an army to oppose Edward, but fails to meet him.

The citizens of London and their ladies rejoice in Edward's return.

The archbishop of York facilitates Edward's admission into the city.

Warwick unexpectedly loses popularity.

us, "In his house six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he who had any acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much boiled and roast as he might carry on a long dagger."—ED.

defensive, was now the aggressor: and, having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an insurrection, possessed many advantages above his enemy: every one, who had been disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warwick's elevation, either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman; and each malcontent, from whatever cause, proved an accession to Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of Queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians, and have brought a great accession to Warwick's forces: but this very consideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action than to share the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who he foresaw would, in case of success, claim the chief merit in the enterprise. But, while his jealousy was all directed towards that side, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends who lay the nearest to his bosom. His brother Montague, who had lately temporized, seems now to have remained sincerely attached to the interests of his family: but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwick in all the honours and patrimony of the house of York, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family; he deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of twelve thousand men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and, as he

rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obstinacy on both sides; the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valour; and the victory remained long undecided. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognizance was a sun, that of Warwick a star with rays; and, the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the earl of Oxford, who fought on the side of the Lancastrians, was by mistake attacked by his friends, and chased off the field of battle. Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them, and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement; his brother underwent the same fate;* and, as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great slaughter was made in the pursuit. There fell about fifteen hundred on the side of the victors.

BATTLE OF TEUKESBURY.

THE same day on which this decisive battle was fought queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When this princess received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage quite left her; and she immediately foresaw all the dismal consequences of this calamity. At first she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu; but, being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke and Courtney earl of Devonshire, of the lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her still to

* In those days, for a variety of reasons, it was not uncommon to expose the bodies of the dead to the public gaze, either to satisfy the people that the deceased had not been unfairly dismissed from life, or to prove beyond all doubt that the enemy they feared, or that the adventurer they were disposed to follow, was no longer alive. It was deemed expedient to do this in the case of the "king-maker;" and

the corpse of Warwick, and that of his brother Montague, were accordingly sent to London, where for three or four days they were to be seen naked at St. Paul's. When it was thought their fate had gained sufficient publicity, they were removed to Bisham Priory in Berkshire, to be buried with their ancestors.—Ed.

The queen resumes her former courage.

hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by Edward at Teukisbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated; the earl of Devonshire and lord Wenlock were killed in the field; the duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded; about three thousand of their side fell in battle; and the army was entirely dispersed.

The Lancastrians are defeated at Teukisbury.

MURDER OF PRINCE EDWARD, AND DEATH OF HENRY.

Queen Margaret and her son are brought prisoners to Edward.

QUEEN Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions. The young prince, more mindful of his

high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers.* Margaret was thrown into the tower. King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Teukisbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain.† It was generally believed that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands; but the universal odium, which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and this circumstance, joined to the general manners of this age, gave a natural ground of suspicion; which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of his body to public view.

The young prince is murdered.

Gloucester is believed to be the assassin.

King Henry dies under suspicious circumstances.

* "The prince being bold of stomacke, and of a good courage, answered saynge, To recover my father's kyngedome and enheri age, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineally divolluted. At which wordes king Edward sayd nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him (or, as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whome incontinent, they that stode about, which wer George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marquess Dorset, and William lord Hastynges, sodainly murdered, and pitiously manguelled. The bitternesse of wiche murder, some of the actors after in their latter daies tasted and assayed by the very rod of justyce and punishment of God."—*Hall*.—Ed.

There are reasons for thinking this account of the murder of the prince cannot be true. Recent publications by the Camden Society Miss Halsted thinks "may truly be said to invalidate, if not absolutely refute, the charge of Gloucester's participation in the murder of the young prince." The lady proceeds, "Fleetwood's Chronicle simply states that Edward, called prince, was taken fleeing to the townwards, and slain in the field," and "There was also slain Thomas the earl of Devon, with many others." Warkworth, the Lancastrian authority, says, "and there was slain in the field prince Edward, who cried for succour to his brother-in-law the duke of Clarence." This latter testimony adds great weight to the assertion of the York chronicler, because not only do both use precisely the same expression "slain in the field," but the latter writer, when adding the sentence "crying for help to Clarence," couples

with the name of the Lancastrian prince, as does the other writer also that of Courtney earl of Devon, who is well known to have been, in its most literal sense, "slain in the battle field." But the circumstance that speaks most forcibly for the truth of the above statements is, that though emanating from the pen of men who were rivals, opposed to each other from the respective parties which they espoused, yet is their account, nevertheless, substantiated by the chronicler of Croyland, a man of education, high in the church, learned in the law, and, without any exception, the most impartial and able authority of the times. He says, "At last king Edward gained a signal victory; there being slain on the part of the queen, as well in the field as afterwards by the revengeful hands of certain persons, the prince Edward, the only son of king Henry, the defeated duke of Somerset, the earl of Devon, and other lords universally well remembered."—Ed.

† In Fleetwood's Chronicle, the event is mentioned as having taken place in the natural way, at least, as having been caused by "despite, ire, and indignation" at the disastrous news which reached him. His death, however, which took place on Edward's arrival in London, renders it probable that by his orders the royal captive was dispatched; and, though it is plausibly argued that Richard would hardly have taken upon himself such a task, it may still be asked, zealously attached, as he appears to have been, to the interests of his brother, who was so likely to be the chosen instrument of Edward's policy or revenge?

—Ed.

That precaution served only to recal many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest the comparison.*

The hopes of the house of Lancaster seem extinguished.

The earl of Pembroke is into Brittany with the young earl Richmond.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of the family was dead; almost every great leader of the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold; the earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Tewkesbury, and fled into Brittany with his nephew the young earl of Richmond. The bastard of Falconberg, who had levied some forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's absence, was repulsed; his men deserted him; he was taken prisoner, and immediately executed; and, peace being now fully restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognised his legal authority.

Edward, from earlier, gives himself up to pleasure.

But this prince, who had been so firm, and active, and intrepid, during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a prosperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself, as before, to pleasure. He recovered, however, by this course of life, and by his easy familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had lost by the repeated cruelties exercised upon his enemies; and the example also of his jovial festivity served to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. The memory of past calamities served only to impress the people with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing such direful scenes.

projects new conquests.

But, while the king was thus indulging in pleasure, he was roused from his lethargy by a prospect of foreign conquests. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile, the political interests of their states

maintained still a close connexion; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to invade the French territories; Charles promised to join him with all his forces; the king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champagne and some other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. They were the more encouraged to hope for success from this league, as the count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of St. Quintin and other towns on the Somme, had secretly promised to join them: and there were also hopes of engaging the duke of Brittany to enter into the confederacy.

The duke of Burgundy engages him to invade France.

They expected to be joined by the duke of Brittany.

The prospect of a French war was always a sure means of making the parliament open their purses as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; which must have been very inaccurately levied, since it produced only thirty-one thousand four hundred and sixty pounds; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another. But, as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of 'benevolence'; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II., had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses; and, if the expedition into France should not

Supplies are granted by parliament.

They are to be partly refunded if no invasion of France takes place.

* A very general opinion certainly prevailed that the unhappy monarch had been murdered, and by the hands of the duke of Gloucester. The form of exposing the dead body at St. Paul's was gone through in this case, after which it was buried at Chertsey. Rumour, however, having whispered strange tales

of miracles performed at his tomb, Richard III thought it expedient to order its removal, to what place is not known. The remains of Henry could not be found when they were searched for after Richard's career was closed. — ED.

Parliament
is dissolved.

take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the parliament was dissolved, which had sitten near two years and a half, and had undergone several prorogations: a practice not very usual at that time in England.

INVASION OF FRANCE. 1475.

Edward enters France.

THE king passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, who prognosticating future successes from the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour. But all their sanguine hopes were damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and against the duke of Lorraine: and, though he came in person to Edward, and endeavoured to apologise for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the English. This gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

The duke of Burgundy fails to join the English.

Lewis XI. invites Edward to make peace.

PEACE OF PECQUIGNI.

THAT monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no submissions too mean which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors. It appears, from Comines, that discipline was at this time very imperfect among the English; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet, being always decided by hasty battles, had still left them ignorant of the improvements which the military art was beginning to receive upon the continent.

The discipline of the English is very defective.

* "To the lord Howard, besides his pension, he gave, to my certain knowledge, in less than two years time, in money and plate, above 24,000 crowns;

590

But, as Lewis was sensible that the warlike genius of the people would soon render them excellent soldiers, he was far from despising them for their present want of experience; and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward sent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, so far from answering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present: he took afterwards an opportunity of sending a herald to the English camp; and, having given him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen. As Edward was now fallen into like dispositions, a truce was soon concluded on terms more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives: it was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. In order to ratify this treaty the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview; and for that purpose suitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A close rail was drawn across a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass; a precaution against a similar accident to that which befel the duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Lewis came to the opposite sides; conferred privately together; and, having interchanged many civilities, they parted.

Lewis knows that they make good soldiers.

He courteously replies to the defiance of Edward.

A truce is concluded.

The kings meet personally, but with great precaution.

Lewis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendship, but also that of the nation, and of all the considerable persons in the English court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year, on several of the king's favourites;*

Lewis courts the friendship of the English court and nation.

to the lord Hastings, who was king Edward's chamberlain, he gave, at one time, above 100 marks in plate; and all the acquittances of every English-

Lewis grants pen-
sions to
English
noblemen.

He enters
personal multi-
tudes of
English
soldiers.

Lewis in-
forms Ed-
ward to
Paris.

He sends
a letter
to be
kept.

on lord Hastings two thousand crowns ; on lord Howard and others in proportion : and these great ministers were not ashamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince. As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some time in the neighbourhood of each other, the English were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Lewis resided, but had also their charges defrayed, and had wine and victuals furnished them in every inn, without any payments being demanded. They flocked thither in such multitudes, that once above nine thousand of them were in the town, and they might have made themselves masters of the king's person ; but Lewis, concluding from their jovial and dissolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the least sign of fear or jealousy. And, when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against him, he replied that he would never agree to exclude the English from the place where he resided ; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their returning.

Lewis's desire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances. In the conference at Pecquigni he had said to Edward that he wished to have a visit from him at Paris ; that he would there endeavour to amuse him with the ladies ; and that, in case any offences were then committed, he would assign him the cardinal of Bourbon for confessor, who, from fellow-feeling, would not be over and above severe in the penances which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper impression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who

accompanied him back to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Lewis pretended at first not to hear the offer ; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern that his wars with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. 'Edward,' said he privately to Comines, 'is a very handsome and a very amorous prince : some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall do her, and may invite him to return in another manner. It is better that the sea be between us.'

This treaty did very little honour to either of these monarchs ; it discovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his measures so ill with his allies as to be obliged, after such an expensive armament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it ; it shewed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute. But, as Lewis made interest the sole test of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his side, and that he had overreached Edward by sending him out of France on such easy terms. For this reason he was very solicitous to conceal his triumph ; and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to shew the English the least sign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule : he could not forbear, one day in the joy of his heart, throwing out some raillery on the easy simplicity of Edward and his council ; when he perceived that he was overheard by a Gascon who had settled in England.

Lewis is
informed of
it.

He declines
repeating
the invita-
tion.

Lewis ex-
ults in hav-
ing over-
reached
Edward.

And jests
on his sim-
plicity.

man of quality, except the lord Hastings, are still to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris. This lord Hastings was at that time high chamberlain of England, an office of great reputation, and executed singly by one man."—*Philip de Comines*. The writer goes on to tell in what manner he had prevailed upon Hastings, who had an annuity of 2,000 crowns granted him by the scheming Lewis. The money was sent to him by one Peter Cleret, who was ordered to take a receipt for the same. On handing over the gold to Hastings, and importuning him for a receipt, this was the reply of the lord

chamberlain, "Monsieur Cleret, what you desire is not unreasonable ; but this present proceeds from your master's generosity, not any request of mine ; if you have a mind I should receive it, you may put it into my sleeve ; but neither letter nor acquittance you are likely to have of me ; for to be free with you, Monsieur Peter, it shall never be said of me, that the high chamberlain of England was pensioner to the king of France, nor shall my hand be ever produced in his chamber of accounts." Cleret urged the matter no further, but left the money."—*Ed.*

Lewis pays
for his in-
discretion.

He stipu-
lates for
queen Mar-
garet's li-
berty.

She closes
her days in
peace.

The duke
of Burgun-
dy invited
to accede to
the treaty
of Pecquig-
ni, disdain-
fully re-
fuses.

He dies in
battle.

Mary, his
daughter,
is sought
by many
potentates.

He was immediately sensible of his indiscretion; sent a message to the gentleman, and offered him such advantages in his own country as engaged him to remain in France. 'It is but just,' said he, 'that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness.'

The most honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died. An admirable princess; but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror: but being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at last in battle against the Swiss; a people whom he despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 1477, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess, being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Christendom. Lewis, the

head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly interested is as rare as one entirely endowed with the opposite quality; and Lewis, though impregnable to all the sentiments of generosity and friendship, was on this occasion carried from the road of true policy by the passions of animosity and revenge. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy, that he rather chose to subdue the princess by arms than unite her to his family by marriage. He conquered the duchy of Burgundy, and that part of Picardy which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic, from whom they looked for protection. And by these means France lost the opportunity, which she never could recal, of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

During this interesting crisis Edward was no less defective in policy, and was no less actuated by private passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the house of Burgundy; and he sent her proposals of espousing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendant over him. But the match was rejected with disdain; and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defenceless ally. Any pretence sufficed him for abandoning himself entirely to indolence and pleasure. The only object which divided his attention was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predecessors; and some of his expedients for that pur-

She might
have been
secured by
Lewis for
the dau-
phin.

Lewis for-
gets policy
to gratify
revenge.

Mary mar-
ries Maxi-
milian of
Austria.

The earl of
Rivers brother to Ed-
ward's
queen, was
offered to
her, but re-
jected.

Edward is
guilty of an
act of ty-
ranny.

pose, though unknown to us, were deemed, during the time, oppressive to the people. The detail of private wrongs escapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has met with general and deserved censure.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE. 1477.

The duke of
Clarence is
received
with sus-
picion at
court.

THE duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent violence of his temper tended extremely to multiply his enemies, and to incense them against him. Among others, he had had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother the duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes that, if he patiently endured this injury, his pusillanimity would dishonour him in the eyes of the public; if he expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them advantages against him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow in Warwickshire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence. He was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn

The queen
and the
duke of
Gloucester
combine
against
him.

One of his
enemies is
accused
of treason.

for this pretended offence. About the same time one John Stacey an ecclesiastic, much connected with the duke as well as with Burdet, was exposed to a like iniquitous and barbarous prosecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and astronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greatest peers countenanced the prosecution by their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

A second
trial is
prosecuted.

He is tor-
tured and
put to
death.

The duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny exercised: he reflected on the fate of the good duke of Gloucester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connexions, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, was open and loud in justifying his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, committed him to the tower, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life on the sixteenth of January, 1478, before the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation.

The duke
vindicates
the suffer-
ers.

The duke was accused of arraiguing public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution. Many rash expressions were imputed to him, and some too reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted, since the liberty of judgment was taken from the court by the king's appearing personally as his brother's accuser, and pleading the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not place, was a necessary consequence, in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the pre-

He is tried
for arraign-
ing public
justice.

He was not
accused of
any overt
act of
treason.

The commons petition for his execution.

vailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The house of commons were no less slavish and unjust; they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him. The measures of the parliament furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility; they scruple to grant, and sometimes refuse, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great fondness: but they never scruple to concur in the most flagrant act of tyranny which falls on any individual, however distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so opposite to all principles of good government, and the practice of present parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

The duke of Clarence is allowed to choose his own death.

The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the tower: a whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick; a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report that a chief source of the violent prosecution of the duke of Clarence, whose name was George, was a current prophecy that the king's son should be murdered by one, the initial letter of whose name was G. It is not impossible but, in those times, such a silly reason might have some influence: but it is more probable that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on the murder of these children by the duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks that, at that time, the

His children die a violent death.

A prophecy is said to have caused Clarence to be prosecuted.

English never were without some superstitious prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE KING. 1482.

ALL the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterwards to have been sunk in indolence, or his measures were frustrated by imprudence. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters settled by splendid marriages, though most of these princesses were yet in their infancy. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his second, Cicely, to the eldest son of James III., king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip, only son of Maximilian and the duchess of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John, son and heir to Ferdinand king of Arragon and Isabella queen of Castile. None of these projected marriages took place; and the king himself saw, in his life-time, the rupture of the first, that with the dauphin, for which he had always discovered a peculiar fondness. Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and the king prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavoured to guard against the blow; and incited James king of Scotland to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whose force was very unequal to the enterprise, levied an army; but, when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army presently disbanded. The duke of Gloucester, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been banished his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace by which they resigned that fortress to Edward. This success emboldened the king to think more

Edward's glory terminates with the civil wars.

He plans splendid marriages for his daughters.

None of them take place.

The king of Scotland is induced to make war against England.

The duke of Gloucester compels the Scots to make peace.



seriously of a French war; but, while making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired on the ninth of April, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. A prince more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies. Besides five daughters, this king left two sons; Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

1483—1485.

EDWARD V.—STATE OF THE COURT.—THE EARL OF RIVERS ARRESTED.—DUKE OF GLOCESTER PROTECTOR.—EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS.—THE PROTECTOR AIMS AT THE CROWN.—ASSUMES THE CROWN.—MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—RICHARD III.—DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM DISCONTENTED.—THE EARL OF RICHMOND.—BUCKINGHAM EXECUTED.—INVASION BY THE EARL OF RICHMOND.—BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

EDWARD V.

STATE OF THE COURT. 1483.

DURING the latter years of Edward IV. the nation, having in a great measure forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roses, and peaceably acquiescing in the established government, was agitated only

by some court intrigues, which, being restrained by the authority of the king, seemed nowise to endanger the public tranquillity. These intrigues arose from the perpetual rivalry between two parties; one consisting of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother and the marquis of Dorset her son; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden growth and unlimited credit of that aspiring family. At the head of this latter party was the duke of Buckingham, a man of very noble birth, of ample possessions, of great alliances, of shining parts; who, though he had married the queen's sister, was too haughty to act in subserviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and, as this nobleman had, by his bravery, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his master, he had been able to support himself against the credit of the queen.† The lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with these two noblemen, and brought a considerable accession of influence to their party. All the other barons, who had no particular dependance on the queen, adhered to the same interest; and the people in general bore great favour to the cause of these noblemen.

But Edward knew that, though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his son: and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother the duke of

* In the fifth year of this king "it was proclaimed in England, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two inches, upon pain of cursing by the clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings, to be paid, one noble to the king, another to the cordwayners of London, and the third to the chamber of London: and for other countreys and towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382, the Pykes of Shoes and Boots were

of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with chains of Silver, and Gilt, or at least with Silken Laces."—*Baker*.—ED.

† Hastings, it has been seen, did not disdain to accept something very like a bribe from the king of France; but, beyond the meanness of becoming a pensioner to a foreign court, he does not seem to have forgotten his duty to his own sovereign.—ED.

Two parties arise.

The duke of Buckingham is opposed to the queen and party.

The lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley, act with him, and are favoured by the people.

Edward endeavours in his last illness to reconcile all parties.

The duke of Gloucester is named regent.

Jealousies break out afresh.

The duke of Gloucester aspires to the crown.

He professes great attachment to the queen.

The young king is under the care of the earl of Rivers.

Glocester, then absent in the north, should be intrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity; and engaged them to embrace each other with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: he had no sooner expired than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh; and each applied, by separate messages, to the duke of Gloucester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendship.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to live on good terms with both parties: and his high birth, his extensive abilities, and his great services, had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependance on either. But the new situation of affairs, when the supreme power devolved on him, immediately changed his measures; and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and, as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without hesitation, into concert with the opposite party: but, being sensible that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for effecting his criminal purposes, he redoubled his pretensions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her as to influence her conduct in a point which, as it was of the utmost importance, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle at Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whither he had been sent, that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welsh, and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. His person was committed to the care of his uncle the earl of Rivers,* the most accomplished nobleman in Eng-

land, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature to great abilities in business and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents still more than by nearness of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendant over her son which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl of Rivers that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, foresaw that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals; and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais; the other nobles seemed resolute to oppose force by force; and as the duke of Gloucester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared against all appearance of an armed power, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and desired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign.

EARL OF RIVERS ARRESTED.

THE duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to wait his arrival, under colour of conducting him in person to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony Stratford; and came himself to Northampton, to apologize for this measure, and to pay his respects to the duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest

The queen desires that the king may be brought to London with a military escort.

Opposition is made to his being so attended.

Gloucester persuades the queen to require no unusual escort.

Gloucester waits for the king at Northampton, who journeys by another road.

* This nobleman first introduced the noble art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV.



appearance of cordiality; he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham; he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king; but, as he was entering Stony Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, was at the same time put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstration of respect; and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother. But Edward, much attached to these near relations, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

The people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations. But the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. She trusted that the ecclesiastical privileges, which had formerly, during the total ruin of her husband and family, given her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian faction, would not now be violated by her brother-in-law while her son was on the throne. But Gloucester, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanc-

tuary; and he represented to the privy council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged that ecclesiastical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither. But, the two archbishops, cardinal Bouchier the primate, and Rotherham archbishop of York, protesting against the sacrilege of this measure, it was agreed that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by persuasion.* These prelates were persons of known integrity; and, being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate; and insisted that the duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave security to the king, whose life no one would dare to attempt while his successor remained in safety. But, finding that force, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here on a sudden struck with a presage of his future fate; she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and, bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.

DUKE OF GLOCESTER PROTECTOR.

THE duke of Gloucester, being the nearest

The queen's conduct is offensive to the government.

The council resolves that persons shall first be tried with the queen.

She gives up the duke of York to the bishops.

* The archbishop of York, the lord cardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and saith, he would do his best endeavour to persuade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years been inviolably kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was, more than five hundred years ago, by St. Peter in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of

angels, by night, so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof hereof, there is yet in the Abbey St. Peter's cope to shew; that from that time hitherward, there never was so undevout a king that durst violate that sacred place; nor so holy a bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid that any man, for any earthly thing, should enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary: and I trust with God's grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the mother's dread and womanish fear be not the let.—*Baker.*

The duke of Gloucester is made protector

male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed entitled to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the consent of parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity. The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen and her kindred occasioned this irregularity; and no one foresaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so natural. Besides that the duke had hitherto been able to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his savage nature, the numerous issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, seemed to be an eternal obstacle to his ambition. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity was soon carried beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloucester no longer hesitated in removing the obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, to this violent measure. However easy it was in those times to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to dispatch an enemy without any trial; and orders were accordingly issued to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind. He represented that the execution of persons so nearly related to the king, whom that prince so openly professed to love, would never pass unpunished; and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: that it would be impossible to keep the queen for ever from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions: that the only method of obviating these mischiefs was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and

He resolves to remove all obstructions between him and the throne.

He orders the earl of Rivers and other prisoners to be put to death.

Gloucester tampers with the duke of Buckingham.

whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit, and to the rights of ancient nobility. He added the offers of great private advantages to the duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises.

The duke engages to aid his attempts on the crown.

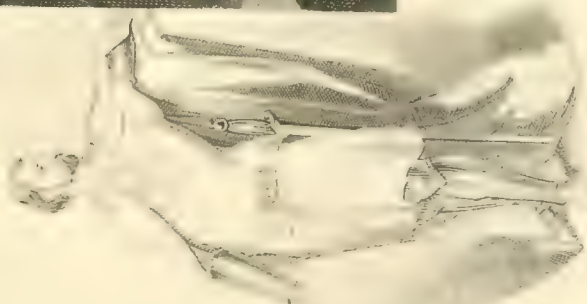
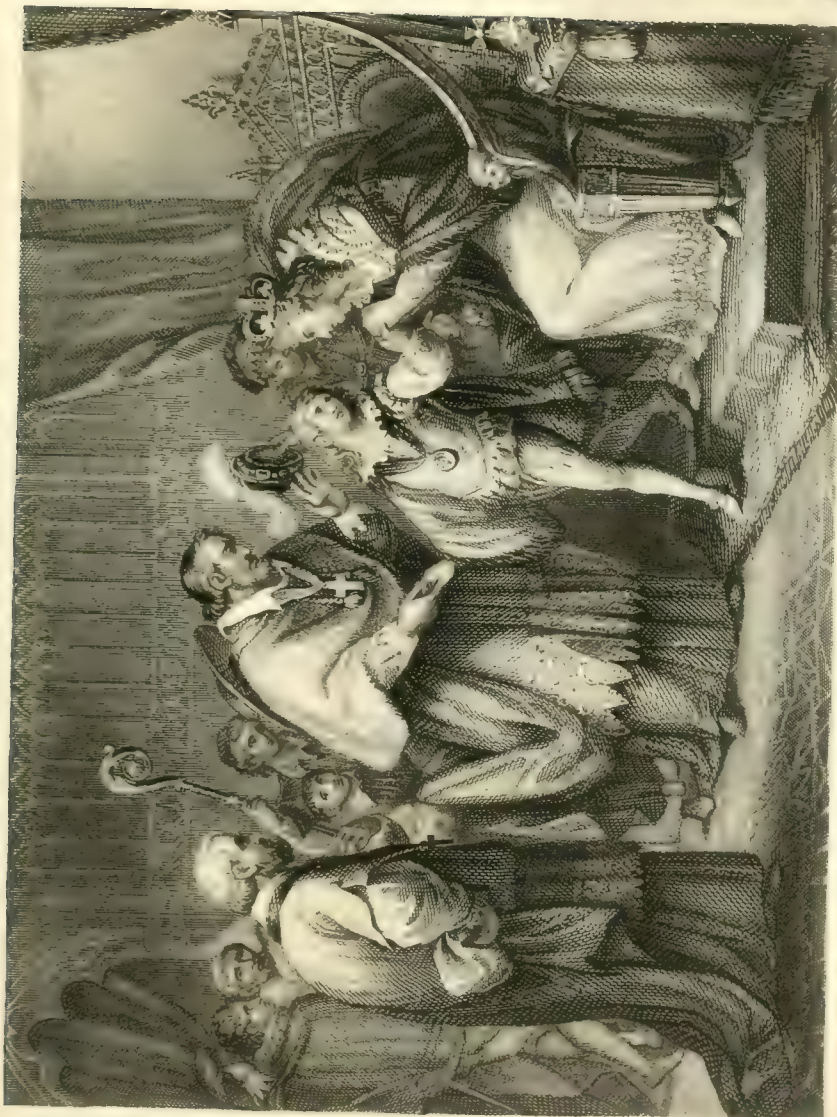
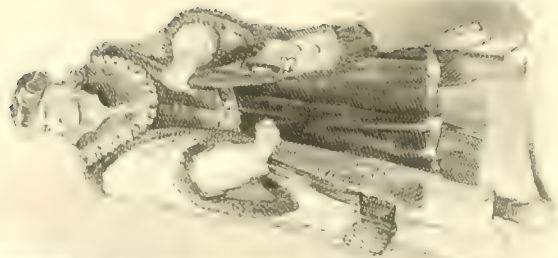
EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS.

THE duke of Gloucester, knowing the importance of gaining lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his sentiments, by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship. He, therefore, determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, by the advice of Hastings, the protector summoned a council in the tower, whither that nobleman repaired without hesitation. The duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council table, he appeared in the easiest and most jovial humour imaginable. He seemed to indulge in familiar conversation with the counsellors before they should enter on business; and, having paid some compliments to Morton bishop of Ely on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately dispatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but, soon after returning, with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against his life, who was so nearly related to the king, and intrusted with the administration of government. Hastings replied that they merited the punishment of traitors. 'These traitors,' cried the protector, 'are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with

Hastings is not to be gained over.

His ruin is determined upon by Gloucester.

Gloucester attends a council in the Tower.



Gloucester
accuses the
queen and
Jane Shore
of attempting
his life by
witchcraft.

Hastings
denies a
guilt.

Gloucester
accuses
him of trea-
son, and he
summa-
rily be-
headed

Lord Stan-
ley, the
bishop of
York,
and the
shop of
the
tower.

others their associates ; see to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft.' Upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. But the counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement ; and above all lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. 'Certainly, my Lord,' said he, 'if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment.' 'And do you reply to me,' exclaimed the protector, 'with your ifs and your ands ? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore : you are yourself a traitor : and I swear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought me.' He struck the table with his hand ; armed men rushed in at the signal ; the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation ; and one of the guards, as if by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a poll-axe at lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, slunk under the table, and, though he saved his life, received a severe wound in the head in the protector's presence. Hastings was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the tower. Two hours after a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them, from the suddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular. But the saying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy.

Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed prisoners in different chambers of the tower ; and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized ; and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But, as no proofs which could be received, even in that ignorant age, were produced against her, he directed her to be

tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness ; and she did penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen ; but unhappily views of interest, more than the maid's inclinations, had been consulted in the match, and her mind had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who solicited her favours : but she still made herself respectable by her other virtues ; and the ascendant which her charms long maintained over him was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame, imposed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief ; she languished out her life in solitude and indigence ; and, amidst a court inured to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship, and all neglect of former obligations.

Jane Shore
is sentenced
to do pen-
ance.

Though the
mistress of
Edward,
Jane Shore
was respect-
ed for her
benevolence.

She closes
her life in
solitude
and pover-
ty.

Gloucester
pursues his
designs on
the crown

Edward's
marriage
with Eliza-
beth is as-
serted to be
invalid.

THE PROTECTOR AIMS AT THE CROWN.

THESE acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest connexions of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children ; and after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. It was asserted that, before espousing the lady Elizabeth Grey, he had paid court to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury ; and, being repulsed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged, ere he could gratify his desires, to consent to a private marriage, without any witnessess, by Stil-

The duke of
Clarence's
claim to the
crown.

Gloicester
causes it to
be reported
that his
brothers
were illegi-
timate.

The calum-
ny on his
own mother
he causes to
be propa-
gated from
the pulpit.

Dr. Shaw
preaches in
favour of
the duke of
Gloicester's
claim.

lington bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret. It was also maintained that the act of attainder, passed against the duke of Clarence, had virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown; and, these two families being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. But, as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king; and as the rule, which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private successions, was never extended to the crown; the protector resolved to make use of another plea, still more scandalous. His partisans were taught to maintain that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate; that the duchess of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and that the duke of Gloucester alone, of all her sons, appeared by his features and countenance to be the true offspring of the duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this assertion, which threw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the place chosen for first promulgating it was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in the protector's presence. Dr. Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's on the twenty-second of June; and, having chosen this passage for his text, 'Bastard slips shall not thrive,' he enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the duke of Clarence, and all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed 'Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite; he alone is entitled to your allegiance; he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders: he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation.' It was previously concerted that,

as the doctor should pronounce these words, the duke of Gloucester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out 'God save king Richard!' which would immediately have been interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place; the audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill success of their stratagem.

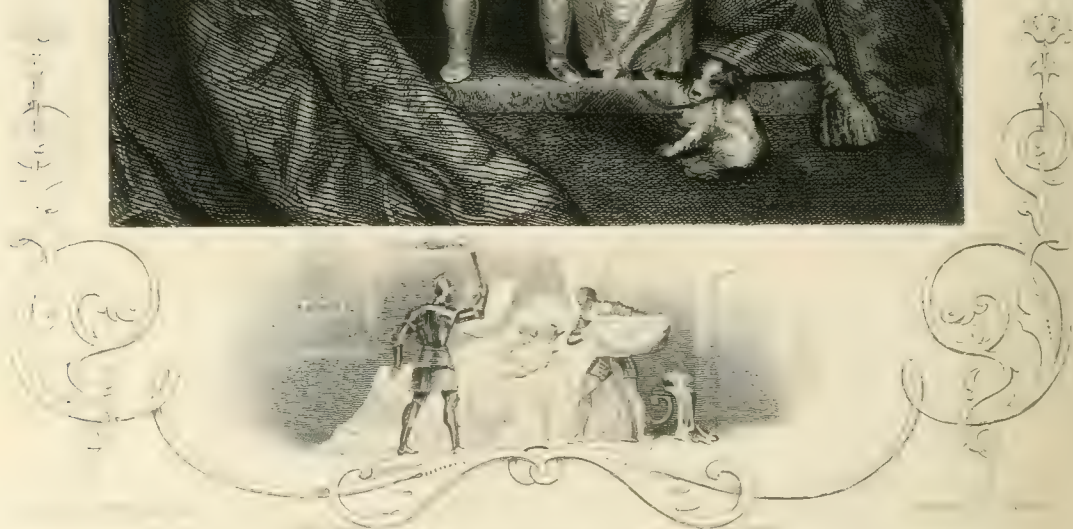
But the duke was too far advanced to recede. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to doctor Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens; where the duke of Buckingham harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and displayed those numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was possessed. He next asked them whether they would have the duke for king; and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry 'God save king Richard!' He was surprised to observe them silent; and, turning about to the mayor, asked him the reason. The mayor replied that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated his discourse with some variation, enforced the same topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. 'I now see the cause,' said the mayor; 'the citizens are not accustomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality.' The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but he, averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the sense of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence. 'This is wonderful obstinacy,' cried the

Gloicester
enters the
church.

Shaw's ser-
mon is a
failure.

The duke
of Buck-
ingham
harangues
the citizens
in favour of
Gloicester,
but in vain.

The recorder
repeats
his words,
but to no
purpose.



duke; 'express your meaning, my friends, one way or other; when we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king: but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloucester for your sovereign.' After all these efforts some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raised a feeble cry, 'God save king Richard!' The sentiments of the nation were now sufficiently declared; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

THE PROTECTOR ASSUMES THE THRONE.

WHEN Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety: a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king. The protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and

exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and, if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be resisted; he was prevailed on to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful sovereign.*

MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK.

THIS ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the tower, to put his nephews to death: but this gentleman refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys and government of the tower for one night. Tyrrel, choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and, sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission while he staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.†

He accepts the crown with pretended reluctance.

Richard orders his nephews to be put to death.

The young princes are murdered.

* His coronation took place on the 6th July, 1483. It was celebrated with great pomp; Richard and Anne, his queen, the widow of prince Edward, whom he is said to have murdered, were dressed in purple robes; and it appears that the true king Edward V. was present. A record exists in which an exact account is given of "The deliverer of divers Stuff delivered for the use of Lorde Edward, son of the late Kyng Edward the fourth, and of his Henxmen." In this document, which is of considerable length, the preparations for the ceremony are detailed very minutely. In the list of robes, ordered for a number of high personages, we read, "To Lorde Edward, son of late Kyng Edward the fourthe, for his apparaill and array, that is to say, a short gown made of two yardes and iij quarters of crymysyn cloth of gold lyned with ij yerdes iij quarters of black velvet. A large gown made of vj yerdes di of crymysyn cloth of gold lyned with ij yerdes of greene damaske,

a short gown made of vj yerdes iij quarters of purpull velvet lyned with ij yerdes di of grene damask. A doublet and Stomacher made of ij yerdes of black satyn, &c."—*Archæologia*, Vol. I.—Ed.

† Though not punished by human laws, we are told the vengeance of heaven pursued the planners and perpetrators of the murder. "Now see the divine revenge upon the actors of this execrable murder. Miles Forrest, at St. Martin's le Grand, piece meal rotted away: Dighton lived at Callice a long time after, but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir James Tyrrel was beheaded afterwards on the Tower Hill for treason; and king Richard himself, after this abominable fact was done, never had a quiet mind, troubled with fearful dreams, and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the chamber in great fright, as if all the furies of hell were hanging about him."—*Baker*.—Ed.

RICHARD III.

1483.

The murderers go unpunished

The burial place of the princes was long unknown.

The remains are found in the time of Charles II.

These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign, and they were never punished for the crime ; probably because Henry desired to establish it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them.* It is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground ; and, as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any search which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II., when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, the bones of two persons were there found, which by their size exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother : they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument by orders of king Charles. Perhaps Richard's chaplain died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands ; and, the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

* The dismal tragedy is thus told by Baker. " Sir James Tyrrel, who being now lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent princes under his custody, gets two others as very villaines as himself, the one Miles Forest, the other James Dighton his horse keeper, big sturdy knaves, and these he made his under agents, who coming into the children's chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them but one Black Will or William Slaughter, a bloody rascal,) they suddenly lapped them up in their clothes, and keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them that their breaths failing, they gave up their innocent souls to God." This scene was acted in what is now called " The Bloody Tower."—ED.

† The parliament, in the first year of Richard the third, passed an act of settlement of the crown on Richard and his issue. This act recites, that a roll had been presented to Richard, as duke of Gloucester, before his coronation, on behalf and in the name of the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, by many lords spiritual and

THE first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain those who were best able to support his future government.† Thomas lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk ; Sir Thomas Howard his son earl of Surrey ; lord Lovel a viscount by the same name ; even lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. This nobleman had become obnoxious by his first opposition to Richard's views, and also by his marrying the countess dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerset family ; but, sensible of the necessity of submitting, he feigned such zeal for Richard's service that he was received into favour, and even intrusted with the most important commands by that jealous tyrant.

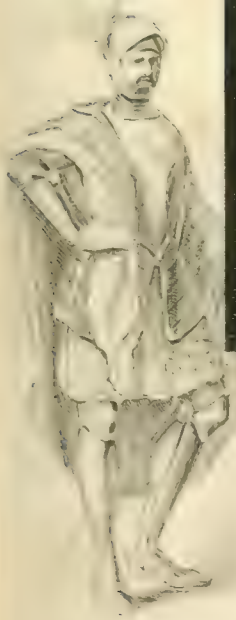
But the person who, both from the greatness of his services and the power and splendour of his family, was best entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham ; and Richard seemed determind to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II. ; and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the

temporal, and other nobles, and notable persons of the commons ; but that neither the three estates, nor the persons who presented such roll, were assembled in form of parliament ; and therefore it was ordained and established in parliament, that the tenor of the said roll, and the contents thereof, should, by the three estates then assembled in parliament, and by authority of the same, be ratified, &c. and be of the same force as if the same things had been done in parliament. The roll is then set forth, in which, after stating the right of Richard, as undoubted son and heir of Richard, duke of York, in right king of England, by way of inheritance, and asserting the bastardy of the children of Edward the fourth, and the disability of the children of the duke of Clarence by reason of the attainder of their father, it is stated that the persons presenting such roll, had chosen in all that in them was, and by that writing chose, Richard into their king and sovereign lord ; and prayed him, that according to this election by them, as the three estates of the land, and by his true inheritance, he would accept and take the crown and royal dignity, &c. as well by inheritance as by

Richard rewards those who had favoured his usurpation.

Lord Stanley is taken into favour.

The duke of Buckingham distinguished for birth, services, and wealth.



royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The duke of Gloucester and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., had married the two daughters and co-heirs of Bohun earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, after the attainder of that royal line, was seized as legally devolved to them by the sovereigns of the house of York. The duke of Buckingham laid hold of the present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard readily complied with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his assistance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received a grant of the estate of Hereford; many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself sure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interests seemed so closely connected with those of the present government.

by lawful election. The statute further states, that the court of parliament is of such authority, and the people of the land of such nature and disposition, as experience taught, that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right by the three estates of the realm assembled in parliament, and by authority of the same, made before all things most faith and certainty, quieting men's minds, &c. Therefore, at the request and by assent of the three estates of the realm, that is to say, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the land, assembled in that parliament, by and authority of the same, it was pronounced and declared, that the said sovereign lord the king was very and undoubted king of the realm of England. &c.—*Report of the Lords' Committees on the Peerage.*

* This is controverted by Miss Halsted. She says, "The king and queen, states the contemporary M.S., came down to the high altar and there kneeled down, and anon the cardinal turned him about, with the holy sacrament in his hands, and parted it between them, and there they received the good lord, and were absolved both. Yet this venerable ecclesiastic, this high dignity of the church of Rome,

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM DIS-CONTENTED.

BUT it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and Buckingham. Historians ascribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were satisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant; perhaps he refused some other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impossible to gratify for his past services; perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxim of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject; and the discovery of this intention begat the first discontent in the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

Never was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant* than that of

the primate of all England, who thus absolved Richard from his sins, and sealed his pardon with the most holy symbol of Christ's passion, was the same lord cardinal who had pledged 'his own body and soul' to the widow queen, when receiving the infant duke of York from the sanctuary, scarce three weeks before, not only for 'his surety, but also for his estate.' Can there, then, remain any longer a doubt that some just cause existed for Edward's deposition, or that Richard's election to the throne was free and unbiassed." Careful, as Miss Halsted has been, in seeking for that which might exculpate Richard, and ably as she has used her materials, in this place the fact on which she relies will hardly justify the conclusion at which she arrives. Because the archbishop, who coaxed the widow of Edward into giving up her second son, took an active part in the coronation ceremony, it by no means follows as a matter of course that he thought Edward properly deposed, or Richard rightfully elected; still less can we with safety conclude that such was really the case. Supposing present advantage out of the question, fear, where such a character as Richard was concerned, might account for the archbishop's conduct quite as

Richard's usurpation is felt to be most flagrant.

The endurance of it seems pregnant with disgrace and danger.

The hopes of the Lancastrians revive.

Henry earl of Richmond is expected to free the nation from tyranny.

Richard. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family.* His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent merely for want of some person of distinction who might stand forth against him. Were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, the sense of private and domestic duty must have begotten an abhorrence against him, and have represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, in the most odious colours imaginable. To endure such a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was distinguished by birth, merit, or services. Such was become the general voice of the people; and the Lancastrians, so long oppressed, and of late so much discredited, felt their blasted hopes again revive. The duke of Buckingham, whose family had been devoted to that interest, and who by his mother, a daughter of Edmund duke of Somerset, was allied to the house of Lancaster, was easily induced to espouse the cause of this party, and to endeavour the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper.

satisfactorily as the honest conviction that he was performing a public duty. An archbishop of York, who could betray the trust reposed in him by his own brother, to facilitate the admission of Edward IV. into London, while that brother, the earl of Warwick, was in arms against him, was not likely to be over nice about changing sides; and might be expected easily to satisfy his conscience that it was quite right in a prelate to forsake the offspring of a dead king, to win the good will of a living one.—ED.

* Walpole thinks it incredible that Richard should have aspersed his own mother, as he appears to have

THE EARL OF RICHMOND.

HENRY earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany; and his descent had been a great object of jealousy both in the late and in the present reign. John, the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund earl of Richmond, half brother of Henry VI., and son of Sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V.; and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and who after his father's death inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused, in second marriage, Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham; and, after the death of that gentleman, had married lord Stanley; but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most considerable advantage which he had reason to expect from her succession: he would represent the elder branch of the house of Somerset; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and, though its claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, had always been much disregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI., and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it.

Edward IV., finding that all the Lancastrians had turned their attention towards

been living in harmony with her, and residing in her palace. Can it be thought that Dr. Shaw would have ventured on the course he took, preaching from the text "the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips," without the protector's sanction? Richard's general character renders it anything but improbable that parties with whom he seemed on the best terms were those he was prepared to ruin, defame, or destroy. Clarence, it will be remembered, was also said to have questioned Edward's legitimacy.—ED.

Richmond's descent and family.

His mother had been wife to three husbands, Richmond, Sir H. Stafford, and lord Stanley.

He inherits the title of the Somerset family.

Henry carried to Brittany for safety by the earl of Pembroke, is claimed by Edward IV.

Edward speaks of treating him with his own family by marriage.

Henry is given up to English agents, but taken from them by the duke of Brittany.

Hatred of Richard causes Henry to be regarded with general favour.

It is said that Henry was married to Elizabeth.

Their union is approved by the countess of Richmond.

the young earl of Richmond, thought him also worthy of his attention; and pursued him into his retreat in Brittany, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Tewkesbury. He applied to Francis II., duke of Brittany, who was his ally; a weak, but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up his fugitive: but the duke, averse to so dishonourable a proposal, would only consent that, for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe keeping or the subsistence of his prisoner. But, towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court with regard to Henry were much increased; and Edward made a new proposal to the duke, which covered, under the fairest appearances, the most bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he solicited to have him sent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These pretences, seconded as is supposed by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt minister, gained credit with the court of Brittany; Henry was delivered into the hands of the English agents; he was ready to embark; when a suspicion of Edward's real design was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus saved the youth from the danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning family of England both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions and made him the object of

general favour. The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the tyrant. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, Buckingham and the bishop of Ely well knew that there would still lie many obstacles in his way to the throne; and that, though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the duke of York, while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other, yet, as soon as these titles were united in Edward IV., the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decayed, both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending the pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely desirous of repose after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardour. In consequence of these views the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the countess of Richmond, first opened the project of such an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welsh physician, who had access to the queen dowager in her sanctuary,*

* Upon the first proposition, before she would express anything to the doctor, she prostrated herself upon her knees, and humbly invoked the Blessed Trinity to be propitious to this so much desired unity; and then raising herself up, she did profess herself (next unto God) to be much bound to him, or her that first invented the means whereby to restore her poor children to their right, and redeem herself from that thralldom and fear wherein now they were, and with great thanks returned the doctor, wishing him to assure the contriver thereof whatsoever; that

if earl Richmond would take his corporeal oath, to espouse her daughter Elizabeth, or Cicely, in case it should please God Elizabeth should dye before that time, as soon as he had obtained the enjoyment of the crown; that she would not only give hers, and get her daughter's consent to the match, but procure all the friends and allies of her deceased husband King Edward, and her own, to take his part, and in all things to give him their best assistance. — *Daniel.* — Ed.

The queen dowager favours the contemplated marriage.

carried the proposals to her; and found that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance with all the friends and partisans of her family.

EXECUTION OF BUCKINGHAM.

A general conspiracy is formed.

THE plan being thus laid upon the solid foundations of good and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard: and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against his authority. He immediately put himself in a posture of defence by levying troops in the north; and he summoned the duke to appear at court, in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and giving the signal for a general insurrection. But at that very time there happened to fall such heavy rains as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of Eng-

It is detected by Richard.

Buckingham gives the signal for insurrection.

land to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine, fell off from him; and Buckingham, deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family: but, being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; and was instantly executed. The other conspirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune, despaired of success, and immediately dispersed themselves.

The marquis of Dorset and the bishop of Ely made their escape beyond sea; many others were equally fortunate; several fell into Richard's hands. His executions seem not to have been remarkably severe; though we are told of one gentleman, William Colingbourne, who suffered under colour of this rebellion, but in reality for a distich of quibbling verses which he had composed against Richard and his ministers.* The earl of Richmond had set sail from St. Malo's, with a body of five thousand men, levied in foreign parts; but, his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to Brittany.

The king, every where triumphant, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a contest of national parties, should always adhere to the victor, he seems to have apprehended his title, founded on no principle, might be rejected by that assembly. But the parliament had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales; the duties of tonnage

He is taken and beheaded.

Richmond prevented by contrary winds from reaching England in time, returns to Brittany.

Richard is recognised as king by parliament.

* The lines were:
The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel that Dog,
Rule all England under the Hog:

alluding to the names of Ratcliffe and Catesby, and to Richard's arms, which were a boar.

A law is passed against benevolences.

Richard gains the good will of the queen-dowager.

He is believed to poison his wife, the lady Anne

The queen-dowager consents to his marrying her daughter, the princess Elizabeth.

She calls on her friends to forsake Henry.

and poundage were granted to the king for life; and Richard passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

All the other measures of the king tended to the same object. Sensible that the only circumstance which could give him security was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen-dowager with such art and address, made such earnest protestations of his sincere good-will, that this princess, tired of confinement, and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had murdered; but, this princess having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime for which the public could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenor of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled at this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and was regarded as incestuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother; she even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partisans, and, among the rest, to her son the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive. The court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation.

Richard thought that he could easily defend himself, during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable prospect of a full and secure settlement. He flattered himself that the English nation would then acquiesce under the dominion of a prince who was of mature years, of great abilities, and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed in paving his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were so shocking to humanity, that the natural sentiments of men were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardour for the attempt by the favourable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

INVASION BY THE EARL OF RICHMOND. 1485.

THE earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy with a small army of about two thousand men; and, after six days, he arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, on the 7th of August, where he landed without opposition. He directed his course to

Richard, by marrying his niece, promises himself a full and perfect settlement.

His crimes create universal disgust.

To escape betrayal, Henry flies from Brittany.

He is protected in France, and encouraged to invade England.

Richmond lands at Milford-haven.

Richard waits for him at Nottingham.

Henry is strengthened by numerous desertions from Richard.

Those who remain to Richard are prepared to betray him.

Richard holds lord Strange as a hostage.

that part of the kingdom in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by means of the duke of Buckingham, must join his standard. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and, having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Thomas ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were intrusted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him; and the earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury; Sir Thomas Bouchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favourable aspect.

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

BUT the danger, to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion were lord Stanley and his brother Sir William, whose connexions with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces he still retained his eldest son, lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers

in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself; and, though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them. He took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him, because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still farther his ambiguous conduct; and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor, being certain that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

DEATH OF RICHARD III.

THE van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; Sir John Savage the left; the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in his main body, and intrusted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk. As his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies; it inspired unusual

Lord Stanley raises a powerful force, and secretly favours Henry.

He holds himself ready to join either side.

A battle is fought near Bosworth.

Lord Stanley declares for Richmond.



courage into Henry's soldiers, it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and, desecrating his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismounted Sir John Cheyney; he was now within reach of Richmond himself; who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities.* His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was

found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood; it was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators, and was interred in the Gray Friars' church of that place.†

CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

THE historians who favour Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partisans among the later writers)‡ maintain that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown. But this is a poor apology when it is confessed that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for that purpose; and it is certain that all his courage and capacity would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the contagious example of vice and murder exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, hump-backed, and had a harsh disagreeable countenance; so that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.§

Thus have we pursued the history of

* It is said that when the battle was at the point to be lost a swift horse was brought unto him; with which he might have saved himself by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refused it, saying, "he would that day make an end of all battles or else lose his life."—*Baker*.—Ed.

† His body was left naked, despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him, and taken up was trussed behind a pursuivant at arms, on *Blanch Sanglier* or White Boar, his head and arms hanging on one side of the horse, and his legs on the other, and all besprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the Gray Friars' church within the town of Leicester, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle, and afterwards with small funeral pomp was there interred.—*Baker*.—Ed.

‡ He has met with very able defenders, who have clearly proved that he was pursued with great rancour by Lancastrian writers, who were determined that they would "nothing extenuate;" but there are many incidents in Richard's history which they cannot satisfactorily explain. We know that his nephews disappeared, and that he reigned. To suppose that Richard spared the lives of the princes, but compelled them to live abroad in privacy, and that this secret never transpired, is a more extravagant surmise than any yet founded on the hypothesis of his guilt. The opinion formed of him on the other side of the

channel will be seen from what follows:—"This king Richard, desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassador; for king Richard, after his brother's death, had sworn allegiance to his nephew as his king and sovereign."—*Philip de Comines*.—Ed.

§ The picture of Richard as here given seems hideously distorted. Hume goes almost the length of Hall in caricature. However dubious the success of those who have laboured to relieve his character from the odium attached to it, his person has been successfully vindicated. Founding herself on statements supplied by Rous, Polydore Virgil, More, Stow, and others, Miss Halsted says, "After the most attentive examination of contemporary evidences, whether gleaned from native chroniclers or foreign writers, the evidence in favour of the personal appearance of Richard will be found to amount to this: that he was slight in figure and short of stature; that his features were compact and handsome, though his face was always thin; that the expression of his countenance was mild and pleasing; but when excited, it at times assumed a character of fierce impetuosity peculiarly its own."—Ed.

The dead body of Richard is carried to Leicester.

Richard is said to have been well qualified to govern.

His courage and capacity could not compensate for his crimes.

The dawn
of civility
and science
reached at
this period.

England
owes the
complete-
ness of her
history to
the Roman
clergy.

The pro-
gress of
science
favours hu-
manity.

The human
mind de-
clines from
the time of
Augustus.

England through a series of many barbarous ages ; till we have at last reached the dawn of civility and science, and have the prospect both of greater certainty in our historical narrations, and of being able to present to the reader a spectacle more worthy of his attention. This island possesses many ancient historians of good credit, as well as many historical monuments ; and it is rare that the annals of so uncultivated a people, as were the English after the decline of Roman learning, have been transmitted to posterity so complete, and with so little mixture of falsehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome ; who, founding their authority on their superior knowledge, preserved the precious literature of antiquity from a total extinction ;* and, under shelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a security by means of the superstition which they would in vain have claimed from the justice and humanity, of those turbulent and licentious ages. The view of human manners, in all their variety of appearances, is both profitable and agreeable ; and, if the aspect in some periods seem horrid and deformed, we may thence learn to cherish with the greater anxiety that science and civility which has so close a connexion with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a sovereign antidote against superstition, is also the most effectual remedy against vice and disorders of every kind.

The rise, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for but by considering the degrees of advancement which men have reached in those particulars.

Those, who cast their eye on the general revolutions of society, will find that, as almost all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible decline from that

period. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despotism of its monarchs, extinguished all emulation, debased the generous spirits of men, and depressed that noble flame by which all the refined arts must be cherished and enlivened. The military government, which soon succeeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men insecure and precarious ; and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce ; and in the end, to the military art and genius itself. The irruption of the barbarous nations, which soon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, and men sunk every age deeper into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition ; till the light of ancient science and history had very nearly suffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is a point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary direction, and beyond which they seldom pass, either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of christendom were the lowest sunk in ignorance, may justly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror ; and from that æra the sun of science, beginning to re-ascend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes, and other northern people, who had so long infested all the coasts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain subsistence at home, and were no longer tempted to desert their industry, in order to seek a precarious livelihood by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments also among the more southern nations were reduced to a kind of system ; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill fitted to ensure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the universal licence and disorder which had preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended farther to the improvements of the age than one which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding of a copy

Military
government
renders life
insecure.

Barbarous
nations
overwhelm
know-
ledge.

Christen-
dom was
sunk lowest
in the
eleventh
century.

A know-
ledge of
agriculture
weans the
northern
nations
from plun-
dering their
neighbours.

* See note Z at the end of the volume.

Nothing
favours im-
provement
more than
the finding
of the Pan-
decks of
Justinian.

of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The ecclesiastics, who had leisure and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connexion with the imperial city of Rome, which, being the seat of their religion, seemed to acquire a new lustre and authority by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the Pandects, Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the university of Oxford; and the clergy everywhere, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffusing the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men, having large possessions to defend, was in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observance of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they possessed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice of the law fell mostly into their hands: and, though the close connexion, which, without any necessity, they formed between the canon and civil law, begat a jealousy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as in many states of Europe, a great part of it was secretly transferred into the practice of the courts of justice; and the imitation of their neighbours made the English gradually endeavour to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and imperfection.

It is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients so complete an art, which was also so necessary for giving security to all other arts, and which, by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgment, served as a model

to farther improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law recommended the study of it, at a time when the more exalted and speculative sciences carried no charms with them; and thus the last branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted was happily the first transmitted to the modern world; for it is remarkable that, in the decline of Roman learning, when the philosophers were universally infected with superstition and sophistry, and the poets and historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who in other countries are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression.

What bestowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme imperfection of that jurisprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or ancient English. The absurdities which prevailed may be conceived from authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime; where stated prices were fixed for men's lives and members; where private revenges were authorized for all injuries; where the use of the ordeal, corsned, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof; and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude state of nature; violence universally prevailed; the pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of submitting to government; and men not protected by law, sought shelter by their personal servitude and attachments under some powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progress of improvement raised the Europeans somewhat above this uncultivated state; and affairs, in this island particularly, took early a turn which was more favourable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations soon became honourable among the English: the situation of that people ren-

The study
of the Ro-
man law is
recom-
mended by
its obvious
utility.

The law-
yers of
Rome pre-
served their
purity in
the decline
of learning.

The civil
law was
little ad-
vanced
from the
imperfec-
tion of the
jurispru-
dence
which pre-
ceded it.

Violence
universally
prevailed
in former
times.

Gradual
improve-
ment ren-
dered civil
employ-
ments hon-
ourable.

Regard for
the military
profession
declines.

Two thou-
sand stu-
dents, many
of honour-
able birth,
in the inns
of court in
Henry the
sixth's
time.

The pro-
gress of
freedom
keeps pace
with the
progress of
the arts.

In the an-
cient state
of Europe,
those not
noble were
slaves.

The barons
paid dearly
for the
power of
oppressing.

dered not the perpetual attention to wars so necessary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profession; the gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a necessary part of education: they were less diverted than afterwards from studies of this kind by other sciences; and in the age of Henry VI., as we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge: a circumstance which proves that a considerable progress was already made in the science of government, and which prognosticated a still greater.

One chief advantage, which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the introduction and progress of freedom; and this consequence affected men both in their personal and civil capacities.

If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find that the far greater part of the society were everywhere bereaved of their personal liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble was a slave: the peasants were sold with the land: the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: even the gentry themselves were subjected to a long train of subordination under the greater barons or chief vassals of the crown; who, though seemingly placed in a high state of splendour, yet, having but a slender protection from law, by the precarious condition in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppressing their inferiors. The first incident which broke in upon this violent system of government was the practice begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a separate

municipal government, which gave them protection against the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect.* The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat stricter of the public law, bestowed an independence on vassals which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peasants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villanage or slavery in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear strange that the progress of the arts, which seems among the Greeks and Romans to have daily increased the number of slaves, should in later times have proved so general a source of liberty; but this proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances which attended those institutions. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or splendour, employed not their villains as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers; but composed their retinue of freemen, whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprise. The villains were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their master's land, and paid their rents either in corn and cattle and other produce of the farm, or in servile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved, and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the villain, were of little advantage to the master; and that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves, who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to

The hum-
bler classes
are gradu-
ally releas-
ed from
their bonds.

In old times
the barons
were de-
fended by
freemen.

Villains
were em-
ployed in
small
offices.

Their
services
of little ad-
vantage to
their mas-
ter.

* There appear early symptoms of the jealousy entertained by the barons against the progress of the arts as destructive of their licentious power. A law was enacted, 7 Hen. IV., chap. 17, prohibiting any one who did not possess twenty shillings a year in land, from binding his sons apprentices to any trade. They found already that the cities began to drain the

country of the labourers and husbandmen; and did not foresee how much the increase of commerce would increase the value of their estates. The kings, to encourage the boroughs, granted them this privilege; that any villain who had lived a twelvemonth in any corporation, and had been of the guild, should be thenceforth regarded as free.

receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money rents for those in kind; and, as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villanage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe: the interest of the master, as well as that of the slave, concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And, though the ancient statutes on this subject remain still unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villain and freeman was totally though insensibly abolished, and that no person remained in the state to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus personal freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increase of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this salutary effect, served to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

The constitution of the English government, ever since the invasion of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely absolute and uncontrolled: but, in other respects, the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions.

The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, seem to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freest nations. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of

aristocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which, however, admitted of great control, though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the Great Charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the constitution. But, even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III., the condition of the commons was nowise eligible; a kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed; and the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious tyrants, who were equally averse from peace and from freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws which in a following age enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of these successive alterations the only rule of government which is intelligible, or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration which are at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that was ever found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaint-

In England the sovereign was controlled.

But the people were far from being free.

The ancient plan of the constitution cannot be appealed to with advantage.

The English enjoy the most perfect system of liberty.

Leases were granted to give the cultivator great security.

All interests were benefited by the change.

Personal freedom became almost general in Europe.

In England the monarch was never absolute.

The ancient Saxons were among the freest of nations.

A knowledge of the ancient government is useful to make men value the present system.

ance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly useful, by instructing them to cherish their present constitution from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also curious, by shewing them the remote and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most finished and most noble institutions, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident, which commonly occurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight, in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY VII.

1485—1509.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII.—HIS TITLE TO THE CROWN.—KING'S PREJUDICE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF YORK.—HIS JOYFUL RECEPTION IN LONDON.—SWEATING SICKNESS.—A PARLIAMENT.—ENTAIL OF THE CROWN.—KING'S MARRIAGE.—AN INSURRECTION.—DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE.—LAMBERT SIMNEL.—REVOLT OF IRELAND.—INTRIGUES OF THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.—LAMBERT SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF STOKE.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. 1485.

THE victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive; being attended as well with the total rout and dispersion of the royal army, as with the death of the king himself. Joy for this great success suddenly prompted the soldiers in the field of battle to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of king, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of 'Long live Henry VII.!' by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters. To bestow some appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of orna-

ment which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry, without hesitation, accepted of the magnificent present. He was come to the crisis of his fortune; and, being obliged suddenly to determine, he chose that part which his ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

HIS TITLE TO THE CROWN.

THERE were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown; but no one of them free from great objections, if considered with respect either to justice or to policy.

During some years Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster; but the title to the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very ill founded. Henry IV., who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and, while he plainly invaded the order of succession, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The parliament, it is true, had often recognised the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes had little authority, and they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the sake of peace, to submit to any established authority, desired not to see the claims of that family revived; claims which must produce many convulsions at present, and which disjointed for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will submit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster: but the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And, though the duke

The crown placed on his head, he accepts as his own.

Henry's titles to the throne are various, but imperfect.

The Lancastrian title was from the first defective

Henry is not the true heir of the house of Lancaster.

The Somerset line was illegitimate.

The victory of Henry is quite decisive.

Henry is saluted as king on Bosworth field.

of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent from Richard II., confirmed in parliament, it might justly be doubted whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; since in the patent itself all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded. In all settlements of the crown, made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of succession.

The title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case and from the late popular government of Edward IV., had universally obtained the preference in the sentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family by his intended marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his past successes. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power he knew would be very limited; and he must expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a sort of courtesy, than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in succession: and, even if blest with offspring, it seemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might easily be procured to settle the crown on him during life; but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was to the authority of an assembly, which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been

more governed by the conjunctures of the times than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim, the right of conquest. But, besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than an usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over England could never be established by such a victory. Nothing would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign. William the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that he had ventured to advance so violent and destructive a pretension.

But Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV., who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York, had not the sceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI., which were too feeble to sustain it. Instructed by his recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority, and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance, and never allow to be discussed; and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partisans of that family, and seconded by present power,

To claim by right of conquest would give umbrage to the nation.

He might found a claim on present possession.

This he prefers, conjoined with his rights as heir to the house of Lancaster.

would secure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

KING'S PREJUDICE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF YORK.

THESE views of Henry are not exposed to much blame, because founded on good policy, and even on a species of necessity; but there entered into all his measures and councils another motive, which admits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, had inflamed the opposite factions to a high pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations perish in battle or by the executioner, and who had been exposed, in his own person, to many hardships and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. He carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still favourite objects; and, through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early prepossessions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himself to many present inconveniences, by too anxiously guarding against that future possible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And, while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown which he so carefully kept separate, and to perceive its weakness and invalidity.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his suspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement, at Sheriff-Hutton in York-

shire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard, whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of such tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Willoughby was dispatched by Henry, with orders to take him from Sheriff-Hutton, to convey him to the tower, and to detain him in close custody. The same messenger carried directions that the princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

HENRY'S JOYFUL RECEPTION IN LONDON.

HENRY himself set out for the capital, and advanced by slow journies. He took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and so to restrain the insolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an established monarch, making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no less sincere. During the course of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid waste by domestic wars and convulsions; and, if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent threatened new disorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, seemed to ensure an union of the contending titles of the two families: and, having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjoined the succession even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was every where attended with the unfeigned favour of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progress; the mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city; the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction.* But

* The people had no small reason to exult in the termination of the fatal struggle between the

houses of York and Lancaster. What it had cost the nation in blood alone is thus summed up by

Henry's views are founded on good policy.

The rival factions of York and Lancaster are influenced by bitter animosity.

Henry preserves on the throne his partiality as a Lancastrian chief.

The Yorkists are thus made his enemies, and his claim to the crown called in question.

The earl of Warwick is still detained in confinement.

Henry orders the earl of Warwick to the tower.

The princess Elizabeth is conducted to London.

Henry makes a triumphant but peaceable progress.

A splendid reception awaits him in London.

Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, discovered still the stateliness and reserve of his temper, which made him scorn to court popularity: he entered London in a close chariot, and would not gratify the people with a sight of their new sovereign.*

But the king did not so much neglect the favour of the people as to delay giving them assurances of his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which he knew to be so passionately desired. On his leaving Brittany he had artfully dropped some hints that, if he should obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heir of that duchy: and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to dissipate these apprehensions, by solemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promise which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But, though bound by honour as well as by interest to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognised by parliament. He dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

SWEATING SICKNESS.

THERE raged at that time in London, and

Daniel. "The total of private souldiers that perished in the time of these civil wars, and suffered the punishment of immature death for taking part on the one side or the other, is fourscore four thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight persons, besides kings, two; prince, one; dukes, ten; marquesses, two; earls, one-and-twenty; lords twenty-seven; viscounts, two; lord prior, one; judge, one; knights, one hundred and thirty-nine; esquires, four hundred and forty-one."—Ed.

* "Hee entred the Citie vpon a Saturday, as hee had also obtayned the victorie vpon a Saturday; which day of the weeke first vpon an Obseruation, and after vpon Memorie and Fancie, hee accounted and chose as a day prosperous vnto him.

"The Major and Companies of the Citie received him at Shore-ditch; whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troop of noblemen, and persons of qualitie, he entered the Citie; himselfe not being on Horse-backe, or in any open Chaire, or Throne, but in a close Chariot, as one that hav-

other parts of the kingdom, a species of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness; which occasioned the sudden death of great multitudes; though it seemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. In less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but, when the pestilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered,† to be considerably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Edward's coronation. In order to heighten the splendour of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve persons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp; a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But, lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bouchier archbishop of Canterbury.

ing beene sometimes an Enemie to the whole State, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keepe state, and strike a reuerence into the people, then to fawne vpon them.

"He went first into Saint Paules Church, where not meaning that the people should forget too soone that hee came in by Battaile, hee made Offertorie of his Standards, and had Orizons and Te Deum againe sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the Bishop of London's pallace."—Lord Bacon—Ed.

† "It was a Pestilent-Fever, but as it seemeth not seated in the Veynes or Humors, for that there followed no carbuncle, or purple, or liuide spots, or the like, the Masse of the Bodie being not tainted: onely a maligne Vapour flew to the Heart and seased the vitall spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience that this Disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked vnto. For if the patient were kept in an equall temper both for Clothes, Fire, and Drinke,

A previously unknown malady rages in London.

Preparations are made for the coronation ceremony.

Yeomen of the guard are first instituted on this occasion.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE parliament being assembled at Westminster, on the seventh of November, the majority appeared to be devoted partisans of Henry; all persons of another disposition being obliged to dissemble. The Lancastrian party had every where been successful in the elections; and even many had been returned who, during the prevalence of the house of York, had been condemned by sentence of attainder and outlawry. Their right to take seats in the house being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber, in order to deliberate on so delicate a subject. The opinion delivered, contained a just temperament between law and expediency. The judges determined that the members attainted should forbear taking their seat till an act were passed for the reversal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act, and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the king's party.

But a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attainted; and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt. The judges extricated themselves from this dangerous question by asserting it as a maxim 'That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.' Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation, the judges probably thought that no sentence of a court of judicature had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birthright.

With a parliament so obsequious, the king could not fail of obtaining whatever

act of settlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should found his pretensions. In his speech to the parliament he mentioned his just title by hereditary right; but subjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And lest this pretension should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he ensured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

ENTAIL OF THE CROWN.

THE entail of the crown was drawn according to the sense of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other respects the act was compiled with sufficient moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right, as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. It was voted 'That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide, in the king;' but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster; he left that great point ambiguous, and trusted that, if it should ever become requisite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the decision.

But, even after all these precautions, the king was so little satisfied with his own title that, in the following year, he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and, as the court of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the necessities of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII, the reigning pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms

nor turned backe by Cold, he commonly recovered."
—*Lord Bacon*.—*Ed.*

The parliament meets at Westminster.

Attainted members return. Their right to sit in parliament is questioned.

The judges decide that attainted members cannot sit until their attainders are reversed.

The king himself had been attainted.

It is decided that the crown takes away all defects in blood.

The parliament is disposed to grant all he requires.

Henry puts forth various claims to the throne.

The crown is entailed upon the king.

The succession is secured to the heirs of his body.

Henry claims confirmation of his title from the pope.

moderately warme, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature's work were neither irritated by Heat,

the king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by succession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the sanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession, of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine that the security derived from this bull could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.*

It was natural, and even laudable, in Henry to reverse the attainders which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster: but the revenges which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth. How men could be guilty of treason, by supporting the king in possession against the earl of Richmond, who assumed not the title of king, it is not easy to conceive; and nothing but a servile complaisance in the parliament could have engaged them to make this stretch of justice.

The king, having gained so many points of consequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed

to render somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added other money bills of no great moment. The king made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all such as had taken arms, or formed any attempts, against him; provided they submitted by a certain day, and took the usual oath of allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation, rather than communicate it with the parliament (as was his first intention) by passing a bill to that purpose. The earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the tower.

During this parliament the king also bestowed honours on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was restored to the honours of his family, as well as to its fortune. This generosity, so unusual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Brittany was created earl of Bath, Sir Giles Daubeney lord Daubeney, and Sir Robert Willoughby lord Broke. These were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this session of parliament.

But the ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Moreton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of vigilance and capacity, were the men to whom he

A duty on tonnage and poundage is granted to Henry for life.

A general pardon is offered by proclamation.

The earl of Surrey submits, and is sent to the tower.

The duke of Buckingham is restored to his honours.

John Moreton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, are Henry's favourite ministers.

* It may be mentioned that king Henry obtained another bull, which abated a great abuse by qualifying the privilege of sanctuary in three points. "The first, that if any Sanctuarie-man did, by night or otherwise, get out of Sanctuarie privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in againe, hee should loose the benefit of Sanctuarie for ever after. The

second, that howsoever the person of the Sanctuarie-man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of Sanctuarie should not. The third, that if any tooke Sanctuarie for case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to looke to him in Sanctuarie.—Lord Bacon.—ED.

Excommunication is denounced against all who may disturb him or his heirs.

The late king and his nobles are attainted.

Henry demands a supply from parliament.

He advances the fortunes of both.

chiefly confided his secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Moreton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter. The former soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury: the latter was made privy seal; and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. For Henry, as lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates; because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy to reward their services: and it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees. He probably expected that, as they were naturally more dependant on him than the nobility, so the prospect of farther elevation would render them still more active in his service, and more obsequious to his commands.

He loved to employ and promote bishops.

KING'S MARRIAGE.

The parliament petition Henry to marry the princess Elizabeth.

In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the parliament, anxious to preserve the legal undisputed succession to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest zeal, to espouse the princess Elizabeth; but they covered their true reason under the dutiful pretence of their desire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people.* His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation.† Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tran-

The marriage takes place.

* On account of the relationship which connected Henry and Elizabeth, he procured a dispensation from the pope.—ED.

† The people seem to have been extravagantly pleased at the completion of this ceremony, though it brought little happiness to the parties whom it most immediately affected. Lord Bacon says; "At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnised the so long expected and so much desired marriage between the king and the Lady Elizabeth: which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph

quillity during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious, to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness.

AN INSURRECTION. 1486.

THE king had been carried along with such a tide of success, that he thought nothing could withstand the fortune which attended him. He now resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of curing, by his presence, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that viscount Lovel, with Sir Humfrey Stafford and Thomas his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester. But this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege Worcester; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. He assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this hasty armament was more formidable by their spirit and their zealous attachment to him than by the arms or military stores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy, but previously to try every

Attachment to the house of York manifested by the Londoners, renders Henry unkind to his queen.

He makes a progress into the north

Lord Lovel, Sir Humfrey and Thomas Stafford raise an insurrection.

Henry assembles a small army

and demonstrations (especially on the people's part). of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation; which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true that all his life time, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, (for she died before him) he shewed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the House of Yorke was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his warres and councils, but in his chamber and bed."—ED.



ELIZABETH OF YORK

QUEEN TO HENRY THE SEVENTH

1469

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

proper expedient to disperse them. Bedford published a general promise of pardon to the rebels, which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion, that he suddenly withdrew; and, after lurking some time in Lancashire, made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but, as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, obtained a pardon.

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE.

THOUGH Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular. The source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that very reason became every day more the object of his hatred and jealousy. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians; but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general resumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York: and, though this rigour had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become insufficient to support the dignity of the crown; and, though the grants, during the later years of Henry VI., were resumed by the same law; yet the York party, as

they were the principal sufferers, by the resumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the earl of Warwick, begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his confinement in the tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him. When it was remarked that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a son was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepossessions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally obstinate in their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to cure these prejudices; but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at best reverence, rather than good-will and affection. While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigour retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

LAMBERT SIMNEL.

THERE lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtilty, and still more enterprise. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government, by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread, and received with great avidity, that Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public: but hearing afterwards that Warwick had made his escape from the tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Sim-

His severity to the earl of Warwick offends the nation.

Henry is feared, but not loved.

Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, pretends to be the deceased duke of York.

He afterwards personates the earl of Warwick.

Simnel acts
his part
well.

The queen
dowager is
believed to
favour the
impostor.

She is most
hostile to
king Hen-
ry.

Lamôert.
Simnel is
removed to
Ireland.

nel personate that unfortunate prince. Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act, yet was it remarked that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition: and it was thence conjectured that persons of higher rank, partisans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might seem, that she had secretly given her consent to the imposture. This woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that, instead of receiving the reward of her services in contributing to Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute insignificance, her daughter treated with severity,* and all her friends brought under subjection, she had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew that the imposture might easily at last be set aside; and, if a way could be found at this risk to subvert the government, she hoped that a scene might be opened which would gratify her revenge, and be less irksome to her than that slavery and contempt to which she was now reduced.

REVOLT OF IRELAND.

BUT, whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, was providently allowed by Henry to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers who had been appointed by his predecessors

still retained their authority. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman gave attention to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more sanguine in their zeal and belief than himself. And, in proportion as the story diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion, till the people in Dublin with one consent tendered their allegiance to Simnel as to the true Plantagenet. They overlooked the daughters of Edward IV., who stood before Warwick in the order of succession; they paid the pretended prince attendance as their sovereign; lodged him in the castle of Dublin; crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the virgin; and publicly proclaimed him king by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a sword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

When this intelligence was conveyed to the king it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in person, he yet scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy was first framed. In order to discover the secret source of the contrivance, he held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority.

The first event which followed these deliberations gave surprise to the public: it was the seizure of the queen dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey. This act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alleged that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yet yielded to the solicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obso-

He imposes
on the earl
of Kildare

The people
of Dublin
tender Sim-
nel their
allegiance.

He is
crowned as
Edward VI

Henry con-
fines the
queen dow-
ager, and
seizes her
lands.

She is
charged
with havin
favoured
Richard.

* However exemplary her conduct as a wife, great conjugal tenderness was hardly to be expected from

Henry, nor could Elizabeth feel that much was due to an artful, selfish princess, who had married him

lete, and might admit of alleviations, was therefore suspected not to be the real cause of the severity with which she was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under colour of an offence known to the whole world. They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she survived this disgrace several years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, solitude, and confinement.*

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwick should be taken from the tower; be led in procession through the streets of London; be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him, and converse with him: and he trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd imposture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England: but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shewn a counterfeit Warwick to the public.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth eldest sister to Edward IV., was engaged

to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwick, had farther struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the most dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during some time in the court of his aunt the duchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

INTRIGUES OF THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.

MARGARET, widow of Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herself, with an entire friendship, to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian archduke of Austria; and after the death of that princess she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour she had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as economy, upon that ample dowry which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction, which it is so difficult for a

not for himself, but for his station; who when he was in adversity shared her mother's scheme for making her the consort of her uncle Richard; who termed the author of her brothers' death her "joy and maker in this world; the master of her heart and thoughts;" and expressed in her correspondence a wicked impatience for the death of Queen Anne, who then stood in her way.—ED.

* Strange varieties of fortune were known to this lady. A poor desolate widow, from the condition of a helpless suppliant, she is raised to be the partner of a throne, and finds herself in a condition to exalt

all her kindred and friends. Misfortune again overtakes her, and she flies to a sanctuary for safety, where she gives birth to her first child. She is suddenly restored to regal greatness, but again finds herself a widow. The cruel, ambitious Richard ascends the throne, which was deemed the inheritance of her sons, and they are lost to her for ever. The conqueror of the tyrant marries her daughter, and again she is seen in the enjoyment of all that high rank and prosperity can bestow; and this is followed by condemnation to perpetual imprisonment.—ED.

The earl of Lincoln is connected with the conspiracy.

Lincoln retires to Flanders

Margaret, the widow of Charles "the Bold," has great authority among the Flemings.

She resents
the conduct
of Henry to
her family.

social and sanguine temper to guard against, had taken strong possession of her heart, and intrenched somewhat on the probity which shone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its partisans, she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims.

SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND. 1487.

Martin
Swart is
sent by her
with two
thousand
Germans to
Ireland.

AFTER consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer; and sent them, with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading England. The poverty under which they laboured made it impossible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and inspired them with a strong desire of enriching themselves by plunder and preferment in England.

The Irish
propose to
invade
England.

Henry was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies. He ordered troops to be levied, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorset, who he suspected would resent the injuries suffered by his mother the queen dowager: and, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for success, and for deliverance from his enemies.

Henry
makes a
pilgrimage

BATTLE OF STOKE.

BEING informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards

the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favour: but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success, either remained in tranquillity, or gave assistance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, on the sixth of June, and fought a battle which was bloody, and more obstinately disputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or to perish; and they inspired their troops with like resolution. The Germans also, being veteran soldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill armed and almost defenceless, shewed themselves not defective in bravery.* The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field, with four thousand of his followers. As Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was only committed to close custody; Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

The rebels
determine
to give
battle.

An obsti-
nate con-
flict ensues.

Henry
gains a de-
cisive vic-
tory.

Simnel is
made a
scullion in
the king's
kitchen.

Henry had now leisure to revenge himself on his enemies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict enquiry was made after those who

* "Martin Swart," says Lord Bacon, "with his Germans performed bravely; and so did those few English that were on that side, neither did the Irish

faile in courage or fiercenesse, but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeines, it was rather an execution than a fight."—Ed.

Henry pun-
ishes the
disaffection
by heavy
fines.

The raising
of a false
report is
punished as
a crime.

Henry
uses the
seem to
be crowned.

had favoured the rebels. The punishments were not all sanguinary; the king made his revenge subservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commissioners, or they suffered punishment by a sentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of disaffection; and he punished many for that pretended crime. But such in this age was the situation of the English government, that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.

After the king had gratified his rigour, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this delay had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king now finished the ceremony of her coronation;* and he restored to liberty the marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him.

* On his coming to London, where he entered in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victorie with two dayes of devotion (for the first day he repaired to Paules, and had the hymne of Te Deum sung, and the morrow after he went in procession and heard the sermon at the Crosse,) the queene was with great solemnitie crowned at Westminster, the five and twentieth of November, in the third yeare of his raigne, which was about two years after the marriage, like an old christening that had stayed long for the godfather. Which strange and unusual distance of time made it subject of every man's note, that it was an act against his stomacke, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soone after, to shew that it was now faire weather againe, and that the imprisonment of Thomas Marquesse Dorset, was rather vpon suspicion of the Time, then of the Man, hee the said Marquesse was set at libertie, without examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an Ambassadour vnto

CHAPTER XXV.

HENRY VII.

STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—STATE OF SCOTLAND.—OF SPAIN.—OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.—OF FRANCE.—OF BRITTANY.—FRENCH INVASION OF BRITTANY.—FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.—DISSIMULATION OF THE FRENCH COURT.—AN INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH SUPPRESSED.—FORCES SENT INTO BRITTANY.—BRITTANY ANNEXED TO FRANCE.—A PARLIAMENT.—WAR WITH AND INVASION OF FRANCE.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—PERKIN WARBECK'S IMPOSTURE.—HE IS AVOWED BY THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, ETC.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STANLEY.—A PARLIAMENT.

STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
1488.

THE king acquired great reputation by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic affairs: but, as some incidents about this time invited him to exert himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary to explain the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms, beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous.

Henry
exerts him-
self in be-
half of his
allies.

STATE OF SCOTLAND.

THE kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a

Pope Innocent, signifying vnto him this his marriage, and that now (like another Æneas) he had passed through the fouds of his former troubles and trauniles, and was arriued vnto a safe Hauen; and thanking his Holinesse, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his Ambassadour; and offering both his Person and the forces of his Kingdome vpon all occasions to doe him service. The Ambassador making his Oration to the Pope, in the presence of the Cardinals, did so magnifie the King and Queene, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did againe so extoll and deifie the Pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his Master and Mistresse seeme temperate and passable. But hee was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the Pope. Who knowing himselfe to be bee lazie and vnprofitable to the Christian-world, was wonderfully glad to heare that there were such Echoes of him sounding in remote parts."—Lord Bacon.—ED.

Scotland is still but imperfectly civilized.

Her king is embarrassed in the choice of his ministers.

A seven years' truce is concluded by Henry with Scotland.

Spain becomes formidable to Europe.

civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the sovereign, to maintain itself in tranquillity. James III., who now filled the throne, was a prince of little industry and of a narrow genius; and, though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his ministers, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himself and to his people. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the state; when he conferred favour on any person of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons, enraged at the power of an upstart minion, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to subjection; but, as he was probably sensible that a warlike people, though they might be overrun by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and sent an embassy to James for that purpose. But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace, and who deemed their security to consist in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a seven years' truce, which was accordingly concluded.

STATE OF SPAIN.

THE European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they have remained for nearly three centuries; and began to unite themselves into one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, hitherto almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, being princes of great capa-

city, employed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion: and in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and security were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and make a great figure in every war and negociation.

STATE OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.

MAXIMILIAN king of the Romans, son of the emperor Frederic, had, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands; and, though the death of his consort had weakened his connexions with that country, he still pretended to the government as tutor to his son Philip; and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and several of the provinces; but, as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that obstinate people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI.; and had given his daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin, together with Artois, Franche-Compte, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII. But Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

STATE OF FRANCE.

FRANCE, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increase in power; and, had not other states at the same time received an accession of force, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had

Under Ferdinand and Isabella she acts an important part

The king of the Romans claims the government of the Netherlands.

His daughter is given in marriage to the dauphin

France gains a great accession of strength

The condition of France is much improved.

Anne, lady of Beaujeu, seeks to unite Brittany to the French crown.

The duke of Brittany places himself under the direction of Peter Landais.

Peter is put to death.

The French think the opportunity favourable for invading Brittany.

been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to support it. Lewis XI. indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his son in early youth, and ill educated, to sustain the weight of the monarchy: but, having intrusted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princess formed the great project, which at last she happily effected, of uniting to the crown Brittany, the last and most independent fief of the monarchy.

STATE OF BRITTANY.

FRANCIS II., duke of Brittany, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for integrity. The nobles of Brittany, displeased with the great advancement of this favourite, after many tumults and disorders, at last united, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death, the obnoxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and safety, maintained a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the duchy; and so much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

Lewis duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the

monarchy, had disputed the administration with the lady of Beaujeu; and though his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princess. Finding his conspiracies detected, he took to arms, and fortified himself in Beaugenci; but he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose. Actuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the duke of Brittany, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the lady of Beaujeu by the friendship and credit of the duke of Orleans. This latter prince also, perceiving the ascendant which he soon acquired over the duke of Brittany, had engaged many of his partisans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of aggrandizing himself by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent duchy.*

Lewis, duke of Orleans, takes arms against the lady of Beaujeu, but is subdued.

He proposes to marry Anne, the heir of the duchy.

FRENCH INVASION OF BRITTANY.

THE barons of Brittany, who saw all favour engrossed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independency, they had regulated the number of succours which France was to send them, and had stipulated that no fortified place in Brittany should remain in the possession of that monarchy. A vain precaution, where revolted subjects treat with a power so much superior! The French invaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised; and,

The barons of Brittany invite a French invasion.

The French overrun the country.

* The hand of this princess was a more than ordinary subject of contention. "Anne of Beaujeu put forward her brother; Maximilian, who had already gained one triumph over the son of Lewis XI., in the case of Mary of Burgundy, aspired to the hand of the heiress of Brittany; Dunois claimed it for the chief of his house; Lescun for the Sieur d'Albret, an old commander fifty years of age, little calculated to

please a girl of fourteen, with his coarse habits, and red pimpled face; but he of all, perhaps, alone suited the national party."—*Pictorial History of France*. With a body of adherents, d'Albret carried off the young lady by force. Dunois, however, pursued the robbers, rescued Anne, and placing her behind him on his war horse, carried her to a place of safety.—Ed.

The duke of Orleans opposes them unsuccessfully.

He withdraws to Nantz, which the French besiege.

They still seek to reduce Brittany.

England alone is expected to favour the independence of the duchy.

advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploermel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill disciplined army, which he put under the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against these invaders. He retired to Vannes; but, being hotly pursued by the French, now masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons of Brittany, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their sovereign.

This desertion, however, of the Bretons discouraged not the court of France from pursuing her favourite project of reducing Brittany. The situation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this design. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the duke of Brittany, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conquest of Granada; and it was also known that, if France would resign to him Roussillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretensions, she could at any time engage him to abandon the interest of Brittany. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independence of that duchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real designs, no sooner was she informed of Henry's success against Simnel, than she dispatched ambassadors to London, and made professions of the greatest confidence in that monarch.

FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

THE ambassadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communi-

cating to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some successes of their master against Maximilian, came in the progress of their discourse to mention the late transactions in Brittany. They told him that the duke had given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that duchy: that the honour of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to prevent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fugitives were no mean or obscure persons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Brittany, where he still persevered in schemes of rebellion against his sovereign: that the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease when the duke of Brittany should remove the causes of it; that their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke in very critical times had conferred on Henry; but it was known also that, in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counsellors had deserted him, and put his life in the utmost hazard: that his sole refuge in these desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: that France had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what, in a narrow view, might be esteemed her own interest; since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with such virtue and abilities: and that, as both the justice of the cause and the obligations conferred on Henry thus preponderated on the side of France, she reasonably expected that, if the situation of his affairs did not permit him to give her assistance, he would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties.

Ambassadors from France wait on Henry.

They declare that France in self-defence is forced to make war on Brittany.

Henry is reminded of aids he had received from France.

He is called upon not to interfere in the affairs of Brittany.

This discourse of the French ambassadors was plausible ; and, to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their master's intention, after he should have settled the differences with Brittany, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples : a project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all these artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the king. He clearly saw that France had entertained the view of subduing Brittany ; but he also perceived that she would meet with great, and, as he thought, insuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that duchy, he knew, had often, without any foreign assistance, resisted the power of France ; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them easily abandon any enterprise which required perseverance ; and, as the heir of the crown was confederated with the duke of Brittany, the ministers would be still more remiss in prosecuting a scheme which must draw on them his resentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addresses to the heiress of Brittany, would be able to make a diversion on the side of Flanders ; nor could it be expected that France, if she prosecuted such ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Isabella. Above all, he thought the French court could never expect that England, so deeply interested to preserve the independency of Brittany, would permit such an accession of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprise so obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

DISSIMULATION OF THE FRENCH COURT.

THIS reasoning of Henry was solid : but there entered into his conduct another motive. His frugality, which by degrees

degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enterprises and distant expeditions, and engaged him previously to try the expedient of negotiation. He dispatched Urswic his almoner, a man of address and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties : an offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would soon lead to a composure of all differences ; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perseverance of that court in her ambitious projects. Urswic found the lady of Beaujeu, now duchess of Bourbon, engaged in the siege of Nantz, and had the satisfaction to find that his master's offer of mediation was readily embraced. That able princess concluded that the duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Brittany, foreseeing that every accommodation must be made at his expense, would use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected ; and would by that means make an apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the English ambassador made the same offer to the duke of Brittany, he received for answer, in the name of that prince, that, having so long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected more effectual assistance in his present distresses than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms : that, if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as king of England, should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Brittany, and its annexation to the crown of France : that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile disposition which had always subsisted between those rival nations : that Brittany, so useful an ally, which by its situation gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England ; and that, if

Mediation between France and Brittany offered by Henry.

It is accepted by the lady of Beaujeu :

But regretted by the duke of Brittany.

He shows that the usurpation of France must be injurious to England

They make great promises.

Henry's penetration cannot be imposed upon.

He believes the French cannot succeed against Brittany,

And is persuaded France will ultimately abandon the enterprise.

Henry's aid is claimed as a confederate.

The French are obliged to raise the siege of Nantz.

Another embassy is sent by Henry to Brittany.

The king forbids his subjects to aid the Bretons.

the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, nor from a confidence in his own force; but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not that of a mediator.

When this answer was reported to the king, he only concluded that more time was requisite to quell the obstinacy of the Bretons, and make them submit to reason. And, when he learned that the people of Brittany had formed a tumultuary army of sixty thousand men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz, he fortified himself the more in his opinion that the court of France, would at last abandon the project of reducing Brittany to subjection. He continued therefore his scheme of negociation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry; who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Brittany. The king dispatched another embassy, consisting of Urswic the abbot of Abingdon, and Sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals. No effectual succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, brother to the queen dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers, and to transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal from the king. That nobleman, however, went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor: levied a body of four hundred men; and, having obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of Henry, sailed with them to

Brittany. This enterprise proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomfited. Woodville and all the English were put to the sword, together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable.* The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank, were taken prisoners;† and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The death of the duke, which followed soon after, threw affairs into still greater confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with a final subjection.

INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH SUPPRESSED.

THOUGH the king did not prepare against these events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with sufficient precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and observed that their ancient animosity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved therefore to draw some supplies from the people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Brittany. He had summoned a parliament at Westminster; and he soon persuaded them to grant him a considerable subsidy. But this involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties

Lord Woodville, and a body of English assisting the Bretons are all slain.

The duke of Brittany dies.

The animosity of the English against France is revived.

A parliament meets at Westminster.

* At the commencement of the action twelve hundred Bretons had put on the red jackets of the English, to give a more formidable appearance to their little force. They were all put to the sword, with the real English troops.—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.

† The Prynce of Orenge and the Duke of Orliannee were taken Prysoners, which Duke (although he were next heyre apparent to the crown of France) should have lost hys head, if Lady Jane, hys wife, which was sister to Charles, the French Kyng, had not obteyned pardon and remission of his trespasse and offence.—*Hall*. According to some writers the

duke himself considered his peril was not small. Having supped with the French commander, towards the end of the repast, two confessors entered the apartment. The duke believed himself doomed, but was told that, as he was a prince of the blood, it belonged to the king alone to deal with him. The ecclesiastics attended on account of certain gentlemen, who were taken prisoners at the same time, and who were then shrived and immediately executed. "This unfortunate metyng chanced to the Bretons on a Monday, beyng the xxvii day of July, in the yere of our redemption MCCCCLXXXVIII.—*Hall*.—Ed.

of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppressions, under which they had laboured after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners made application to the earl of Northumberland, and desired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to consult the king; who, unwilling to yield to the humours of a discontented populace, renewed his orders for strictly levying the imposition. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the most imperious terms, which he thought would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them. They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such deep guilt, their mutinous humour prompted them to declare against the king himself; and, being instigated by John Achamber, a seditious fellow of low birth, they chose Sir John Egremond their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not dismayed with an insurrection so precipitate. He immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement, and received into favour. His intention was to send these troops to check the progress of the rebels, while he himself should follow with a greater body, which would absolutely ensure success. But Surrey thought himself strong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude; and he succeeded. The rebels were dissipated; John Achamber was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with some of his accomplices;* Sir John Egremond fled to the duchess of Burgundy,

A tax is resisted by the counties of Durham and York.

The king orders it to be enforced.

The people rise, and murder the duke of Northumberland.

An army is raised against the rebels in the north.

The rebels are dispersed and their leader executed.

who gave him protection; the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

FORCES SENT INTO BRITTANY.
1489.

HENRY had probably expected, when he obtained the grant from parliament, that he should be able to terminate the affair of Brittany by negociation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But, as the distresses of the Bretons became every day more urgent, he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous measures to support them. On the death of the duke, the French had revived some antiquated claims to the dominion of the duchy; and, as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hostilities could no longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Brittany, and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people, by opposing himself to the progress of the French power. Besides entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were distant resources, he levied a body of troops, to the number of six thousand men, with an intention of transporting them into Brittany. Still anxious for the repayment of his expenses, he concluded a treaty with the young duchess, by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two seaport towns, till she should entirely refund the charges of the armament. Though he engaged for the service of these troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the duchess obliged to submit to such rigid conditions. The forces arrived under the command of lord Willoughby of Broke; and made the Bretons, during some time, masters of the field. The French retired into their garisons. Lord Broke found such discord and confusion in the councils of Brittany, that no measures could be concerted for

The multitude are pardoned.

The distresses of the Bretons increase.

Henry determines to oppose the progress of the French.

He stipulates for the payment of all his expenses.

The French retire before the English.

* The King, of his magnificent mynde, perdoned the innocent and rural people, and plaged and executed the inventors of the mischief, and the furtherers of the same. For Ihon a Chambre was hanged at Yorke, upon a gybbet set upon a square

paire of gallows, and his complices and lewd disciples were hanged on the lower gallows rounde about theyr mayster, to the terrible example of all other.—Hall.

The English, disconcerted with the confusion which prevails, return home.

The duchess of Brittany's hand becomes the object of contention.

She assumes the title of queen of the Romans

Maximilian cannot assist his consort.

any undertaking ; no supply obtained ; no provisions, carriages, artillery, or military stores, procured. The whole court was rent into factions ; no one minister had acquired the ascendant ; and whatever project was formed by one was sure to be traversed by another. The English, disconcerted by these animosities and uncertain counsels, returned home as soon as the time of their service was elapsed, leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been consigned into their hands. During their stay in Brittany they had only contributed still farther to waste the country, and by their departure they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost distress.

The great object of the domestic dissensions in Brittany was the disposal of the young duchess in marriage. The marshal Rieux, favoured by Henry, seconded the suit of the lord d'Albret, who led some forces to her assistance. The chancellor Montauban, observing the aversion of the duchess to this suitor, insisted that a petty prince, such as d'Albret, was unable to support Anne in her present extremities ; and he recommended some more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian king of the Romans. This party prevailed ; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy, and the duchess thenceforth assumed the title of queen of the Romans.* But this magnificent appellation was all she gained by her marriage. Maximilian, destitute of troops and money, and embarrassed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could send no succour to his distressed consort ; while d'Albret, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deserted her cause, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the duchy, both for strength and riches.

* The marriage was consummate by proxie, with a ceremonie, at that time in these parts, new. For shee was not only publickely contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnely Bedded ; and after shee was layd, there came in Maximilians Ambassadors

The French court now began to change their scheme with regard to Brittany. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian ; who, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Besides the rich dowry she brought the king, she was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy ; and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. These circumstances had so blinded both Maximilian and Henry, that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court ; nor were they able to discover that engagements, seemingly so advantageous, and so solemnly entered into, could be infringed and set aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the natives, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprise ; and that even if he should overrun the country, and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the duchess could fully reannex that fief to the crown ; and the present and uncertain enjoyment of so considerable a territory seemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy ; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even security, of the French monarchy ; while that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils was therefore concluded to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not consummated, and the espousal of the duchess of Brittany by the king of France.

The views of France respecting Brittany are changed.

The daughter of Maximilian is affianced to the king of France.

Charles no longer seeks to gain Brittany by conquest.

He contemplates a marriage with Anne of Brittany who is already married.

with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry Noble personages, Men and Women, put his Legge (stript naked to the knee) betweene the Espousall Sheets.—*Lord Bacon.*—ED.

It was necessary that this expedient, which had not been foreseen by any court in Europe, and which they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should be discovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry in the conduct of this delicate enterprise were wise. While they pressed Brittany with all the rigours of war they secretly gained the count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Bretons; and, having also engaged in their interests the prince of Orange, cousin-german to the duchess, they gave him his liberty, and sent him into Brittany. These partisans, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared minds for the great revolution projected, and displayed, though still with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French monarchy. They represented to the barons of Brittany that their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even present protection; and, by closely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy; that their vicinity exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy; and the happiest event would be to attain a peace, though by a final subjection to France: and that any expedient, compatible with the honour of the state, and their duty to their sovereign, was preferable to a scene of such disorder and devastation.

BRITTANY ANNEXED TO FRANCE. 1491.

THESE suggestions had influence with the Bretons: but the chief difficulty lay in surmounting the prejudices of the young duchess. That princess had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and, as she now deemed him her husband, she could not, she thought, without incurring the greatest guilt and violating the most solemn engagements, contract a marriage with any

other person. To overcome her obstinacy, Charles gave the duke of Orleans his liberty; who, though formerly a suitor to the duchess, was now contented to ingratiate himself with the king, by employing in his favour all the interest which he still possessed in Brittany. Mareschal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his mediation; and these rival ministers now concurred with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois in pressing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. By their suggestion Charles advanced with a powerful army, and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess; who, finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city, and agreed to espouse the king of France. She was married at Langey in Touraine; conducted to St. Denis, where she was crowned; thence made her entry into Paris amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

The triumph and success of Charles was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France; he had reason to reproach himself with neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which would have rendered the tie indissoluble. These considerations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

The king of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of superior power could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment,

The duke of Orleans seeks to favour the views of France.

The duchess yields, and becomes the queen of Charles.

The king of the Romans, outraged by the marriage, threatens France with invasion.

Henry reproaches his own negligence and misconduct.

He seeks
revenge by
gratifying
his avarice.

the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth, such as Charles, could not but prompt him to seek vengeance after all remedy was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice; and he sought, even from his present disappointments, the gratification of this ruling passion. On pretence of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a 'benevolence' on the people; a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near ten thousand pounds. Archbishop Moreton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended. If the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them; if their method of living was splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expenses. This device was by some called chancellor Moreton's fork, by others his crutch.

A PARLIAMENT.

Henry as-
sembles his
parliament
at West-
minster.

So little apprehensive was the king of a parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary imposition, that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster; and he even expected to enrich himself farther by working on their prejudices. He knew the displeasure which the English had conceived against France on account of the acquisition of Brittany; and he took care to insist on that topic in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them that France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.: that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity: that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title, transmitted to him by his gallant

He calls
upon them
to resent
the in-
dignity offered
to England.

ancestors: that Cressy, Poitiers, and Azincour, were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory: that the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions, and her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that, where such lasting honour was in view, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure; and that he was determined to make the war maintain itself; and hoped, by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase, rather than diminish, the riches of the nation.

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the same condition as when such successful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were desirous of tranquillity; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran soldiers; and the general aspect of her affairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbours than to promise them any considerable advantages against her. The levity and vain glory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles; but were ill seconded by military power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a shew of war, was actually negotiating for peace; and would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontents; and in Scotland the death of Henry's friend and ally James III., who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made way for the succession of his son James IV., who was devoted to the French interest, and would be alarmed at any important progress of the English arms. But all these obvious considerations had no influ-

The parlia-
ment is re-
minded of
past tri-
umphs.

Henry
propo-
ses to re-
conquer
France.

France is
no longer in
a condition
to be sub-
jected to
England.

Henry's
allies are
not to be
depended
upon.

The parliament adopt the views of Henry.

The news is circulated through the English army.

Henry causes him self to be proclaimed to receive peace.

The nobility are anxious for a war with France.

Henry enters France.

He declares to be his intention to conquer the French kingdom.

Secret treaties of peace.

Peace between France and Spain.

Negotiations continued.

Peace is concluded.

Henry profits by the war and the peace.

ence on the parliament. They gave into the snare prepared for them, and voted the supply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and, the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates without paying any fines for alienation.

WAR WITH AND INVASION OF FRANCE. 1492.

THE nobility were universally seized with a desire of military glory; and, having credulously swallowed all the boasts of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them borrowed large sums, or sold off manors, that they might appear with greater splendour. The king crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais on the sixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford: but, as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference. 'He had come over,' he said, 'to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was therefore of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters.' As if he had seriously intended this enterprise, he instantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Bulloigne: but, notwithstanding this, there had been secret advances towards peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile minds to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that Maximilian was in no readiness to join him. Soon after messengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a

cession of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Bulloigne, the desertion of those allies whose assistance had been most relied on; events which might have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.

IN consequence of these preparatory steps, the bishop of Exeter and lord Daubeny were sent to confer at Estables with the mareschal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty. A few days sufficed for that purpose: the demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, near four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money, partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Brittany, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. And he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his historian, made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise when he said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he disdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason

Maximilian makes a separate peace with France.

to complain: he made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franche-Compte, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was affianced to the king of France.

The king of France seeks to conquer Naples.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the side of Italy, and soon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprise which Henry regarded with the greatest indifference. The king's authority was fully established at home. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavourable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him. The king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity: but his inveterate enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adversary, who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

Henry has a prospect of durable peace before him.

The duchess of Burgundy pretends the murdered duke of York is still living.

The duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partisans, rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprises, was determined at least to disturb that government which she found it so difficult to subvert. She propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the tower when his elder brother was murdered; and, finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

PERKIN WARBECK'S IMPOSTURE.

THERE was one Osbec, or Warbec, a renegade Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV., and had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish

manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his numerous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbec's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child Warbec returned to Tournay; where Perkin his son did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent enquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part. In this light he had been represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who, struck with the concurrence of so many circumstances suited to her purpose, desired to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. She found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to his personating the duke of York, were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension: but, as the season seemed not then favourable for his enterprise, Margaret sent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year unknown to all the world.

Perkin resembles Edward in person.

He is a youth of great capacity.

Perkin is taught to personate the late duke of York.

The war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and, immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of

Perkin proceeds to Cork, and assumes the name of Richard Plantagenet.

Perkin Warbec is godson to Edward IV.

their discourse and even the object of their favour.

The news soon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a secretary of Henry's, who had deserted his service, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension; assigned him magnificent lodgings; and, in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person, of which lord Congresal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt. Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree; and the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England. Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes: and the impostor had now the appearance of a court, and began to entertain hopes of final success in his undertakings.

THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, &c., AVOW WARBECK. 1493.

WHEN peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the duchess of Burgundy, and craving her protection, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princess put on the appearance of distrust; and, having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel, she was determined

never again to be seduced by any impostor. She desired before all the world to be instructed in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore; seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; affected astonishment at his answers; and at last, after severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance; embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the 'White Rose of England.' The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent. No surmise of his true birth was as yet heard of. Little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion. And the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor.

It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretensions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and some even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination towards him. Sir William Stanley himself, lord chamberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy. Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open: they went over to Flanders; were introduced by the duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England that he knew perfectly the person of Richard duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of rank and character,

The duchess of Burgundy openly recognises him as her nephew.

The English become prepossessed in his favour.

Men of high birth are disgusted with Henry's government.

Sir Robert Clifford identifies Perkin as Richard duke of York.

A conspiracy is formed against Henry.

was sufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

The death of the real duke of York is investigated.

The king was informed of all these particulars; but, agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; Sir James Tyrrel, to whom he had committed the government of the tower for that purpose, and who had seen the dead princes; Forest, Dighton, Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tyrrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but, as the priest was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact so much as he wished beyond all doubt and controversy.

Only two of the assassins of the princes remain alive.

Henry sets spies on Perkin.

He met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more successful, in detecting who this wonderful person was that advanced pretensions to his crown. He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the young man's friends; he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, sometimes his confessor, and by these means traced up some other confederate; Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets committed to him; the more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them; some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematized, in order the better

Perkin's secrets are betrayed by Clifford.

to procure them the confidence of his enemies; and, in the issue, the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation, of the pretended duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published; the conspirators he reserved for a slower and surer vengeance.

Meanwhile he remonstrated with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so infamous an impostor; contrary to treaties subsisting between the sovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected, on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demesnes of the duchess dowager: and the king, in resentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects. Philip retaliated by like edicts. But Henry knew that so mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

Henry remonstrates with the archduke Philip.

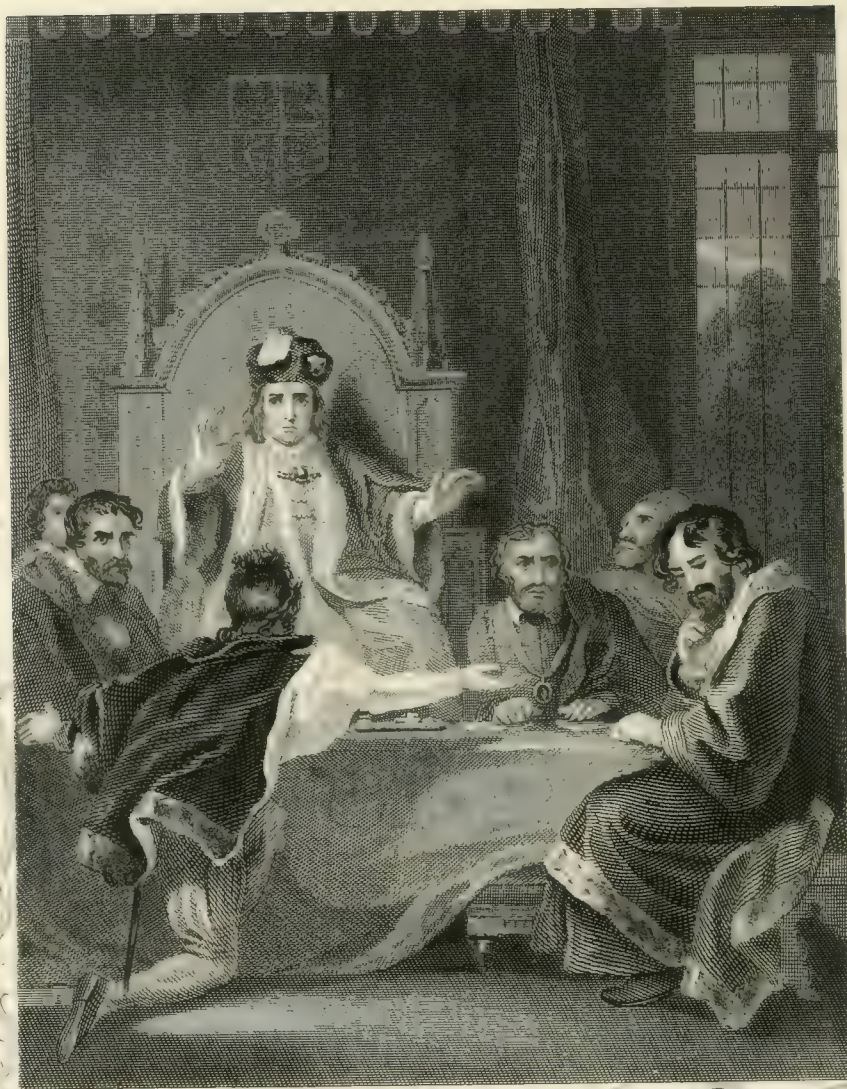
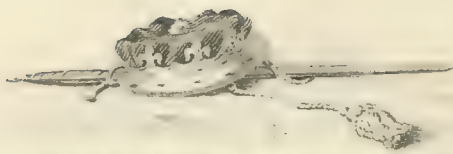
His representations are not attended to.

He had it in his power to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies. Almost in the same instant he arrested Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering to Perkin. Mountfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeney, were immediately executed: Fitzwater was sent over to Calais, and detained in custody; but, being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with William Worseley, dean of St. Paul's, and some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial.

The friends of Perkin in England are arrested, tried, and executed.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STANLEY. 1494.

GREATER and more solemn preparations were deemed requisite for the trial of



Stanley, lord Chamberlain; whose authority in the nation, whose domestic connexions with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himself at the king's feet while he sat in council; craving pardon for past offences, and offering to atone for them. Henry then told him that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices. Clifford accused Stanley, then present, as his chief abettor; and offered to lay before the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himself could not discover more surprise than was affected by Henry on the occasion. He received the intelligence as absolutely incredible; that a man, to whom he was in a great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whose brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the trust of his person by creating him lord chamberlain; that this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the consequences of his accusation; but, as he persisted in the same positive asseverations, Stanley was committed to custody, and was soon after examined before the council. He denied not the guilt imputed to him; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would serve as an atonement, or trusted to his present connexions and his former services for pardon and security. But princes are often apt to regard great services as a ground of jealousy, especially if accompanied with a craving and restless disposition in the person who has performed them. The general discontent also, and mutinous humour, of the people seemed to require some great example of severity. And, as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of above three

thousand pounds a year in land, and forty thousand marks in plate and money, besides other property of great value, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was deemed no small motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities. After six week's delay, which was interposed in order to shew that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is that he should have said, in confidence to Clifford, that, if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to king Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster; but could scarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is asserted by some historians, that he had expressly engaged to assist Perkin, and had actually sent him some supply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clifford's desertion they found that all their secrets were betrayed; and, as it appeared that Stanley had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged, nay; every word which fell from him, a general distrust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his great reputation for sagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, crept out against Henry's person and administration; and, being greedily propagated by every secret art, shewed that there still remained among the people, a considerable root of discontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the terrors of his people than on gaining their affections. Trusting to

The great wealth of Stanley supplies one motive for pursuing him.

He is beheaded.

The nature of his crime is doubtful.

Perkin's friends are thrown into great consternation.

Libels secretly propagated, prove that disaffection continues to exist.

Henry ex-
ports money
by fines.

He favours
the lawyers
and de-
presses the
nobility.

Perkin
places him-
self at the
head of a
band of
pirates and
robbers.

He ap-
proaches
the coast of
Kent.

the great success which attended him in all his enterprises, he gave every day more and more a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to exact fines and compositions. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, and was obliged to compound for sixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of these arts of chicanery was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted and caressed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive; but the less burdensome, as by his extending royal authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the sole oppressor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons, of all nations, to the number of six hundred men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent on England, and of exciting the common people to arms, since all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity. Information being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion;

* In which skirmish (besides those that fled, and were slain) there were taken about a hundred and fiftie persons. Which, for that the king thought, that to punish a few for example was Gentlemans-pay, but for Raskall-people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise; and likewise for that he saw that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such Rabble and

they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces, refused to intrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed; and, besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners.* These were tried and condemned, and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes.

A PARLIAMENT. 1495.

THIS year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed. The English parliament enacted that no person, who should, by arms, or otherwise, assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. This statute might be exposed to some censure, as favourable to usurpers, were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor, and render every one inexcusable who did not submit to him. But, as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics in its own favour, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity. Henry, promoted this law to secure his partisans; but, as he had himself observed a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend that, during the violence which usually ensues on public convulsions, his example rather

scumme of desperate people; hee therefore hanged them all for the greater terrour. They were brought to London, all rayl'd in Ropes, like a Teame of Horses in a Cart, and were executed some of them at London, and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for Sea-markes or Light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast.—*Lord Bacon*.—ED.

The gentle-
men of Kent
invite Per-
kin to land.

He refuses
compliance,
and the
Kentish
men attack
his retain-
ers.

Parlia-
ments are
assembled
in England
and Ireland

A law is
passed to
favour
those who
assist the
king for
the time
being.

He had not
spared the
friends of
Richard.

than his law would, in case of a new revolution, be followed. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government.

This parliament also passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence; a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been sent over with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprise. The Irish, by flying into their woods and morasses and mountains, for some time eluded his efforts. But Poynings summoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed the memorable statute which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the former laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irish parliament unless it previously receive the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seems calculated for ensuring the dominion of the English; but was really granted at the desire of the Irish commons, who intended by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants or deputies as were of Irish birth.

While Henry's authority was thus established, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid success which attended Charles in that rash enterprise. The Italians, who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy

that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were dispersed every where on the approach of the French army; their best fortified cities opened their gates; kingdoms and states were in an instant overturned; and, through the whole length of Italy, the French seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than making conquests over an enemy. The maxims, which the Italians followed in negotiations, were as ill calculated to support their states as the habits to which they were addicted in war. A treacherous and inconsistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honour, which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never desired or expected their success; and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests, and secure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the pope, Maximilian king of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered the confederacy; but was not put to any expense in consequence of his engagements. The king of France, terrified by so powerful a combination, returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, soon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been suddenly expelled by the irruption of the French.* Ferdinand died soon after, and left his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne.

* Alphonso was not even allowed to withdraw quietly. Lanquette says, being compelled to forsake his country, on his way, he was encountered by the Venetians, who endeavoured to stop his passage,

and after a sharp fight with loss on both sides, he was obliged to pursue his journey by another road.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HENRY VII.

PERKIN RETIRES TO SCOTLAND.—INSURRECTION IN THE WEST.—BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH.—TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.—PERKIN TAKEN PRISONER.—PERKIN AND THE EARL OF WARWICK EXECUTED.—MARRIAGE OF PRINCE ARTHUR WITH CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.—HIS DEATH.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET WITH THE KING OF SCOTLAND.—OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE.—A PARLIAMENT.—ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF CASTILE.—INTRIGUES OF THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.—SICKNESS OF THE KING.—HIS DEATH.—AND CHARACTER.—HIS LAWS.

PERKIN RETIRES TO SCOTLAND.

AFTER Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent he retired into Flanders; but, as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himself and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that island in so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and, being tired of the savage life which he was obliged to lead while sculking among the wild Irish, he bent his course toward Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France, who was disgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him; and this recommendation was even seconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his prohibiting in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by these princes procured him a favourable reception with the king of Scotland, who assured him that, whatever he were, he never should repent putting himself in his hands: the insinuating address and plausible behaviour of the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James was seduced to believe the story of Perkin's

birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far as to give him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and related to himself; a young lady too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

There subsisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself dispersed a manifesto, in which he set forth his own story, and craved the assistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and mal-administration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean persons, whose oppression of the people by multiplying impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions were now become stale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hostile dispositions which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, supported by the Scots, but an unwelcome present to the English nation. The ravages also, committed by the borderers, made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered subjects, and publicly remonstrated against the depredations exercised by the Scottish army: but James told him that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and, hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scot-

The lady Catherine Gordon is given to Perkin in marriage.

The king of Scotland makes an inroad into England.

Perkin grown stale is no longer regarded with favour by the people.

The ravages of the invaders exasperate them.

The king of Scotland retreats.

Perkin Warbec makes an attempt on Ireland.

He proceeds to Scotland.

Perkin is countenanced by the king of Scotland.

tish nation : his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impositions on his own subjects. He summoned a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scots, the absurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed, and the multiplied insults thus offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this discourse by granting a subsidy to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant they were dismissed.

INSURRECTION IN THE WEST. 1497.

The vote of parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry ; but he found it not so easy to levy the money upon his subjects. The people could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion ; and it is probable that the flaw, known to be in his title, made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill humour was farther incited by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who by being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the sedition, by informing them that the tax, was entirely illegal ; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation against the Scots ; and that, if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his ministers would soon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said, must deliver to the king a petition, seconded by

such a force as would give it authority ; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to shew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redress of all those grievances under which the people had so long laboured.

Encouraged by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves with axes, bills, bows, and such weapons as country people are usually possessed of. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon conducted the Cornish through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. When they reached Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret correspondence with the first movers of the insurrection, and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. They continued their march ; breathing destruction to the king's ministers and favourites, particularly to Moreton, now a cardinal, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders ; and, as they met with no resistance, committed, during their march, no violence or disorder.

The rebels had been told by Flammoc that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, would surely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately distinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invasion ; and, as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgments for this service, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated. It was easy, therefore, for the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham, who possessed great

Flammoc persuades the Cornish men to petition the king.

They take arms under the guidance of Flammoc and Joseph.

The insurgents are joined by lord Audley.

They breathe vengeance against the king's ministers.

The Kentish men are expected to join them.

Kent remains tranquil.

The rebels gain no reinforcements.

Lord Daubeney is sent against the insurgents.

Henry prepares the means of defeating them in London.

authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcements from no quarter. There wanted not discontents, but no one would take part in so rash an enterprise; and, besides, the situation in which the king's affairs then stood discouraged even the most daring.

Henry, to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of lord Daubeney the chamberlain; and, as soon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march southwards and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he despatched thither the earl of Surrey, who assembled the forces on the borders. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents that can befall a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown: but he enjoyed great resources in his army and treasure, and still more in his own intrepidity. He did not give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions it was a usual saying with him, that he desired but to see his rebels: but, as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and committed no spoil; as they received no accession of force; and as such hasty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay; he took post in London, and assiduously prepared the means of ensuring victory.

BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH. JUNE, 1497.

AFTER all his forces were collected he divided them into three bodies, and

marched out to assail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: the second, and most considerable, Henry put under the command of lord Daubeney, and ordered him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action: the third he kept as a body of reserve about his own person, and took post in St. George's fields; where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had spread a report that he was not to attack them till some days after; and, the better to confirm this, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and, before the main body could be in order, he had gained the ascent of the hill, and placed himself in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being sixteen thousand strong, and were not defective in valour; but, being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with a contempt of the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resistance the rebels were broken, and put to flight. Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed.* The last seemed even to exult in his end, and boasted, with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels, being surrounded on every

The earls of Oxford, Essex, and Suffolk, are ordered to act on the rear of the rebels.

Henry commands the reserve.

Lord Daubeney attacks the rebels, who are defeated.

Their leaders are put to death.

* The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a paper-coate painted with his owne armes; the armes reversed, the coate turne, and at Tower-hill beheaded. Flammocke and the Blacksmith were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Ti-burne. The Blacksmith taking pleasure upon the Hurdle (as it seemeth by words that hee uttered) to think that hee should bee famous in after times. The king was once in mind to haue sent downe Flammocke and the Blacksmith to have been executed

in Corne-wall, for the more terrour. But being advertised that the Countrie was yet unquiet, and boyling, hee thought better not to irritate the people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seale, as many as would. So that more then the bloud drawne in the Field, the king did satisfie himselfe with the lives of onely three Offenders, for the expiation of this great Rebellion.—*Lord Bacon.*—*Ed.*

The rebel
prisoners
are imme-
diately
liberated.

side by the king's troops, were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed. Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand; or he pitied the simplicity of the multitude; or favoured them on account of their inoffensive behaviour: or was pleased that they had shewn no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime, of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

The king
of Scotland
enters
Northum-
berland.

The Scottish king was not idle during these commotions. He levied a considerable army, and sat down before the castle of Norham in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox bishop of Durham, so well provided, that he made little or no progress in the siege. Hearing that the earl of Surrey had collected some forces, and was advancing, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who besieged and took Aiton, a small castle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. These frivolous attempts on both sides prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less desirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negotiating the marriage of the infanta Catherine their daughter with Arthur prince of Wales.

He retreats,
and the
English en-
ter Scot-
land.

After Hia-
las comes to
propose a
marriage for
the prince
of Wales.

TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.

HIALAS took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was that Perkin should be put into their hands: James replied that he was no judge of the young man's pretensions; but was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generosity. The

James of-
fers his
mediation
between
the kings
of England
and Scot-
land.

next demand of the English met with no better reception; they required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England. The Scottish commissioners replied that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss than their master's to repair it. Henry's commissioners next proposed that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences: but James said that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Lest the conferences should break off altogether, a truce was concluded for some months; and James perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland he himself never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart the kingdom.

Commis-
sioners
treat for
peace.

A truce is
concluded.

Access was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council that commissioners were sent to London to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed that all the English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries; and in this prohibition the demesnes of the duchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which they long gave the appellation of 'Intercursus magnus,' the great treaty: and, when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

Perkin
having left
Scotland is
barred from
entering the
Low Coun-
tries.

The "In-
tercursus
magnus"
treaty is ne-
gociated.

Perkin was a Fleming by descent, though born in England; and it might therefore be doubted whether he were included in the treaty between the two nations: but, as he must dismiss all his English retainers if he took shelter in the Low Countries; and as he was sure of a cold reception, if not bad usage, he thought fit rather to hide himself in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, how-

Perkin
hides him-
self in Ire-
land.

He re-appears in Cornwall;

and assumes the title of Richard IV.

Exeter, besieged by Perkin, resists with determination.

Great preparations are made to attack Perkin.

All England seems united against him.

ever, of a retreat, which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen: by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still subsisted. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., king of England. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates he laid siege to the place; but, being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king informing him of his insurrection: the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succour from the well known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him. All the courtiers displayed their zeal for the enterprise, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonshire, and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop, consisting of young nobility and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and their loyalty. The king prepared to follow with a considerable army. And thus all England seemed united against a pretender who had at first engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of

Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

Perkin withdraws to Taunton.

The Cornish rebels submit.

Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, is made prisoner.

PERKIN TAKEN PRISONER. 1498.

HENRY deliberated what course to take with Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state, to take him by violence from the sanctuary, and at once put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government. But the king deemed not the matter of such importance as to merit so violent a remedy. He employed some persons to deal with Perkin, and persuade him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands. The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin passed along the road, and through the streets of the city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and treated with the highest derision his fallen fortunes. They seemed desirous of revenging themselves, by their insults, for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Perkin's real parentage. Henry required of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be dispersed, soon after, for the satisfaction of the public. But, as his regard to decency made him entirely

Henry is advised to take Perkin from the sanctuary to which he had fled.

Perkin surrenders, and is carried to London.

He makes a confession, which is published.

suppress the share which the duchess of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the silence on that head, to pay the less credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

But Perkin, though his life was granted him, was detained in custody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and, flying to the sanctuary of Shyne, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of sanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But, in order to reduce him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name. He was then confined to the tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had from his earliest youth been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was even ignorant of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a simplicity which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance; it was even very generally believed that the scheme had been laid by himself, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the snare: but the subsequent execution of two of Digby's servants for the contrivance, seems to clear the king of that imputation, which was founded more on the general idea entertained of his character than on any positive evidence.

PERKIN AND THE EARL OF WARWICK EXECUTED. 1499.

PERKIN, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, persisting still in the confession of his imposture.* It happened about that very time that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwick; and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accused not of contriving his escape (for, as he was committed for no crime, the desire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent), but of forming designs to raise an insurrection. Warwick confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the sentence was executed upon him on the twenty-first of November.

This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, who saw an unhappy prince, long denied all the privileges of his high birth, now at last deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that impression under which he laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of this guilt by sharing it with his ally Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur while any male descendant of the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

But these discontents were so checked by Henry's watchful policy and steady severity that they seemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes paid him the greatest deference and attention. The

* See note AA at the end of the volume.

The arch-duke Philip seeks an interview with Henry.	arch-duke Philip, in particular, desired an interview with him; and Henry, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church near that city. The arch-duke, on his approaching the king, made haste to alight, and offered to hold Henry's stirrup; a mark of condescension which that prince would not admit of. He called the king 'father, patron, protector;' [*] and expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke of Orleans had succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Lewis XII.; and, having carried his arms into Italy, and subdued the duchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counsel, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan seems to have been concerted between these two princes in their interview; all passed in general professions of affection and regard; at least in remote projects of a closer union by the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.	other considerations, and to attend him in person. He only required, as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some seaport towns in Italy should be consigned to him for his retreat and security. It was easy to conclude that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any war against the Turk; but, as a great name, without any real assistance, is sometimes of service, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order.	Henry offers to join the crusade on certain conditions.
They meet.			
Philip and Henry project future marriages.		MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF PRINCE ARTHUR. 1501.	
		But the prince, whose alliance Henry valued the most, was Ferdinand of Arragon, whose vigorous and steady policy had rendered him the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was a remarkable similarity of character between these princes; both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and, though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, where the interests of the parties in the least interfere, such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever arose between them. The king had now the satisfaction of completing a marriage, on the twelfth of November, which had been negociated during seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened, and died on the second of April, 1502, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta.	The knights of Rhodes choose him protector of their order.
The pope invites Henry to join a crusade in person.			Ferdinand of Arragon and Henry resemble each other in character.
He declines compliance.			Arthur prince of Wales marries the infanta Catherine.
			The prince dies.

The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king persisted, the espousals were, by means of the pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties: an event which was afterwards attended by the most important consequences.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET. 1502.

THE same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, though interrupted by several broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord. When this marriage was deliberated on in the English council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. 'No,' replied Henry, 'Scotland in that event will only become an accession to England.' On the eleventh of February, 1503, the king met with a domestic calamity, which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increased, on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from her consort.

OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE. 1503.

THE situation of the king's affairs, was now in every respect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close

connections with Spain and Scotland ensured his tranquillity; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncontrolled by opposition of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious inclinations. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities.

It was their usual practice at first to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress: upon which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and were obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two ministers sent forth their precepts to attack men, and summon them before themselves and some others at their private houses, in a court of commission; where, in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas of the crown and controversies between private parties. Juries, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject, being browbeaten by these oppressors, nay fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave sentence against the inclination of the ministers.* The whole system of the feudal law, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the king's wards, after

His avarice increases with age.

Empson and Dudley two lawyers, second the king's cruel rapacity.

Persons committed to prison are not brought to trial, but are obliged to purchase a release.

Juries are browbeaten, fined, and imprisoned.

* "I do remember to have seen," says lord Bacon, "long since, a book of account of Empsons, that had the king's hand to almost every leafe, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this re-

membrance: 'Item, received of such a one, five Markes for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon does not passe the Monie to bee repaid; except the Partie bee some other wayes satisfied.'"—ED.

The king's
wards are
made to
pay great
fines.

they came of age, were not suffered to enter into possession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also harassed with informations of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles. When an outlawry in a personal action was issued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great sum; and, if he refused the composition required, the strict law, which in such cases allows forfeiture of goods, was rigorously insisted on: nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were seized during two years, as a penalty in case of outlawry. But the chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which were rigidly put in execution against all men; spies were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority.

A PARLIAMENT. 1504.

THROUGH the prevalence of such an arbitrary and iniquitous administration, the English were considerable losers by their ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxations, except such as were imposed by their own consent in parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleasure, he would naturally have abstained from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all security in private property, and begat an universal diffidence throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament, which was pretty frequently summoned. That assembly was so overawed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, on the twenty-fifth of January, the commons chose Dudley their speaker,

the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities. And, though the king was known to be immensely opulent, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded. But so insatiable was his avarice that next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expense, he so filled his coffers that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds: a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.*

But, while Henry was enriching himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event abroad which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, queen of Castile, died; and it was foreseen that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand her husband would be much affected. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip; and, being in right of her mother heir of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew that, notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the partisans of the York family he had more closely united them, and increased their desire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long laboured. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himself by his narrow politics, had confirmed by factious prejudices, he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

The parliament grant the king a new subsidy.

Henry, by exactions and frugality, greatly increases his wealth.

Isabella, queen of Castile dies.

Henry fears lest the prince of Wales should lay immediate claim to the crown.

He deems his situation precarious.

The penal statutes were made the instruments of oppression

Ancient privileges lose their value.

Dudley is chosen speaker of the house of commons.

* Silver was, during this reign, £1. 17s. 6d. a pound, which makes Henry's treasure near £3,000,000 of our present money: besides, many commodities have become above thrice as dear by the increase of gold and silver in Europe: and what is a circum-

stance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison with what they are at present. These circumstances make Henry's treasure appear very great: and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his government.

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF CASTILE. 1506.

NOTHING at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand had become very unpopular, and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, the archduke, now king of Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season; but, meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had assembled some forces; and, being joined by Sir John Carey, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his sickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house; and immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king sent in all haste the earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's consent; and resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible;* but resolved to draw some advantage from this involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest.

INTRIGUES OF THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.

EDMOND de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., and brother to the earl of Lincoln, slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden

fit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but, being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more resenting the affront than grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy; but, being promised forgiveness by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneasy from debts which he had contracted by his great expense at prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his services. Upon information secretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courtney, eldest son to the earl of Devonshire, and married to the lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Windham; with some persons of inferior quality; and he committed them to custody. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were also apprehended, but were soon after released from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courtney was attainted, and, though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's lifetime. But Henry's chief severity fell upon Sir James Windham and Sir James Tyrrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed. The fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwith-

The earl of Suffolk having killed a man is pardoned, but is obliged to plead his pardon in court.

Suffolk is discontented, and flies to Flanders.

Several of the gentry are taken into custody.

Sir James Windham and Sir James Tyrrel are executed.

* Henry at their meeting is described to have made no small display of splendour in his own person and attendants. He wore a gown of purple velvet, and a gold chain with a George of diamonds and a band of purple velvet. His attendants were

superbly mounted, and their steeds were "covered all over with goldsmiths' work, cloths of tissue velvet, roses and dragons, tassels, gilt bells, and precious stones." Philip and his train made comparatively a very dingy appearance.—Ed.

The states of Castile are inclined to prefer Philip and Joan to Ferdinand.

Philip lands in England.

He visits King Henry at Windsor.

Sir Robert Curson acts as a spy upon Suffolk.

Suffolk, finding his confidence betrayed, seeks protection from Philip.

Henry claims from his guest Philip that Suffolk should be given up to him.

Philip is obliged to comply, and Suffolk invited to England by him, is confined.

standing these executions, Curson was still able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffolk. Henry, to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But, after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with unusual marks of favour. Suffolk, astonished at this perfidy, finding that even the duchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last into the Low Countries, where he was protected, though not countenanced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

Henry neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to his guest of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. 'I really thought,' replied the king of Castile, 'that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence; but, to give you satisfaction, I shall banish him my state.' 'I expect that you will carry your complaisance farther,' said the king; 'I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his submission and obedience.' 'That measure,' said Philip, 'will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner.' 'Then the matter is at an end,' replied the king, 'for I will take that dishonour upon me; and so your honour is saved.' The king of Castile found himself under the necessity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip, as if the king would grant him pardon on the intercession of his

friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the tower; and the king of Castile, having fully satisfied Henry, as well by his concession as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom, was allowed to depart after a stay of three months.* He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Castilians, and put in possession of the throne. He died soon after; and Joan his widow falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

A treaty of commerce is signed.

Philip is placed on the throne of Spain, and dies.

KING'S SICKNESS AND DEATH. 1508.

THE king survived these transactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign, except his affiancing his second daughter Mary to the young archduke Charles, son of Philip of Castile.† He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the queen dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the duchess dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts; and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence which the iniquities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors. Sir William

Henry's second daughter is affianced to the son of Philip.

The king's health declines.

The lawyers, Empson and Dudley, continue their rapacious career.

* Omens, where crowned heads were concerned, were not wanting in those times. Lord Bacon says, "It was observed that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paule's, and in the fall it fell upon the sign of the Black Eagle, which was in Paule's Church Yard, in the place where the School House now standeth, and battered it, and broke it down."

Which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the Imperial House, which was (by interpretation also) fulfilled upon Philip the Emperor's sonne.—ED.

† This was one of the concessions extorted from Philip while that prince was in England. Charles at the time was but six years of age.—ED.

An ex-lord
mayor is
fined and
imprisoned.

King Henry
orders
restitution,
and dies.

He put an
end to civil
war, and
depressed
the nobility.

His capacity
was
great, but
contracted
by the narrowness
of his heart.

Capel was again fined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the tower for daring to murmur against the iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. On the twenty-second of April, 1509, he died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

CHARACTER OF THE KING.

THE reign of Henry was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed; he maintained peace and order in the state; he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war; he discovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and, though often severe, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The services which he rendered the people were derived from his views of private advantage rather than the motives of public spirit. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart; he possessed insinuation and address, but never employed these talents except where some great point of interest was to be gained; and, while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of resting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs; but possessed not the faculty of

seeing far into futurity. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling passion; and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a high station, and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition. Even among private persons avarice is commonly nothing but a species of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the prospect of that regard, distinction, and consideration, which attend on riches.

he power of the kings of England was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of the Great Charter, as during that of Henry. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man; full of vigour, industry and severity; steady in every purpose; and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprise; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority. The people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries. As he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the expense of justice and national privileges. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

THE KING'S LAWS.

THIS prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom and its commerce; but the former are generally contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more simple

Avarice
was his
ruling passion.

Scarcely
any former
king possessed
such
absolute
power.

He ruled
by a faction.

Henry is
celebrated
by his historian
for many good
laws.

The principles of commerce were in his time not well understood.

ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice; but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience to be well understood. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed that, even in the age of lord Bacon, very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

The court of star chamber is sanctioned by act of parliament.

Early in Henry's reign the authority of the star chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice, was in some cases confirmed by act of parliament.* Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that historian, to feel that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and, in proportion as the spirit of independence still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I., a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

The king's suit for murder is ordered in this reign to be carried out within a year and a day.

Laws were passed in this reign ordaining the king's suit for murder to be carried on within a year and a day. Formerly it did not usually commence till after; and, as the friends of the person murdered often in the interval compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently passed unpunished. Suits were given to the poor 'in forma pauperis,' as it is called; that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the counsel: a good law at all times, especially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppression of the great; but a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force. The benefit of clergy was abridged; and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter, denoting his crime; after which he was punished capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any

The benefit of clergy is abridged.

person without previously summoning him before their court. It is strange that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value: a law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any servant of the king's conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the punishment of felony. This statute was enacted for the security of archbishop Moreton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers.

Actions not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin.

There scarcely passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries; a practice by which they were in a manner enlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice. The disorder was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a story of his severity against this abuse; and it seems to merit praise, though it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained him at his castle at Henningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. 'My lord,' said the king, 'I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, are no doubt your menial servants.' The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. 'They are most of them,' subjoined he, 'my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence.' The king

Laws are passed against engaging retainers, and giving them badges.

The earl of Oxford, entertaining the king, violates the law respecting retainers.

His retainers attract the notice of Henry.

* See note BB at the end of the volume

Henry causes Oxford to be heavily fined.

Retainers are effectually put down by the progress of the arts.

A modern nobleman's life is more comfortable than that of an ancient baron.

Great fortunes are gradually broken down by settling off entails.

Henry's encouragement to commerce.

started a little, and said, 'By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you.' Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks as a composition for his offence.

The increase of the arts, more effectually than all the severities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness, were obliged to learn some calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and to others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that, as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families, so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron.*

But the most important law in its consequences, which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates.† By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependant on him.

This king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which increased his customs; but, if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt

than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as savouring of usury, which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against. It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may observe, however, to the praise of this king, that sometimes, to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view.

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion; a precaution which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner.

It was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful in the kingdom. In order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and fourpence, reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation must be, either that the people would be supplied with bad bows, or none at all. Prices were also affixed to woollen cloth, to caps and hats; and the wages of labourers were regulated by law. It is evident that these matters ought always to be intrusted to the common course of commerce. To some it may appear surprising that the price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to six and twenty shillings, money

Henry wished to encourage commerce, but his laws were injurious.

Profits on loans are guarded against by law.

The exportation of money, plate, and bullion, is prohibited by law.

Horses are forbidden to be exported.

Commodities ordered to be sold at fixed prices.

* See note CC at the end of the volume.

† The practice of breaking entails by means of a fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward IV.: but it was not, properly speaking, law

till the statute of Henry VII.: which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a sanction to it.

Masons and bricklayers receive ten-pence a day.

Goods are sold by merchants for more than cent per cent profit.

Clerks and students at the university are forbidden to beg.

Absurd restrictions are imposed to encourage husbandry.

of our age ; that of a yard of coloured cloth to eighteen ; higher prices than these commodities bear at present ; and that the wages of a tradesman, such as a mason, bricklayer, tiler, &c. should be regulated at near ten pence a day : which is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labour and commodities have risen since the discovery of the West Indies ; but not so much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesmen and labourers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and silver ; and the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value ; not to mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with less profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears, by a statute of this reign, that goods bought for sixteen pence would sometimes be sold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities whose price has chiefly risen are butchers' meat, fowl, and fish (especially the latter), which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increase of art and industry. The profession which then abounded most, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church. By a clause of a statute, all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg, without a permission from the vice chancellor.

One great cause of the low state of industry was the restraints put upon it ; and the parliament, or rather the king, enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted, during the reign of Henry IV., that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship unless he were possessed of twenty shillings a year in land ; and Henry VII., because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law. Afterwards the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some branches of the woollen

manufacture. These absurd limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures. For a like reason the law enacted against enclosures, and for the keeping up of farm houses, scarcely deserves the high praises bestowed on it by lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All methods of supporting populousness, except by the interest of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts against depopulation ; whence we may infer that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

One check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations ; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted that corporations should not pass any bye laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state. They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates. The cities of Gloucester and Worcester had even imposed tolls on the Severn, which were abolished.

There is a law of this reign containing a preamble, by which it appears that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries, unless each trader previously paid them the sum of near seventy pounds. It is surprising that such a bye law (if it deserve the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

It was during this reign, on the second of August, 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world ; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were

Husbandry is encouraged by the increase of manufactures.

All edicts against depopulation are unavailing.

Tolls imposed by corporations are abolished.

The merchant adventurers in London claim a monopoly of the trade to the Low Countries.

Columbus and Vasquez de Gama make great discoveries in this reign.

All the nations of Europe are affected by them.

attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts everywhere: the nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures; men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: in most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of their kingdoms: but in all places the condition of the people received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And, as the general course of events tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII., who embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his institutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them.

They generally tend to the ruin of the nobles and exalt the people.

The brother of Columbus, who was taken by pirates.

It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment: he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westwards, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude: he sailed southwards along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any

not discovered parts of America.

conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the 'Great Harry.' She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

The king builds the "Great Harry."

But, though this improvement of navigation, and the discovery of both the Indies, was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science, and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements: the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were soon after made in religion, such as not only affected those states that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the ancient faith and worship: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever since persevered. Here, therefore, commences the useful, as well as the more agreeable, part of modern annals: certainty has place in all the considerable, and even most of the minute, parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preserved by printing, give the author the power of selecting, as well as adorning, the facts which he relates; and instructive lessons occur every moment during the course of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious research into pre-

Constantinople is taken by the Turks.

The art of printing favours the progress of improvement.

Here the more agreeable part of modern annals commences.

Early history excites merely curiosity.

ceding periods is moved by a curiosity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any necessity for acquiring knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY VIII.

1509—1547.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING.—HIS MINISTERS.—PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY.—KING'S MARRIAGE.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—JULIUS II.—LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—EXPEDITION TO FONTARABIA.—DECEIT OF FERDINAND, AND RETURN OF THE ENGLISH.—LEO X.—A PARLIAMENT.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—WOLSEY MINISTER.—HIS CHARACTER.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—BATTLE OF GUINEGATE.—BATTLE OF FLOUDEN.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING. 1509.

THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son Henry VIII. spread universally unfeigned satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who, even in the eyes of men of sense, gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. His father had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity. Even the vices of vehemence and impatience, which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as

faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to maturity. And, as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

The houses of York and Lancaster are fully united in his person.

KING'S MINISTERS.

THESE favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and, as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely shewed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

He forms a new council.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired habits of frugality; and he opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expense which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and, though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch. By this policy he ingratiated

The earl of Surrey, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, are the chief competitors for Henry's favour.

The accession of Henry VIII. gives universal joy.

His person and habits are prepossessing.

Surrey encourages his extravagance.

himself with Henry ; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master ; and he engaged him in such a course of idleness as rendered him willing to intrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another ; tilts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age ; and, as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to : or, if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits. He had made such proficiency in the former art as even to compose some pieces of church music, which were sung in his chapel. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients. And, though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

Feasting, music, and literature, occupy the king.

Henry manifests a capacity for acquiring useful knowledge.

PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY.

THE frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation ; they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley were immediately summoned be-

Informers are punished.

fore the council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council that, so far from his justly being exposed to censure, his enemies grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation : that a strict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused ; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king : that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful, since they were all alike valid so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature : that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority ; but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and punishments : and that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects.

Empson and Dudley are summoned before the king's council.

Empson defends his conduct.

Notwithstanding this defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the tower, and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature. To gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them ; that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them ; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament,* and at the earnest desire of

They are brought to trial.

A verdict is given against them.

* This parliament met Jan. 21, 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture on the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years : costs and damages were given

against informers on acquittal of the accused : more severe punishments were enacted against perjury : the false inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley were declared null and invalid : traverses were allowed ; and the time of tendering them enlarged.

They are executed.

the people, was executed by warrant from the king.* Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power or riches or courted popularity.

KING'S MARRIAGE.

The question of Henry's marriage with the infanta Catherine is agitated.

HENRY, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements, as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced. Her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections urged against his espousing her: but, on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died soon after the marriage of her grandson.

The council decide in favour of the proposed marriage.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his large treasures, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous: the situation of foreign affairs was no less happy. Henry's alliance was courted by all parties, at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that

Henry's government is prosperous.

* Edmund Dudley in the Guildhall, on the seventeenth of July, and Sir Richard Empson at Northampton, in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the year following, they were

possessed any territory in Italy; and, could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of making a conquest of Naples still engaged him in new enterprises; and, as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured, by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples and the expulsion of Frederic; a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions; but he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of 'the great captain,' to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy was held in suspense between these two powerful monarchs.

Lewis desires to conquer Naples.

Frederic of Naples is deprived of his dominions.

The French sustain defeats from the Spaniards, and are expelled from Naples.

JULIUS II.—LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

THERE has scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far sur-

The balance of power is established in Europe.

both of them beheaded on the Tower-hill, and their bodies buried, the one at the White Fryers, the other at the Black.—*Hall*.—ED.

passed the rest as to give any pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII., a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality. Maximilian the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of defence. Charles prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and, being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active Julius II., an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

The great force of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy; or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians. He was determined to make the tempest first fall upon Lewis; and he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with the monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against

the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk and anointed with chrism. He engaged in his interests Bambridge archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he soon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at first made no declaration of his intentions. And, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Lewis, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies he thought it also requisite to make an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him as much as possible of that sacred character which rendered him formidable. He engaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence of Julius, to desert him; and by their authority he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, to call a general council, which might reform the church, and check the Roman pontiff. A council was summoned at Pisa, which from the beginning promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands, all the prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, shewed them signs of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan, and found it necessary to remove to Lyons. Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favour of papal authority by the symptoms which he discovered of regard, deference, and submission, to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And, as it was known that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted on account of his dissensions with the holy

Julius courts the favour of Henry.

He gains over Ferdinand and the Swiss.

The French king seeks to deprive the pope of his sacred character.

He calls a general council at Pisa.

Few prelates obey the call.

Lewis shews deference and submission to Julius when he might humble him.

The English are united and secure from foreign invasion.

Everything seems to maintain general tranquillity.

Pope Julius II. is the cause of discord.

Henry is engaged against Venice.

Julius aims at expelling all foreigners from Italy.

father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

The enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and, like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter and a severe season in pursuit of military glory; yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and profaneness. He summoned a council at the Lateran; he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it; he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1512.

FERDINAND of Arragon, who had acquired the surname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius that the title of 'Most Christian King,' which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, led Henry to join that alliance which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and, when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial

provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament being summoned, February the fourth, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation.

EXPEDITION TO FONTARABIA.

BUONAVISO, an agent of the pope's at London, corrupted by the court of France, had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him; 'He lies, the drunkard!' said he, 'I have cheated him above twenty times.' This prince considered his close connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; lord Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility accompanied him. All were on fire to distinguish themselves, and to make a conquest of importance for their master.

Julius personally assists at the siege of Mirandola.

Pope Julius issues edicts against all who favour the council at Pisa.

Henry is inclined to favour the pope.

He exhorts Lewis not to wage impious war against Julius.

Henry's marriage is regarded as a declaration of war.

The pope's agent at London betrays Henry's measures to the French king.

Ferdinand, Henry's father-in-law, acts deceitfully.

Henry prepares to invade France.

Ferdinand's
policy is
not sus-
pected.

The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generosity, was suspected by nobody.

He aims at
possessing
himself of
Navarre.

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and, as John d'Albret the sovereign was connected by friendship with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne; but he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war: and, when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and, as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and, being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

He claims
from the
king of
Navarre
neutrality.

Alva is
ordered by
Ferdinand
to invade
Navarre.

FERDINAND'S DECEIT, AND RETURN OF THE ENGLISH.

DORSET began to suspect that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and, having no orders to invade Navarre, he refused to take any part in the enterprise. He remained, therefore, at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united counsels the operations of the 'holy league,' so it was called, against Lewis: but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious, represented that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry that, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and, observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back to England.* Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply whenever demanded, was, after many delays, obliged

Dorset re-
fuses to act
against
Navarre.

The king
of Navarre
is forced to
seek a re-
fuge in
France.

Ferdinand
complains
of Dorset
to Henry.

Dorset re-
solves to
return to
England.

* With much courtesy of language, Ferdinand did not scruple to intimate to Dorset, that, as he declined acting with the Spaniards against Navarre, he must

remain as he was for the present. That conquest made, all his demands were to be satisfied.—Ed.

He receives orders to remain in Spain, but his troops mutiny.

to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile the messenger arrived with orders from Henry that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprise; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was able to appease him.

An action is fought at sea.

There happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was sent to Brittany with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauguet, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauguet; who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last the French vessel blew up, and at the same time destroyed the English. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

The French admiral's ship takes fire.

The English admiral's ship is destroyed with her.

The war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and, by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority which his arms had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been intrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the

Gaston de Foix gains great triumphs.

oldest captain. His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

He dies in the moment of victory.

LEO X. 1513.

JULIUS discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful, in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse; a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

John de Medicis is chosen pope, and takes the name of Leo X.

His character is noble, but tainted with finesse.

A PARLIAMENT.

HENRY had summoned a new session of parliament, and obtained a supply. It was a poll tax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods four marks. An

A poll tax is imposed in England.

Henry raises a great army.

A ship laden with presents from the pope.

An embassy is sent to Scotland.

Barton, a Scotch pirate, is killed in an action with the English.

Scottish jealousy is awakened by Henry's proposed invasion of France.

imposition was also granted of two fifteenths and four tenths. By these supplies, joined to the treasure which had been left by his father, he was enabled to levy a great army. The English are said to have been much encouraged by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

IN order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James the king's brother-in-law, to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland. Some complaints had already been made. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea than he committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas. Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers entered England under lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages. Matters might easily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league, between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their indepen-

dence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And, though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw that a war would prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council; the Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France; the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion; and, though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelve-month with the common enemy, Henry hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

WOLSEY MINISTER.

THOMAS Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but, having got a

The king of Scotland is invited by the queen of France to take arms in her defence.

War with Scotland appears to be inevitable.

The pope continues to issue excommunications against Lewis.

Wolsey becomes king Henry's favourite minister.

As chaplain to Henry VII. Wolsey had been engaged in a secret negotiation.

He proves successful.

He is greatly distinguished by diligence and judgment.

Wolsey is patronised by Fox, Bishop of Winchester.

learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII.; and, being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct. Henry, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who resided in Brussels, was surprised in less than three days to see Wolsey before him; and, supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed him that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. 'But, on second thoughts,' said the king, 'I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders, and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions,' 'I met the messenger,' replied Wolsey, 'on my return; but, as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I knew must be your majesty's intentions.' The death of Henry, soon after, retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion entertained of him; but thenceforwards he was looked on as a rising man; and Fox, bishop of Winchester, cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation. This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet act in the cabinet a part subordi-

nate to Fox himself. In a little time Wolsey supplanted both Surrey in his favour and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character as a clergyman, engaged him to check the gaiety in which Henry passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced business, and insinuated those maxims which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him that, while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him: that, by the jealousies which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs than they promoted it: that, while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to entrust his authority into the hands of some one who could entertain no view but that of promoting his service: and that, if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint, initiate him in the science of government.*

He supplants his patron in the favour of the king.

Wolsey disparages the ministers of the late king.

Henry is advised to place his authority in one confidential minister.

* The following is given as the advice offered to his sovereign by Wolsey. "When your Highnesse in some great and perplex'd affaires, hath occasion to acquaint your Councillors onely with some part of your meaning, what instrument can be so apt as a Favorite? While, if things succeed ill, or otherwise that your Highnesse would not seem to have the advice proceed from you, how easily may your Highnesse disavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your Highnesse finde the many uses you may make of your Favorite. Yet, sir, let me say, I

should never advise your Highnesse to see by his eyes, or heare by his ears onely. This were to keepe you in too much darknesse and subjection. To prevent this, therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able persons, and such as may not know of each other, by whom your Highnesse may be informed, not onely what is done, but even said vulgarly. Thus shall your Highnesse take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtfull and intricate parts of businesse, which require particular scrutiny and examination, your Highness, in my opinion, may doe well

CHARACTER OF WOLSEY.

Wolsey is advanced to be sole minister.

HENRY entered into all the views of Wolsey; and soon advanced his favourite to be a member of his council; and, from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: insinuating, persuasive, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others; but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original meanness of his fortune.

His present ostentation caused the people to recal his humble origin.

Henry prepares a considerable fleet and army.

Sir Edward Howard with his fleet, challenges Prejeant de Bidoux.

The branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by sea and land, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army and equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and saw with patience the English destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejeant arrived with six galleys, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of

to have three or four confident persons, not yet of the Body of your Councill, with whom separately your Highness may advise, before these difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highness to speak thereof when you transfer it to the Body of your Councill, and make you discern their opinions. Onely, if anything be determined, let your Favorite still be the chief Actor in the execution."—*Lord Herbert.*—ED.

Brest; where he secured himself behind some batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and, as he had but two galleys, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row-barges and some crayers under the command of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and, as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes.* Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander, that they retired from before Brest. The French navy came out of harbour, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed; and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

Prejeant secures himself behind batteries.

Howard attacks Prejeant's ship.

Sir Edward Howard is slain.

The English retire, and the French invade Sussex, but are repulsed.

Great preparations are made for invading France.

Great preparations had been making, during the whole winter, for an invasion by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness. The long peace had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change lately introduced in the art of war had rendered it still more difficult to inure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after

* It was a maxim of Howard, that no admiral was good for any thing that was not even brave to a degree of madness. As the sea service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth; though the fate of Howard himself may serve as a proof, that even there courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

Great changes are made in the art of war.

Part of the English troops pass over to Calais.

Henry prepares to follow.

The earl of Suffolk is beheaded.

them the Spaniards, had shewn the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry; in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and the vanguard of the army, amounting to eight thousand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of six thousand men soon after followed under the command of lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

The king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him that he never would be free from danger while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

ON the thirtieth of June Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many of

the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory. Of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with eight thousand men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains. But, while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. Telligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet they protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters

King Henry reaches Calais.

The Swiss prepare to enter France.

The emperor of Germany fails to bring the force he had promised.

Hebec men one of Henry's captains.

Terouane is besieged.

Lewis orders relief to the besieged.



CARDINAL WOLSEY

OF LONDON

CHRIST. CHURCH, OXFORD

Fonttrailles
throws sup-
plies into
the garri-
son.

of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt.

BATTLE OF GUINEGATE.

BUT the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fonttrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the battle of Spurs, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

After so considerable an advantage the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris. It gave Lewis great joy when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a place as Terouane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon.

Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger. Many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negociation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making inquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand; and thought himself happy at the expense of some payments and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy.

The measures of Henry shewed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negociation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence. Their courage failed them when matters came to trial; and after a few days, the place was surrendered to the English. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead; and as a new bishop was already elected, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the re-

France is
in a state
of great
alarm and
danger.

Lewis is
extricated
from his
difficulties
by the
blunders of
his ene-
mies.

Henry is
advised to
besiege
Tournay.

Tournay
surrenders.

A body of
French
cavalry is
routed at
Guinegate.

The action
is named
the "Bat-
tle of
Spurs."

Terouane
surrenders,
and its for-
tifications
are de-
molished.

Henry returns to England elated with success.

The king of Scotland invades Northumberland.

Provisions fail, and his army is thinned by desertion.

The English and Scotch armies are in sight of each other.

venues. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprise; and his youthful mind was much elated with this seeming prosperity; but all men of judgment, comparing his expense with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him.

The success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and, having passed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary, army of above fifty thousand men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river; and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, of which five thousand had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south, and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scotland. The Scottish army, to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and, having set fire

to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twisel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

BATTLE OF FLOUDEN.

AN engagement was now become inevitable. The English divided their army into two lines: lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edmond Howard the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Constable the left. The earl of Surrey, himself, commanded the main body of the second line, lord Dacres, the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himself; the right by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume; the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division, under the earl of Bothwel, made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and, after a sharp conflict, put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: but, on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only Sir Edmond Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour, but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and, throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men: but the morning discovered where the advantage lay.

Surrey deceives the enemy by a feint.

The armies prepare to engage at Flouden field.

The left wing of the English is put to flight by Lord Huntley.

The whole of the Scottish army is in disorder, but the battle continues till night.





HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY

OB 1537

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

King James
and the
flower of
the Scottish
nobility are
lost.

A body,
supposed to
be that of
king James,
is for a
time denied
burial.

The Scots
believed
that their
king sur-
vived and
would re-
appear.

Henry
listens to
the
sister and
nephew.

The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin, and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see: but, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the holy land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

The king of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being slain in the field of Flouden, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. But he discovered, on this occasion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compassion of the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was

honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester. Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteaule.

Though peace with Scotland gave Henry security on that side, and enabled him to prosecute his enterprise against France, some other incidents had happened, which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

Lewis, fully sensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced, was resolved, by every expedient, to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and, as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year; and he even shewed an inclination of forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry his second daughter Renee, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons to the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with joy, but also engaged the emperor Maximilian in the same views and procured his accession to a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandizing their common grandchildren.

Many hon-
ours are
granted to
English
command-
ers, and
Wolsey is
made bish-
op of Lin-
coln.

Lewis en-
deavours to
dissolve
the confed-
eracy
among
them.

The pope
takes
him and
France
from the
interdict
fulminated
against
them.

Ferdinand
listens to
friendly
overtures
from Lewis.

Henry is exasperated at Ferdinand's deceit.

His rage is increased by the defection of Maximilian.

The duke of Longueville proposes peace and alliance with France.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained that his father-in-law had first, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes. In proportion to his easy credulity, and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge. But he lost all patience when informed of the other negotiation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to for the marriage of the prince of Spain, with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister;* and, as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage and the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms: that she had left Lewis no male children; and, as he had ever entertained

a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince who had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

PEACE WITH FRANCE. 1514.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse, Longueville informed his master of the probability which he discovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.

In consequence of this treaty Mary was sent to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated.† He was

* This, it will be remembered, was done when Henry entertained, or rather *detained*, Philip at Windsor, while Charles was a mere child.—Ed.

† On the 7th of November the young queen was crowned; the count of Angouleme, who succeeded Lewis to the throne, sustaining the crown over her head during the ceremony that she might not suffer from its weight.

According to Brantome, "he took upon himself to play the young man and the lover with his

A marriage between Henry's sister and the king of France is contemplated.

Peace is concluded between England and France.

Mary, Henry's sister, is married to Lewis.

blooming bride, who was considered to be one of the most beautiful women in Europe. To please her he engaged in a round of pleasures ill suited to his time of life, and his established habits. The change of his hours, as mentioned by the author just quoted, is not a little remarkable. Instead of dining at eight o'clock, he did not take his dinner till noon, and instead of going to bed at six, he did not retire till midnight."—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.

Lewis dies.

enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess;* and, being naturally of an amorous disposition, he was seduced into such a course of gaiety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health.† He died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of 'father of his people.'

Francis I. ascends the throne.

Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Lewis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne; and, by his activity, valour, generosity, and other virtues, gave prognostics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely struck with the charms of the English princess; and, even during his predecessor's lifetime, had paid her such assiduous court as made some of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But, being warned that by indulging this passion he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore farther addresses; and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye during the first months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk

He carefully watches the young queen dowager.

whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her? She told him that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris.‡ Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister, interposed his good offices in appeasing him: and even Wolsey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who had no ambition to engage in public business, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

The queen dowager makes overtures to the duke of Suffolk.

They are married.

King Henry is reconciled to his sister and her husband.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY VIII.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION.—SCOTCH AFFAIRS.—PROGRESS OF FRANCIS I.—JEALOUSY OF HENRY.—TOURNAY DELIVERED TO FRANCE.—WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE.—HIS MANNER OF EXERCISING THAT OFFICE.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.—CHARLES KING OF SPAIN CHOSEN EMPEROR.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN HENRY AND FRANCIS NEAR CALAIS.—THE EMPEROR CHARLES ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS.—MEDIATION OF HENRY.—TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION. 1515.

THE numerous enemies, whom Wolsey's sudden elevation had raised him, served

Wolsey's elevation creates enemies.

* Among Mary's various accomplishments an eye to business may be reckoned. When about to return to England, "having prepared all things for their departure, they took their leave of the French Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapisseries of Louis the twelfth, to the value of two hundred thousand Crownes, as the French have it. Among which a great Diamond, call'd Le Mirour de Naples, (as I finde by our Records) was one, though not without much reluctance of Francis, who would faine have redeem'd it at a great price. Order also was taken for the payment of her Joynture, being sixty thousand Crownes yearly. Whereupon the Queene and Duke, with all

her traine (save Mrs. Anne Bolen, who stayed in the French Court) began their Journey; to the satisfaction of Francis, as hoping by their means to confirme his so much desired Peace and Treaty with our king. Thus arriving at Calais 25 of April, and from thence coming to Dover, and after to Greenwich, they were publicly married 13 of May."—*Lord Herbert*.—Ed.

† But immediately after their marriage he dismissed all her English servants, which grieved her much.—Ed.

‡ According to modern ideas there was some abandonment of decorum in the course pursued by Mary, when she had been a widow but two months;

He preserves the king's good opinion.

Wolsey is made archbishop of York.

The see of York is united to the see of Durham, and that of Winchester.

He has in his train eight hundred servants, many of whom are gentlemen.

only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made. That artful prelate, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and, by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues. The pope, observing his great influence, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and, in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Who-

ever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses. He caused his hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: but, not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest, of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury: contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees. The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man averse to all disputes, resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.*

Gold and silk are used in his dresses, and on the trappings of his horses.

Two crosses are carried in state before him.

Wolsey is made lord chancellor.

No chancellor was ever more impartial.

but it is to be remembered, having been already given to a man greatly her senior, she had reason to suspect that, unless it were especially guarded against, she would be speedily disposed of in the

same way: and, having once proved her obedience, she cannot be blamed for preferring her own happiness to a brother's interests or ambition.—Ed.

* The state he observed as lord chancellor was

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expense still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence: but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king 'not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master;' Henry replied that 'he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience;' but he continued still an unlimited deference to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was so well established, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy

nothing inferior to that in which he indulged as archbishop. In the morning, "he, being then advertised, came out of his privy chamber about eight of the clock ready apparelled, and in red, like a cardinal; his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffeta, or crimson satin ingrained; his pillion, scarlet, with a black velvet tippet of sables about his neck; holding in his hand an orange, the meat or substance thereof being taken out and filled again with a part of sponge, with vinegar, and other confections against pestilent airs, the which he most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when he was pestered with many suitors: and before him was borne the broad seal of England, and the cardinal's hat, by some lord or some gentleman of worship, right solemnly: and, as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there were daily attending on him, as well noblemen of this realm, as other worthy gentlemen of his own family, his two great crosses were there attending upon him; then cry the gentlemen-ushers that go before him bareheaded: 'On masters before, and

any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects, however fruitless and unnecessary.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried; but, notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency; but the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to this measure. Lord Hume, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III., who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the au-

make room for my lord.' Thus when he went down into the hall, with a sergeant of arms before him, bearing a great mace of silver; and two gentlemen carrying two great plates of silver; and, when he came to the hall-door, there his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same.

"There were attending him when he was mounted his two cross-bearers, and his two pillar-bearers, all upon great horses, and in fine scarlet; then he marched on with a train of gentry, having four footmen about him bearing every one of them a pole-axe in his hand: and thus passed he forth till he came to Westminster, and there alighted, and went in this manner up to the chancery, and staid a while at a bar, made for him beneath the chancery; and there he communed sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons, and then went up to the chancery, and sat there till eleven of the clock to hear suits, and to determine causes; and from thence he would go into the star chamber, as occasion served him; he neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according to right."—*Cavendish*—Ed.

The widow of the late king of Scotland is regent.

The queen of Scotland marries the earl of Angus.

It is proposed to recall the duke of Albany, brother to James III., from France.

Francis permits Albany to accept the regency.

thority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to take possession of the regency: he even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it might be thought somewhat to trench on his alliance with England.

Albany finds a confederacy of petty princes in Scotland.

When the regent arrived in Scotland he made inquiries concerning the state of the country and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem; and, by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And, though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly feuds (so they were called), still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

Rapine and violence are exercised with impunity

Deadly feuds are passionately indulged.

Lord Hume is denounced to the regent as the cause of the evil.

The persons, to whom Albany first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws.

Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender. Albany was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had in a great measure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied to Angus and the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and, when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

Albany sights Hume.

Hume opposes the regent.

Queen Margaret attempts to carry off the young king and goes to England.

Henry, to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law, and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle; but, having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to entrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned, and executed. No legal crime was proved: it was only alleged that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty; and, as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence pro-

Hume and the regent are reconciled, but a new rupture and another reconciliation follow.

Lord Hume and his brother are executed by the regent.

The people
murmur on
account of
their death.

duced was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

The regent
visits
France.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent took advantage of the present calm; and, being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France, and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent such confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled both from offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the present period; that, as that country had little connexion with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

Scotland is
a scene of
great confusion
and violence.

PROGRESS OF FRANCIS I.

The king of
France
exhibits a
martial disposition.

It was foreseen that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and marched his armies towards the south of France, pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and, having taken Maximilian duke of Milan under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependance, they were determined to defend him against the invader. They fortified themselves in all those valleys of the Alps through which

He renews the
treaty existing
with England.

Hemarches
against the
Swiss.

they thought the French must necessarily pass; and, when Francis made his entry into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, on the thirteenth of September, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages; and it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strewed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes. After this great victory the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

He enters
Piedmont.

A great
battle is
fought at
Marignan
with the
Swiss.

The French
prevail.

JEALOUSY OF HENRY.

THE success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and, as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe; and every acquisition, which was made there, appeared important. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister the queen dowager. The repairing of the fortifications of Terouane was regarded as a breach of treaty. But, above all, what tended to alienate the court of England was the disgust which

Henry becomes
jealous of the
success of
Francis.

He considers
he has
grounds of
quarrel
with Francis.

Wolsey is
offended
with
Francis.

Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.*

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch.

Francis
had neglected
Wolsey.

Maximilian the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian: he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found that, after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

Henry proposes terms
to the emperor
Maximilian.

The emperor
invades
Italy, but
is foiled.

* Wolsey had so completely gained the mastery over Henry that the latter was content to see all things through the eyes of his minister. To a prince so fond of pleasure the temptation held out by the

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present against France; he could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities. Charles prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy. Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expense, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince was to draw money from him.

While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had so long been looked for, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his address, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that by

favourite of conveying to him the substance of "a whole day's consultation in one or two words" was irresistible.—Ed.

Henry
deems it
impolitic to
act against
France.

He affects
indifference to
what passes
on the continent.

Maximilian
invites his
interference,
but in vain.

Ferdinand
"the Catholic"
dies, and is
succeeded by
Charles V.

France
pays court
to Wolsey.

misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth observed to express himself on all occasions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the king of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he said he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself.

When matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonnavet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places; that, as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must fall into the hands of the first assailant; that, even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government; and that the possession of Tournay afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

TOURNAY CEDED TO FRANCE.

1518.

THESE reasons were convincing, and were sure of no opposition when they came

* According to some historians only four hostages were given on the occasion. Much festivity marked the completion of this business. "All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambassadors a solemn Banquet, and after, presented them with a stately Mummy. The eighth of October, the king

from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and, to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreements were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But, as Henry had been at considerable expense in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all men of quality, for the performance of the article; and, lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for the bishopric of Tournay.*

The French monarch having succeeded in this negociation, began to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulting him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter 'father, tutor, governor,' and professed the most unbounded deference. All these caresses were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and, if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however to lay the matter before the council; he was content to sound privately the other ministers, by dropping

feasted them at Greenwich; and at night presented a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence. The next day, Sir Thomas Exmew, Mayor of London, feasted them at Goldsmiths Hall, and then, delivering their four Hostages, they took their leave. At whose depar-

The dauphin and Henry's daughter Mary, both infants, are betrothed.

Francis promises Wolsey a pension.

The French king solicits the restoration of Calais.

Wolsey uses his station in the question.

The friendship of Francis and Wolsey is seen to decline.

hints in conversation as if he thought Calais a useless burden to the kingdom: but, when he found that all were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed; and, as he fell soon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.*

WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE.

The pope seeks a tithe from the clergy to oppose the Turks.

THE pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England,† in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become formidable to all Christendom; but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands; Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey

Wolsey is invested with the legantine power.

ture the king gave to the Admiral of France a garnish of gilt Vessel, a pair of covered Basons, gilt; twelve great gilt Bowls; four pair of great gilt pots; a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great pearls; and to some other he gave plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to some rich Apparel."—*Baker*.

* A remarkable outbreak occurred this year (1518). A carpenter in London, named Williamson, having bought two pigeons in Cheapside, a Frenchman snatched them from him, saying they were no meat for a carpenter, and he would have them for the French ambassador. Williamson replied that he had bought them, and would have them. In consequence of their quarrel, a representation was made to the Mayor, as the ambassador declared "By the Body of God, the English knave ought to lose his life, for denying any thing to a Frenchman." The narrative proceeds:—"Many like, and worse insolencies were offered by strangers, which one John Lincoln, a Broker, drew into a bill, and prevailed with doctor Beale, preacher on Easter Tuesday, at the Spittle, to read it openly in the pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly pass the streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beaten down. At last, one evening, many prentices and

having obtained this dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast days he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him the water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham the primate having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself 'your loving brother,' Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. 'Know ye not,' said he, 'that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?'

The cardinal indulges in new parade.

His arrogance is unbounded.

HIS MANNER OF EXERCISING THAT OFFICE.

BUT Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; and, as he was now invested with all power both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of in-

He establishes a new tribunal.

others assembling, rifled some strangers' houses, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the industry of Robert Brook, recorder, and Sir Thomas More, that had been under sheriff of London, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof Lincoln and twelve others were hanged; four hundred more were in their shirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks, (and thereupon called the black waggon) brought to Westminster, where the king himself sate that day; and when the cardinal had charged them with the greatness of their offence; they all cried, Mercy, Mercy: and then the king, by the mouth of the cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchased the king no small love amongst the people."—*Baker*.

† We have a singular picture given of the state in which this distinguished personage found himself when he first reached England. "Cardinal Woolsey hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow cardinal, sent store of red cloth to Callice, to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when Campejus was landed at Dover, Cardinal Woolsey caused the Gentry of Kent to wait upon him to Blackheath;

Wolsey
claims for
the legatine
court
inquisitori-
al powers.

John Allen,
a man of
out life, is
made judge
of the
legatine
court.

Wolsey
is as if he
were the
pope.

one dare
complain of
Wolsey's
usurpa-
tions.

quisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to enquire into all matters of conscience ; into all conduct which had given scandal ; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission ; and the people were the more disgusted when they saw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure so severe in representing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it ; a person of scandalous life, whom he himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury : and, as it is pretended that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny ; and, as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to resume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments ; and his decisions were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry.

No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people.

where he was met and received by the Duke of Norfolk and many prelates, and there, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinal Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessities ; but Wolsey, not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride ; for in Cheapside his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids, flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shooes, broken meat, Marrow

Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. 'A man,' said he, 'is not so blind any where as in his own house : but do you, father,' added he to the primate, 'go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it.' A reproof of this kind only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham ; but one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king's ears ; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. 1519.

WHILE Henry, indulging in pleasure, intrusted the government to this imperious minister, an incident happened which excited his attention. On the twelfth of January Maximilian the emperor died ; a man who was indeed of little consequence ; but, as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient which promised them success in so great a point of ambition.* Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions ; but his minister Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes were pre-engaged on one side or the other.

CHARLES KING OF SPAIN CHOSEN EMPEROR.

FRANCIS and Charles made profession of

bones, and Crusts of Bread ; exposing him to the laughter of all the people : yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Axe, and Mace, into Paul's Church ; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir Thomas More, in the name of the City."—*Lord Herbert*.—Ed.

* Francis attached so much importance to success in this case, that he declared to the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Bolyn, that he would spend three millions of gold to obtain it.—Ed.

Warham is
directed by
the king to
admonish
Wolsey.

The emperor
Maximilian dies.

Charles V.
and Francis
seek to
gain the
imperial
crown.

Henry pro-
tends to it,
but too
late.

Francis and Charles profess rivalry without enmity.

Charles is elected emperor.

Both Charles and Francis are brave, and distinguished by talent.

The emperor Charles succeeds to an immense inheritance.

carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis, in particular, declared that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistress: 'The more fortunate,' added he, 'will carry her; the other must rest contented.' It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who continued to the last in the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And, as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation at being thus disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs, which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring; beloved by their subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess; Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified by his spirit and magnanimity to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, by his designing character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a sudden, so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands; he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Granada; election entitled him to the empire; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure of the new world. But, though the concurrence of all these ad-

vantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and, had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs. But this prince was heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

INTERVIEW OF HENRY AND FRANCIS AT CALAIS. 1520.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence, over both monarchs. And, as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expense; many of them involved themselves in great debts. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense

Nothing like the power of Charles had been known since that of the Romans.

Henry is able to hold the balance between Charles and Francis.

His power is not wisely exercised.

Francis invites Henry to a personal interview.

Henry and his nobility prepare to meet the French king at Calais.

sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure; an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.

On the twenty-fifth of May, while Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king a still higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition, of the cardinal. He instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy: and, as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that for many years he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he believed that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole support, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

On the thirtieth of May, the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small

town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance in order to do honour to his master. The nobility, both of France and England, here displayed their magnificence with such profuse expense as procured to the place of interview the name of 'the field of the cloth of gold.'

The two monarchs, after saluting in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent, and held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, 'I Henry, king.' These were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words 'of England,' without adding France, the usual style of the English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That prince was shocked at all the precautions which were observed whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: the number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both sides; every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted; and, if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis one day took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards

The kings of England and France meet.

The place of meeting is called the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Henry and Francis confer.

Great precautions regulate the interview.

Francis disregards them all.

The emperor Charles arrives at Dover.

He courts the favour of Wolsey.

Henry is flattered by the attention paid to his minister.

The French king goes to Henry unattended.

Henry visits Francis without guards.

Grand feats of arms take place.

Francis is feasted by Henry.

were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, 'You are all my prisoners; carry me to your master.' Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and, taking him in his arms, 'My brother,' said he, 'you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have shewed me the full confidence I may place in you: I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment.' He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth fifteen thousand angels; and, putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed; but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar. The king went next day to Ardres without guards or attendants; and, confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.*

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a

motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it. '*Cui adhæreo præest*; He prevails whom I favour.' Expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time till their departure on the twenty-fourth of June.

Henry paid them a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais and pass some days in that fortress. The artful Charles here completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required that some support should be given to the latter; and, above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: and Charles, sensible of this, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was obliged to concur) that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute that might arise. But the masterpiece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests by very important services and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajox and Placentia in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or

Henry claims to hold the balance of power.

He visits the emperor Charles.

Charles flatters his vanity, and gains over Wolsey.

Wolsey's revenue nearly equals that of the crown.

* Great distrust was manifested on both sides in the first instance. The two monarchs set out at the same moment to meet each other, the signal being the firing of a gun. After a short time the French halted on an alarm being given, and Francis dis-

mounted, but was at length advised to proceed. The same thing occurred to Henry, who was re-assured by lord Shrewsbury, and the words "On afore," ordered the advance to continue.—Ed.

His ostentation offends the people.

rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations.

WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS.

Charles and Francis, being at war, make Henry their umpire.

THE violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. But, while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them.

MEDIATION OF HENRY. 1521.

Negotiations are carried at Calais.

THE king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom; and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey soon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated that England should next summer invade that king-

They are broken off, and Wolsey visits the emperor.

dom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

He concludes with Charles an alliance.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

THE people saw every day new instances of the uncontrolled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion. He seems to have been full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.; and, though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions as if he thought himself best entitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution.* There is no reason to think

The duke of Buckingham gives offence to the cardinal.

The duke threatens the king's life.

He is brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

* "He was found guilty by his peers, and having judgment to suffer as in case of treason is used, was led againe to his barge, and so conveyed by water to the Temple staires, where he was set a land, and

from thence by land through London to the Tower with the axe afore him, Sir William Sands having him by the right arme, and Sir Nicholas Vaux by the left arme. And on the 17th of May, being the

His sentence is deemed unjust.

His office of constable of England is abolished.

Religious controversies agitate Europe.

the sentence unjust ; but as Buckingham's crimes seem to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign, and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HENRY VIII.

DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.—ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION.—MARTIN LUTHER.—HENRY RECEIVES THE TITLE OF DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.—CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—A PARLIAMENT.—INVASION OF FRANCE.—ITALIAN WARS.—THE KING OF FRANCE INVADES ITALY.—BATTLE OF PAVIA AND CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS.—HENRY EMBRACES THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCE.—DISCONTENTS OF THE ENGLISH.—FRANCIS REMOVED TO MADRID.—FRANCIS RECOVERS HIS LIBERTY.—SACK OF ROME.—LEAGUE WITH FRANCE.

DURING some years many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the reformation,

Fryday before Whitsunday, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, who led him to the scaffold on the Tower-hill about 11 of the clocke, and there he was beheaded, in the presence of Sir Thomas Lovel and all the people: his body with the head was borne by the fryers Augustines to their church, and there buried in the chappell church for the close." After this, on the 8th of the following month, he was degraded in solemn form at Windsor. A form of words, declaring the crime and the condemnation of the deceased, was read by Garter King at Arms, and the narrator proceeds. "It is to be remembered

one of the greatest events in history. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes ; or to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals ; and, in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except perhaps on the first introduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artisans finding their profits to rise by the favour of their customers, increase their skill and industry ; and, as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also some callings which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual ; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those

that Somerset Herault was in the roode loft behind the hachments of the saide duke Edward : and when Garter spake these words, 'expelled and put from the armes,' then the saide Somerset violently cast downe unto the quire, his creast, his banner, and sword. And when the publication was all done, the officers of armes spurned the saide hachment with their feete out of the quire into the body of the church, first the sword, and then the banner, and then was the creast spurned out of the said quire, through the church out at the west doore, and so to the bridge, where it was spurned over into the

Theological disputes and abuses

The reasons for a religious establishment are to be considered.

Industry can generally provide for itself.

Some professions must depend upon government.

They must receive public encouragement.

Ecclesiastics are rendered active by the favour they find with the people.

their diligence is times tedious.

its are used to or dis- tions.

professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependence, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at first sight, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be intrusted to the liberality of individuals who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in the profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

But this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other sects, and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And, in the end,

ditch."—*State Trials*. The duke solemnly denied his guilt, and declared he would not sue for mercy. From the moment of his conviction he regarded death as inevitable. On entering the boat which was to carry him from Westminster, being invited

the civil magistrate will find that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

But we may observe that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers, of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but, by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And, as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risk of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was

to sit on the cushions before provided, he refused them with the remark, "when I came here I was duke of Buckingham; now, I am only Edward Stafford, and the poorest wretch alive." He died with calm resolution.—Ed.

The civil magistrate finds it necessary to bribe them to indolence.

Ecclesiastical establishments are found advantageous to society.

Few have had a worse foundation than the church of Rome.

Sloth and ignorance are encouraged by monasteries.

They cause persecution, or abject credulity.

Romish priests are permitted to enrich themselves by the voluntary oblations of their flock.

The advantage of the Romish religion but imperfectly compensated the evils it caused.

This was not the cause of the reformation.

The pope, Leo. X., sells indulgences largely.

not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus that church, though an expensive and burdensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniences. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had served as a check on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other. And the pomp and splendour of worship, which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION.

LEO X., by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him as an expedient which had often served to draw money from the Christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints be-

yond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: and from this unexhausted treasury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purposes, in resisting the infidels or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes.

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence; and, as his expenses had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII.; and she, to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: but Arcemboldi, fearing lest practice might have taught them means to secrete the money, and expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than those

The good works of the saints, and the merits of the Saviour are retailed by the pope.

Leo is supposed to have been well aware of the falsehood of the doctrines he favoured.

He farms out the revenue to be raised by indulgences.

The monks enlarge on the value of indulgences.

already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people.* To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming houses, and places still more infamous, the money which devout persons had saved from their usual expenses in order to purchase a remission of their sins.

MARTIN LUTHER.

ALL these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and, being provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him. Still, as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and, finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of papal jurisdiction; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; many sovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, shewed a favourable disposition towards it; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of

advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

HENRY STYLED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

THE rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and, as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets by all the influence which his almost absolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard, and conferred on him the title of 'defender of the faith;' an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which, in the course of his polemics, he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute. And, as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind, and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

Luther boldly perseveres in opposing the pope.

His doctrines find favour in England.

Henry opposes, and writes a book in Latin against them.

Luther replies to the king with unsparing severity.

The Lutheran doctrine makes new converts.

* See note DD at the end of the volume.

CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

Their success partly owing to the invention of printing and the revival of learning.

The Lutheran doctrine was adopted with little reflection.

Reflection followed.

The divine authority of the church of Rome is denied.

THE quick and surprising progress of this bold sect may justly, in part, be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: for of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, made the most inconsiderable progress: neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: not to mention that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And, as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and, though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: but, as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers,

not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniences of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and, in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies; but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the license, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism, of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures

Luther denounces the Roman church as damnable.

The reformers proceed to extremes.

The anathemas of the pope are set at defiance.

Princes called on to resist encroachments.

The wealth and libertism of the clergy are held up to reprobation.

and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And, as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature, they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy, and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

Leo X dies.

Leo X., whose oversights and too supine trust in the profound ignorance of the people had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment and temper were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but, so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed that many abominable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France; and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

Adrian, Leo's successor, admits abominable practices prevailed in the court of Rome.

The emperor Charles feels that Wolsey has been disappointed.

The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that

haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England;* and, besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence.

Charles re-visits England.

The treaty of Bruges is renewed.

Charles is installed a knight of the garter.

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1522.

THE king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and, after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he

War is declared against France.

The earl of Surrey sails to Calais.

* He arrived at Dover, on Monday, the 26th of May. "On Wednesday, being Ascension eve, the king came to Dover; and there with great joy and gladness the emperor and he met. On Friday, in the afternoon, they departed from Dover, and came that night to Canterbury, and from thence, next day, to Greenwich, where the queen received her nephew

with all the joy that might be."—*Baker*.—The emperor was brought to London, and lodged in the palace of Bridewell, and subsequently proceeded to Windsor, where there was much feasting; and on Corpus Christi day the emperor wore the mantle of the garter, and sat in his own stall.—*Ed*.

Surrey commands an allied army against France.

took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined to forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted to eighteen thousand men.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

The duke of Vendome, commanding the French army, is careful to avoid a general engagement.

THE French had made it a maxim, in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V., never without great necessity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions; he himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry; the count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion, to throw supply into any town that was threatened, and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but, finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. The garrison made vigorous sallies; fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries; and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter quarters, about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas, in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

Surrey's army is much harassed.

Hedin is besieged by the English, but without success.

The French are defeated in Italy.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca near Milan, and was obliged to retire. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

EUROPE was now in such a situation that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: but, of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline. He thence conducted the army into Anandale, and prepared to pass the borders at Solway Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and, lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen dowager.

Next year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them; the two Humes had been put to death; Angus was in a manner banished; no nobleman of vigour or authority remained who was qualified to assume the government; and the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England.

A war in Europe must become general.

Albany, the regent of Scotland, prepares for a war with England.

Discontents among the nobility thwart his design.

He goes to France.

Henry, in the absence of Albany, distresses Scotland.

He suggests
a matri-
monial
alliance.

The queen's
party con-
demn the
French al-
liance.

The im-
portance of
cultivating
friendship
with Eng-
land is in-
sisted upon.

The parti-
sans of
France de-
clare an
English
alliance
must prove
fatal to
Scotch in-
depend-
ence.

He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms; and the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said that the interests of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them as soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England. France was so distant that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succours to the Scots sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations; and that, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

The partisans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: that, as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom: that, if they deserted that old and salutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies would soon invade them with superior force: or, if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable.

The arguments employed by the French party seemed most prevalent; and, when the regent himself, who had been long

detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English; and he led them towards the borders: but when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melross, the English party raised again such opposition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks. But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation were not, during several years, in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly, on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expense still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprises. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men; their years, profession, stock, revenue; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums. This act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This

Albany as-
sembles an
army to
invade
England.

He is again
thwarted,
and again
withdraws
to France.

The Scot-
tish nation
can no lon-
ger disturb
England.

Want of
money
causes the
war with
France to
languish.

Henry de-
mands
loans, and
imposes
taxes.

pretended loan, being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people: and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

A PARLIAMENT. 1523.

HENRY, on the fifteenth of April, summoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and, though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the house of commons; and, in a long and elaborate speech, laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum computed, from the late survey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the division proposed.* So large a grant was unusual; though the cardinal's demand was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply. They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and

forty shillings a year; and on the other subjects, above sixteen years of age, a groat a head. This last sum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmost above sixpence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the sum demanded; and the cardinal therefore, much mortified, came again to the house, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves;† and his desire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a year and upwards.‡ The proceedings of this house of commons evidently discover the humour of the times: they were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand, which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that, as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another; and, on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in forty years; a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights in the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope, Adrian VI., died; and Clement VII., of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place by the concurrence

The grant is divided into yearly payments.

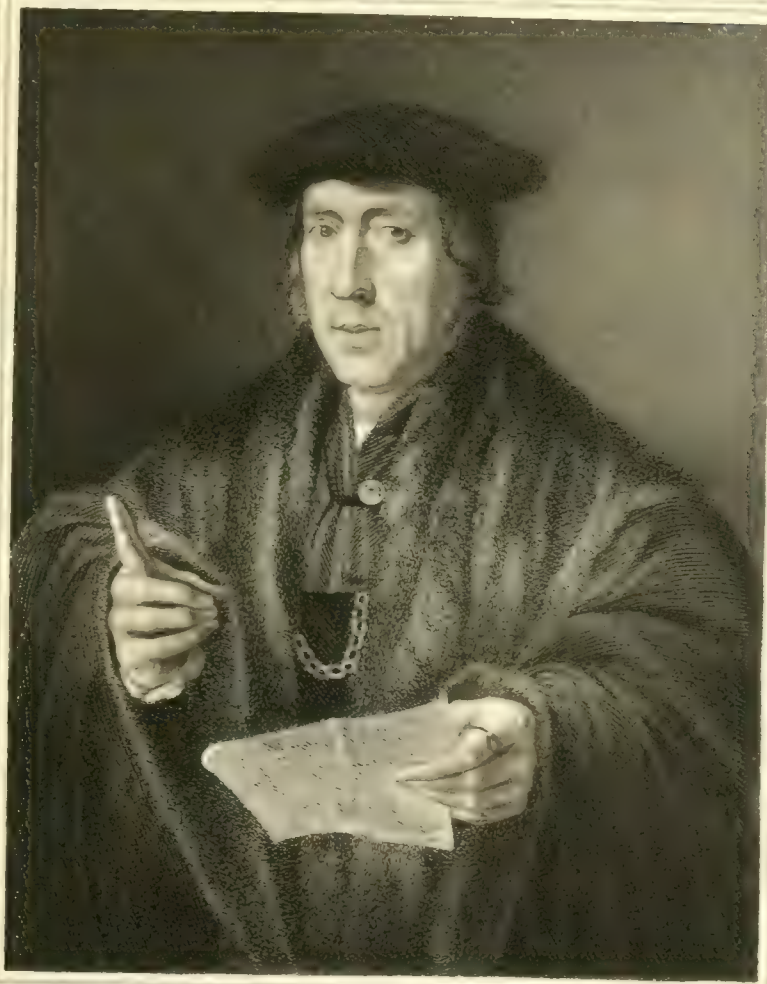
The commons are more careful of their money than of the liberties of the nation.

Pope Adrian VI. dies, and is succeeded by Clement VII.

* This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unless the sum comprehended the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

† Wolsey called on More personally to answer him, but was told that he, as speaker, could only do so after being instructed by the house what to say.—ED.

‡ See note EE at the end of the volume.



SIR JOHN MORE

OR THE

THE FIGHTING THE FIGHT OF FEMORE

The cardinal discovers the insincerity of Charles.

Disgusted with the emperor, Wolsey seeks to reconcile Henry with Francis.

He erects colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

The confederacy against France appears more formidable than ever.

of the Imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his disgust; and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and, by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity; he sought all over Europe for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges; and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries. The execution of this project became the less difficult because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humour of the reformers.

The confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Gui-

enne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; and a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy. But all these perils were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy, which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity against the French monarch.

Charles duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of vengeance. She was deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily, had, by her capacity, acquired an absolute ascendancy over her son. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, and at last he permitted Louise to prosecute a law-suit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.*

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and king of England. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness in order to have pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape; and, entering into the em-

England menaces Picardy.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, gains the affections of Louise of Savoy.

She is repulsed, and her son, the French king, affronts Bourbon.

Bourbon favours the designs of the emperor and the king of England.

His scheme is detected, but Bourbon escapes.

* The wrongs of Bourbon were great. "He was impeached, and the officers of the king provisionally sequestered his goods, (August, 1522). Half of them were claimed for Louisa, and the remainder for her son. The affair was submitted to Duprat, and, notwithstanding the evident right of the con-

stable, seemed likely to be decided against him. Charles well understood what was likely to be the issue of his trial, and in his grief the unfortunate prince listened to the overtures made to him by Charles V."—*Burette*.—Ed.

He engages
to act
against
France.

peror's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

An English
army in-
vades
France.

THE king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion: and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about twelve thousand men; and, having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but, that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier

Picardy is
not feebly
defended.

of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dour lens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with success; and, when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army.

Bray is
taken.

Montdidier
falls.

They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation, till the duke of Vendome hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded,

thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned; and the English and Flemings, without effecting anything, retired into their respective countries.

Montdidier
is abandon-
ed, and the
invading
army with-
draws

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The count
of Guise
successfully
defends
Burgundy.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and, though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and, when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sat down, in the winter season, before that city, well fortified, and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops into winter quarters.

The empe-
ror besieges
Fontarabia.

Fontarabia
is surren-
dered.

ITALIAN WARS.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions, he had determined to lead in person a powerful

The French
king deter-
mines to
make war
on Italy.

Francis is bent on effecting the conquest of Milan.

A French army marches, commanded by admiral Bonnivet.

Bonnivet blockades Milan.

The French army suffers from sickness and famine.

army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The duchy of Milan had been purposely left somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. If Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance; but, as he wasted his time, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league meanwhile was not inactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp than they stopped, from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of

joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to return home in their company. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France.*

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, were satisfied with the advantage obtained, and resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged. They all concluded that he intended to reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which he might choose to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy

Deserted by the Swiss, Bonnivet is obliged to retreat.

Pope Clement attempts to reconcile France and England, but fails.

A new treaty is concluded between Henry and Charles.

* In this retreat the celebrated Bayard lost his life. "Bonnivet, attacked by the Constable de Bourbon, at the moment when his rear-guard defiled over the bridge of Romania, was wounded by an arquebus shot in the arm, and obliged to be carried to the other side of the bridge. He left the command of the army to Bayard, who perished there with Vandenesse, the brother of La Palice. Bayard, the last type of that lost race of knights of the middle ages, could never refrain from indignant murmurs against that novelty in war, the use of arquebusses, which had put down for ever the system of fighting hand to hand, so dear to chivalry. In this fatal retreat from Biagrossa, the good chevalier received in his reins a bullet from an arquebus,

which broke his vertebræ. Feeling that he was dying, he placed his back against a tree, his face turned towards the enemy, and having the hilt of his sword raised before his eyes as a crucifix. Bourbon happened to pass him, being then in pursuit of the French. 'Ah Bayard!' exclaimed he, 'I feel sincere pity for you, seeing you in this hopeless state.'—'Sir,' replied the dying man, 'it is not for me to be pitied, who die like a good man; it is you who are to be pitied, a Frenchman and a prince of France, who wear upon your shoulders the livery of Spain, and have arms in your hands stained with the blood of your countrymen.'—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.

Bourbon is to be made a king.

with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king, but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles, the rest of the kingdom to Henry.

He refuses to acknowledge Henry as king of France.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed; Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command, and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which they expected to reduce in a little time: but the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.*

Bourbon lays siege to Marseilles, but is forced to withdraw.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies; but, as he received intelligence that the king of England, disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

THE KING OF FRANCE INVADES ITALY. 1524.

The French king enters Italy.

HE passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont than he

* Bourbon had flattered himself that the terrors of his name would do wonders in France, and he boasted on the way to Marseilles, that, by the time three shots had been fired, the citizens would come with ropes about their necks to bring him the keys. The differences which commonly grow on miscarriage, caused Pescara to taunt his colleague, by reminding him of this speech: "One day a bullet killed, in the tent of Pescara, two gentlemen and a priest. The noise which this occasioned caused the constable to run to the spot, to enquire what had happened. 'It is the consuls of Marseilles,' replied Pescara, 'who have come to bring us the keys of the city.' A breach was at length made in the wall, of the width of twenty-five fathoms; but the besieged had

threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi: and, had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed: but his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new ones were instantly thrown up behind the breaches. He attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter,) had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals meanwhile were not inactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The emperor retires.

Francis besieges Pavia.

He fails in his attempts.

The Imperialists advance to raise the siege.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, the revenues of the princes were extremely

A want of commerce is felt throughout Europe.

raised behind the rampart a strong entrenchment, defended by a ditch, which they had filled with gunpowder, and fireworks of most formidable character. Bourbon was, however, so badly obeyed by the soldiers of the emperor, that he could not lead them to the assault. In vain he promised five hundred crowns, and a company of five hundred soldiers, to the man who should first show himself in the breach; in vain he took off the head of one of the most mutinous of his officers: all was of no avail. Pescara himself joined the malcontents. 'You see, gentlemen,' said he, to the principal commanders in Bourbon's tent, 'that the people of Marseilles have already spread a table well covered for our entertainment, in order to receive as they ought those who

The forces of Charles did not exceed twenty thousand men.

His troops are kept together by the prospect of plunder.

Francis resolves to take Pavia or perish.

The French are defeated and their king is taken prisoner.

Charles exhibits great moderation.

He forbids all manifestations of triumph.

But is only studious how to profit by the incident.

narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid. The Imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders): yet so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and, having once said that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

BATTLE OF PAVIA, AND CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS. 1525.

THE Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the

town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner.* Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great

go to visit them. If you are desirous of supping in the other world, move forward with all expedition. For my own part, I do not care to go there so soon. Let those who think as I do return with me to Italy.' He then left the place, without addressing one word to the constable."—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.
* Some of the circumstances of this great event are very interesting. Francis had had his horse killed under him, and had been wounded in the forehead. "Loss of blood from the wounds he had received had exhausted his strength; and his armour, being damaged, scarcely protected him from the blows aimed at him from all sides. Pomperant, perceiving the king in this extreme danger, rushed through the crowd which strove against him, and threw himself on his knees, entreating him to surrender to his master, who fought hard by. Francis declared that he would rather die. He, however, subsequently called for the viceroy of Naples, and

tendered to him his sword, which Lannoy received, at the same time kissing his hand. Bonnivet, the author of all this disaster, for it was he who had brought the king to Pavia, and who, before the battle, had shown himself most enthusiastic and sanguine, dared not to survive such unlooked for mischance, and the wide spreading destruction around him. He raised his vizor, and rushing wildly into the thickest of the fight, soon fell, covered with wounds. Bourbon, who regarded him as the author of his disgrace, had promised a reward to whoever should bring him to him alive. 'Ah, unhappy man,' he exclaimed, when he saw his corpse extended on the ground, 'thou art the wretched author of the downfall of France, and also of mine.' This melancholy result was announced to his mother by Francis, in a letter which he wrote from the tent of Lannoy, which contained only these words:

"Madam, all is lost except our honour."
Burette.—Ed.
629

Exorbitant
ambition
governs all
his actions.

incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, 'Madam, all is lost, except our honour.' The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded by implacable and victorious enemies: and her chief resource was the hope she entertained of peace, and even of assistance from the king of England.

The mother
of Francis
is sur-
rounded
by peril.

HENRY EMBRACES THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCE.

HAD the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him. While the war was carried on without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy. But, as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Henry is
startled at
the success
of the em-
peror.

He resolves
to assist
Francis.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey;

and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing with his own hand, and subscribing himself 'Your affectionate son and cousin,' he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself 'Charles.' Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

Charles,
after the
battle of
Pavia,
changes his
style
towards
Henry and
Wolsey.

Henry, though determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London: but, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Toustal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit to London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands, and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such con-

Henry or-
ders rejoic-
ings for
the suc-
cesses of
Charles.

He pro-
poses to
emperor
invasion
France.

siderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonstal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy. Tonstal added that, instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all these motives, concluded, at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions: the regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears, due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

DISCONTENTS OF THE ENGLISH.

MEANWHILE Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and, as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and fourpence upon the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to

cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the slender pretence of a loan. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short. He sent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing but by way of benevolence. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III., by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court that Richard, being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and absolute monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. The judges even went so far as to affirm positively that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous to consult the common council: but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but, as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their

Great discontent is manifested, which Henry endeavours to remove.

Benevolences are declared to be unlawful.

The judges declare Henry may raise any sum he pleases by commission.

Insurrections break out.

They are suppressed.

The offenders are pardoned.

The late arbitrary impositions are imputed to Wolsey.

He violates all ecclesiastical privileges, and fines religious houses

He builds a palace at Hampton court, which he gives to the king.

arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star chamber, where, after a severe charge, the cardinal said that, notwithstanding their grievous offence, the king had granted them his gracious pardon upon condition that they would find sureties for their future good behaviour: but they replying they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk, said that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed.

These arbitrary impositions being imputed to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe. By his commission as legate he was empowered to visit them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent Allen in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York place in Westminster, for his own residence; but, fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king rendered his domestic government,

both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and, as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

FRANCIS REMOVED TO MADRID.

FRANCIS was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and, as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, 'You come, sir, to visit your prisoner.' 'No,' replied the emperor, 'I come to visit my brother

The moderation of the emperor is of short duration.

He offers terms to his prisoner Francis, which are refused.

Francis is disappointed in his hopes of gaining more favourable terms from Charles.

He falls sick.

Charles visits him, and Francis recovers.

and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty.' He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered, and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

A treaty is concluded for the liberation of Francis.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated that in six weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependance.

The terms are severe.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations, exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: by sacrificing his allies in Italy he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and, arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity. His

It is believed Francis will never execute the treaty.

He resents the rigour with which he had been treated.

* Francis, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, signed the treaty of Madrid (Jan. 14th 1526), in doing which he somewhat compromised what he had saved at Pavia, his honour; for, three hours before giving it his signature, he caused to be registered in secrecy, but before notaries, a judicial protest against the

ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure with one voice to inculcate on him that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country.* Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which either as a prince or a man he was strongly actuated.

Ministers, friends, and allies, will be all opposed to the fulfilment of the treaty.

FRANCIS RECOVERS HIS LIBERTY. 1526.

FRANCIS, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages to the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and, putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, 'I am yet a king.' He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, he declined the proposal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and, declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch,

Francis is liberated.

He declines ratifying the treaty of Madrid.

He refuses to return to captivity.

violence done to him, which declared null all past renunciations, acquittances, and oaths, which he might be compelled to make against his honour, and the interests of his kingdom.—*Pictorial History of France*.—ED.

Francis makes public a secret treaty against the emperor.

He joins a confederacy against the emperor.

Henry is invited to accede to it.

Bourbon overruns the whole Milanese.

instead of complying, made public the treaty, which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take: and Clement, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, had offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money, and to restore Milan to Sforza without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector to the 'holy league,' so it was called: and, if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of thirty thousand ducats; and that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of ten thousand ducats.

SACK OF ROME. 1527.

FRANCIS was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations. Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor in-

tended to grant him the investiture; and, having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and, in order to prevent mutinies, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls;* but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and, entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured, even from the barbarians by whom she was so often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for many days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent

Bourbon leads his soldiers to Rome.

He is killed; Rome falls.

The conquerors act with brutal sacrilegious violence.

The pope is taken prisoner.

* He died like a brave soldier. "On the 5th of May, 1527, Bourbon arrived under the walls of Rome, and gave the signal for the assault by the faubourg of the Vatican, near the mount of the Holy Ghost. To encourage his troops, who faltered, he measured with his pike a former breach, which had been badly repaired, and boldly placed a ladder against it. A shot from an arquebus struck him in the loins while he was ascending it, and he fell into

the ditch. Feeling that he had received his mortal wound, he called to Jonas, a Gascon officer, one of those military cosmopolites who engaged their swords in any cause, to order that he should be removed, covered with a mantle, to conceal from his men the sight of his dead body. He scarcely had reached his tent when he breathed his last."—*Pictorial History of France*.

mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

The emperor affects to lament the success of his arms.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms; he put himself and all his court in mourning; he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and, knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during several months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty, which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

Charles orders prayers for the liberation of the pope, his prisoner.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to pay the money borrowed from Henry, and, in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred men at arms; two thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And, in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise than they changed the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and, hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey crossed the sea to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine and the

A treaty is concluded between Henry and Francis.

The princess Mary is to be married by Francis or his son.

Wolsey visits France.

chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne. Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary: and, as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge to it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but, was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises.

He meets the king of France.

The princess Mary, it is decided, shall marry the duke of Orleans.

LEAGUE WITH FRANCE.

THE more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London, in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and, that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

Henry, by treaty, renounces all claim to the crown of France.

The treaty is ratified with great pomp in London.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from

The emperor will not yield to the demands of the allies.

War is declared by England and France against Charles.

Charles challenges Francis, but no duel takes place

This challenge effects a change in the manners of the age.

The practice of duelling, thereby introduced, is not yet wholly exploded.

his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie;* and, after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but, though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place.

But, though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents: and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd, though generous, maxims shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and, notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

* The challenge, dated March 18th, 1527, or cartel as it was called, sent by Francis to the emperor, concluded in the following words:—"We wish you to understand that if you have wished, or wish to charge that we have done any thing which a gentleman careful of his honour ought not to do, we

CHAPTER XXX.

HENRY VIII.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—THE KING ENTERS INTO THESE SCRUPLES.—ANNE BOLEYN.—HENRY APPLIES TO THE POPE FOR A DIVORCE.—THE POPE FAVOURABLE.—THE EMPEROR THREATENS HIM.—THE POPE'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT.—TRIAL OF THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—WOLSEY'S FALL.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—THE UNIVERSITIES CONSULTED ABOUT THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—WOLSEY'S DEATH.—A PARLIAMENT.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—A PARLIAMENT.—KING'S FINAL BREACH WITH ROME.—A PARLIAMENT.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE. 1527.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations: and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession some members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and, though Henry's youth

The marriage of Henry with Catherine is deemed objectionable.

The late king enjoined Henry not to complete the projected union.

say that you have lied in the throat, and that so often as you say it you will lie, being fixed to defend our honour to the last moment of our life; therefore, since against truth you have thought fit to make such a charge, do not henceforth write any thing to us, but we bid you to the field, and will meet you in arms."—Ed.



ANNE BULLEN.

OR 1536.

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF WARWICK

The princess Mary, Henry's daughter, is stigmatized as illegitimate.

and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter: and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess. And, when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection. But, though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

THE KING ENTERS INTO THESE SCRUPLES.

THE queen was older than the king by six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private passions and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and as it was esteemed unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on consulting his confessor the

bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages.

'The prohibitions,' said Thomas, 'contained in Leviticus, and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and, though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them.' The archbishop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to consult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fisher bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbefitting his character and station. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

ANNE BOLEYN.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and, having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who

The king, as a divine, examines the validity of his marriage.

Marrying with a brother's widow is declared by churchmen to be unlawful.

The bishops, with the exception of bishop Fisher, pronounce it to be so.

Wolsey takes the same course.

Anne Boleyn gains the affections of Henry.

Anne had accompanied the king's sister to Paris.

She returns after the king had questioned the lawfulness of his marriage.

Henry admires the youth and beauty of Anne Boleyn.

He resolves to apply to Rome for a divorce from Catherine.

was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk ; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond ; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Hastings. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France ; and, upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude queen of France, spouse to Francis ; and after the death of that princess she passed into the family of the duchess of Alençon, a woman of singular merit. The exact time when she returned to England is not certainly known ; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, if the account is to be credited which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen ; but, as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms, of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne ; and was the more confirmed in this resolution when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, seemed to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make application to Clement ; and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

HENRY APPLIES TO THE POPE FOR A DIVORCE.

THAT he might not shock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he resolved not to found the application on any general doubts

concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity ; but only to insist on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that, if the pope be surprised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled ; and this pretence had usually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, afforded abundant matter of this kind. It was said, in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation, though it was known at that time he was under twelve years of age ; it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite in order to preserve peace between the two crowns ; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage.

THE POPE FAVOURABLE.

BUT, though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer ; and a dispensation was forthwith promised. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty ; and he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with Sir Gregory Casali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment, to the king ; but not so prompt in granting his request

The bull of pope Julius he contends is invalid.

The preamble of the bull recites facts which were untrue.

Pope Clement favours the views of Henry.

He postpones his decision.

He secretly grants a dispensation.

Henry is advised to marry, and apply for the papal sanction afterwards.

He questions the declaration by Henry's ministers.

as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a commission to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation: he also granted them a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue to him if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his consent and authority.

When Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated, the children which it might bring him declared

illegitimate, and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever. And Henry's apprehensions of such an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment whenever his timidity allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed. The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour, especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And, besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

THE EMPEROR THREATENS HIM. 1528.

CHARLES, apprized of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and, though Leo X. his kinsman, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this

They dread the consequences of his marrying without the papal sanction.

The pope possessed excellent judgment, but feared to provoke the emperor.

Charles threatens to convolve a general council.

The pope's title he declares to be questionable.

Simony is held to incapacitate.

Cardinal Colonna menaces Clement.

Clement hopes for the restoration of the Medicis family from Charles.

The pope is expected to oppose Henry's divorce.

stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And, in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But, unfortunately, Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case that he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence; and this billet Colonna, who was in entire dependance on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view.

While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found that by this interest the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch.

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and, as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character. The safest measure seemed to consist in making use of his present ambiguity to extort the most

important concessions from him. For this purpose Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome.

THE POPE'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT.

BUT the same reasons which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor. He granted a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And, though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promising not to recal the present commission, this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it.

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependance on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely in the views of the latter; and, though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and, finding that this counsel gave offence, he said that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composition of all differences. The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret. In order to atone in some

He is requested to name Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox as commissioners.

The pope will not concede what Henry require.

Cardinal Campeggio is favourable to the views of pope.

He advises Henry not to seek a divorce.

He produces to the king a decretal bull, annulling his marriage.

degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and, in particular, he shewed that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness.

These ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter; and, if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered; and he returned to the same train of deceitful politics by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry, and promised him a favourable issue to his process: he continued his secret negotiations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine his aunt; and, promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to per-

severe in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation; the illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern; the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who she believed had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recal of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article.

TRIAL OF THE KING'S MARRIAGE. MAY 31, 1529.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without counsel, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her; that she had quitted her native country without other resource than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering thence any violence, she was assured in them of a safeguard; that she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity; that she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained when he received her into his bed, and that her

Catherine indignantly resists.

She wishes the cause evoked to Rome.

Wolsey and Campeggio, as legates, cite Henry before their court in London.

Catherine makes an appeal to her husband.

She declares her former marriage consisted but in the ceremony.

Catherine refuses to be tried in the legates court.

Henry craves a sentence from the cardinals.

Proofs are given that the former marriage was in all respects complete.

connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice when they formed the agreement for that marriage which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural; and that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependance on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable decision. Having spoken these words, she rose, and, making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure the king did her the justice to acknowledge that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour. He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation, of those doubts by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a sentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her contumacious, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favour of the king's assertion. Henry, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the

Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage: Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition that Arthur had knowledge of the princess: in the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides. These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the twenty-third of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but the motives which they could set

Proofs of the completion of the marriage had been sent to Spain.

Campeggio, though anxious for delay, is impatient at the course pursued.

Wolsey allows Campeggio to preside;

Who adjourns the court, and the cause is evoked to Rome.

The English and French ambassadors fail to influence the pope's decision.

Clement is urged by personal considerations.

Campeggio is ordered to burn the decretal bull previously issued.

Wolsey anticipates ruin.

Anne Boleyn is prepossessed against him.

The queen feels great animosity against him.

before the pope were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and, suspending the commission of the legates, he adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, beforehand, received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull with which he was intrusted.

Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at first desired that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue: he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont to make his ministers answerable for the success of those transactions with which they were intrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and, as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal. Even the queen and her partisans, judging of Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to hasten his downfall; while he imputed

the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favourite, seems to have remained some time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

Henry appears still to favour him.

WOLSEY'S FALL.

BUT constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence receives the least diminution without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him; and, on his scrupling to deliver it without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

He determines to ruin the cardinal.

The great seal is taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More.

Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized; their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver; he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; there were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

Wolsey's palace and furniture are seized by the king.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton-court. The world, that

The cardinal is ordered to Asher.

All who had formerly courted the cardinal, now desert him.

A slight return to favour is received by Wolsey with extravagant gratitude.

He is indicted in the star chamber.

The house of lords vote against him.

had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse. He himself was much dejected; and from the same turn of mind which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigour. The smallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing during some time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and, throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him.

But his enemies never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and, as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides. The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the star chamber, where a sentence was passed against him. And, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge: no evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and, as it chiefly consists of several accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any.* The articles

were sent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him, that, contrary to a statute of Richard II., (commonly called the statute of provisors) he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but, besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom: not to mention what he always asserted, and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, 'that he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody.' But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

Cromwell defends him in the commons.

Wolsey is indicted under the statute of provisors.

He throws himself on the king's mercy.

Sentence is pronounced against him.

He is pardoned.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

THE complaints against the usurpations

* See note EE at the end of the volume.

The usurpations of the ecclesiastics are complained of.

Bills hostile to the interests of the clergy are passed.

Latitudinarian principles in matters of religion gain ground.

Party zeal is soon excited.

of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and, as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills;* a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order were the severe invectives thrown out, almost without opposition, in the house against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Gray's Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgment, with regard to all those objects of dispute: and, upon the whole, he infers that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But, though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition, the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties served effectually to

banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe, and even somewhat indecent, terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king on the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words.

Henry was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependant on him; and that his parliament was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them. Several also approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE domestic transactions of England

Bishop Fisher opposes the bills for the regulation of the clergy.

The duke of Norfolk reproves the bishop.

The commons complain of the prelate to the king.

They discharge the king's debts.

The king's creditors were Wolsey's friends.

* These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the

house, that 1000 marks had been exacted from him on that account.

Henry's attention is withdrawn from foreign affairs.

A general peace is concluded.

The sons of the French king are given up by the emperor.

The emperor Charles visits Italy.

Charles prospers on every side.

were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and, except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near six hundred thousand crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace at Cambray; they were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples; even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and, having already, by his vigour and capacity, succeeded in every enterprise, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But, though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found

himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solymán, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and, though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde: and, because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of 'protestants.' Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles; and the king was sufficiently apprized that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But, besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and, as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation, from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and, though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home; he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations; he knew that they had cor-

The emperor is threatened with annoyance from Germany.

The Lutheran princes of the empire are called protestants.

Charles is anxious to secure the friendship of Henry.

Henry is tempted to break off all connexion with the court of Rome.

The people resent the conduct of the pope.

Anne Boleyn is favourably inclined to the new doctrine.

Henry is reluctant to retract his former opinions.

Dr. Cranmer is distinguished for learning and worth.

He suggests an appeal to all the universities on the subject of the king's divorce.

dially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But, notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He dreaded the reproach of heresy; he abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power; and, having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions. While he was agitated by these contrary motives an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

THE UNIVERSITIES CONSULTED.

DR. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable for his learning, and still more for candour and disinterestedness. He fell one evening into company with Gardiner, secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and, as the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease: if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal he was delighted

with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect that, if a commerce of love were authorized between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially in early youth, would introduce universal dissoluteness. But, as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father; a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorized between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle, it would appear that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed, by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a bro-

Henry engages Cranmer to write in favour of a divorce.

Marriages between relatives are forbidden, to preserve purity of manners.

Different rules on this subject obtain in different countries.

In Greece a man might marry his half-sister.

Marrying a brother's widow with a dispensation might lead to no evil consequences.

Such a marriage was unsanctioned by precedent.

Many universities declare in favour of a divorce.

Henry causes the pope to be threatened, if he withhold his sanction.

ther's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And, as strong motives of public interest may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.*

But, in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and, though the popes even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward, gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Tolouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of

a denial of justice. The convocations, too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose.

The extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and, as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained for some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received from Henry, in return for Hampton-court: but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain for him to resist; he took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial.† The cardinal, partly

The convocations of Canterbury and York declare against the king's marriage.

Clement still cites the king to Rome, who resists his authority.

The earl of Wiltshire refuses to kiss the pope's toe.

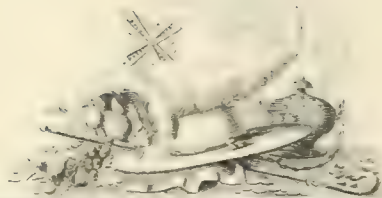
The prosecution against Wolsey is renewed.

His arrest is ordered.

* See note FF at the end of the volume.

† "The earl of Northumberland, warden of the marches, with one Sir Walter Welsh, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, came by the king's command to Cawood, to arrest the cardinal, wherein he used that diligence and secresie, that he had placed

his guards in the hall, before any escaped to advertise the cardinal thereof. Neither did he, at the earl's coming up stairs, receive him in other terms than those of a guest, till entering into a private chamber together, the earl in a low and troubled voice arrested him of high treason. The dismayed



from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the tower, who had him in custody: 'I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him.'

'He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.'

'I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head, for you can never put it out again.'

He cautions Sir William Kingston.

Wolsey is attacked by sickness.

He becomes dangerously ill.

Wolsey describes the king's character.

and pensive cardinal stayed a while before he answered, but at last recovering his spirits, demanded the sight of the earl's commission, protesting that otherwise he would not obey; urging further that he was a member of the college of cardinals at Rome, and so exempt from all princes' jurisdiction. But while the earl replied, that he might not show his commission, sir Walter Welsh, who had now arrested Dr. Augustine the cardinal's physician, comes in, and confirms what the earl had said. The cardinal believing, by this time, that they were in

WOLSEY'S DEATH. 1530.

Thus died the famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than his master's service, we must remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in some respect similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death when informed of it,* and always spoke favourably of his memory; a proof that humour more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

Wolsey dies.

Henry's conduct is less criminal while Wolsey counselled him than afterwards.

The king regrets his death.

A PARLIAMENT. 1531.

A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the

A new session of parliament, and a convocation of the clergy.

good earnest, yields to sir Walter Welsh, as the king's servant, and not to the earl; to whom he said he would not submit himself, before he was better satisfied of his authority."—*State Trials*.

* Howbeit he omitted not to enquire of about one thousand and five hundred pounds, which the cardinal had lately got without that the king could imagine how. So that, till it appeared he borrowed it of divers persons, he might perchance suspect it to be the remainder of some of his ancient acquisitions.—*State Trials*.

Henry persecutes the church for submitting to the legantine court.

The clergy purchase pardon.

The king is acknowledged supreme head of the church.

The commons fear they will be treated like the clergy, and ask for remission.

They are refused, but pardons afterwards granted.

king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney general accordingly brought an indictment against them. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds for a pardon. A confession was likewise extorted from them that 'the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England;' though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, 'in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ.'

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legantine court, or a supply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them that, if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION. 1532.

By this strict execution of the statute of provisors a great part of the profit, and still more, of the power of the court of

Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first fruits, being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant; a tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim: which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted that any censures, which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

This session the commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them when a difference arose, which put an end to the session. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements, or trustdeeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill to be drawn to moderate this abuse: he was contented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, 'if they would not take a reasonable thing when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them so much again.' The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: a singular in-

The power of the court of Rome in England is much abridged.

A vote is passed to disregard the censures of the pope.

A difference arises between Henry and the commons.

Henry proposes an important reform.



A bill, framed by the king, is rejected by the commons.

stance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir.

Parliament is prorogued on account of the plague.

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and, as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns, the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley the speaker, and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first christian man that had ever married his brother's widow.

Henry explains to the speaker his scruples of conscience.

Sir Thomas More resigns the great seal.

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had nowise encroached on the gentleness of his

temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

He preserves an equal mind in all varieties of fortune.

Sir Thomas Audley becomes lord chancellor.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalized himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court; he only dispatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and, as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In

The court of Rome alarmed at the prospect of its authority in England.

Henry is still cited to appear at Rome.

Excusators to attend to account for his non-appearance.

Henry believes that the king of France joins with him to resist the pope.

He privately marries Anne Boleyn.

Henry continues to loosen his connexion with Rome.

His marriage with Anne Boleyn is made public.

order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example in withdrawing from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And, being now fully determined to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rowland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

A PARLIAMENT. 1533.

THE parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction, and found to be very vexatious by the expense and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them. The more to shew his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and, in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring, by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine; a sentence

which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne.

The king, even amidst his scruples on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justness of her cause, he had totally forborn all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Ampt-hill near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham,* was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and, as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared contumacious; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and, after these preliminary steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony. To complete the king's satisfaction, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent, heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his

Henry in vain attempts to induce Catherine to withdraw her appeal.

The validity of his former marriage is investigated.

Catherine refuses to appear.

Henry's first marriage is declared invalid.

Anne gives birth to a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth.

* See note GG at the end of the volume.

The princess Mary is excluded from the succession.

Queen Catherine is treated only as princess dowager of Wales.

The court of Rome is incensed.

Clement declares Cranmer's sentence a nullity.

The pope is offended with the emperor.

daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess dowager of Wales. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage;* and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular: but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication if before the first of November ensuing he did not replace everything in the condition in which it formerly stood. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this

disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and, when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marseilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

Had this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and, finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risk of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and, as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their principles. But, notwithstanding, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement

He favours advances from the king of France.

The king of France mediates between the pope and Henry.

Henry begins to relish spiritual authority.

The king of France works on the prejudices of Henry.

* She would not for a moment consent to be called queen dowager, emphatically declaring that she was the king's true wife, having been brought to him "a clean maid," having been "crowned and

anointed queen," and "having had by the king lawful issue and no bastard;" wherefore she added, "the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her life."—ED.

Francis hopes to reconcile him to the pope.

had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

KING'S FINAL BREACH WITH ROME. 1534.

The pope promises to grant Henry a divorce.

FRANCIS first prevailed on the pope to promise that, if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed that, if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair as drawing towards an amicable conclusion. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise was detained beyond the day appointed: news was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with anger; and, by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it.* Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found that, though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

Through an accident they are revived.

* The English people were generally inclined to view favourably the decision of the pope, and "Nan

A PARLIAMENT.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation, could hope, during the lifetime of Henry, to have gained much authority in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and, having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, to inculcate the doctrine that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese. The proceedings of the parliament shewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

All payments made to the apostolic chamber, all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished; monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; the law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful

Bullen" of being the true cause of Henry's undutiful conduct towards the holy father.—ED.

The papal yoke, once thrown off, could not be imposed on England while Henry lived.

The people are gradually prepared to deny the pope's authority.

Henry was never disposed to surrender his newly assumed power.

The pope is allowed no authority in England.

It is declared to be no heresy to speak against him.

Two Italian bishops are deposed.

Withholding the payment of annates or first fruits from the pope is enforced.

Appeals are allowed from the bishops' court to the king.

Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn is confirmed by parliament.

witnesses: and it was declared that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: bishops were to be appointed by a *conge d'elire* from the crown; or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed: the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament. In this submission the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he shall appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

But the most important law passed this session was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified; and the marriage with queen Anne was confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and, failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of imprisonment of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and

those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy,* was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

The king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches: and they voted that the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure.

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and, as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the

It is from Henry's anger against Catherine that the pope's excommunication is excluded from the succession.

Henry's appeal from the pope to a general council is a statute which is enforced.

The bishops and clergy declare against the pope.

An oath regarding the succession is proposed to the bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More.

* It may be worthy of remark, that, on minor points, even her "love and reverence" for the king did not move Catherine to give way. When required by the duke of Suffolk, acting on behalf of Henry,

to remove from Ampthill, she flatly refused compliance. "They might hew her in pieces," she said, "or bind her with ropes, and violently enforce her, but of her own will she would never go."—Ed.

Arguments
are used,
but in vain,
to satisfy
More that it
is lawful.

Henry
orders
More and
Fisher to be
committed
to the
tower.

Parliament
declares the
king to be
the su-
preme on
earth of the
church of
England.

He is de-
clared en-
titled to all
payments
formerly
made to the
court of
Rome.

lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it; he offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law, because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal. He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, 'to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend, all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction.' They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak, evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions

to sustain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but, being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but, meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry, had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits. And, on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences, though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and, as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son; who, hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and, joining himself to O'Neale, O'Carrol, and other Irish

The ruin of
the pope's
authority
caused by
the abuse of
it.

Greater
simplicity
in govern-
ment is in-
troduced by
the ac-
knowledg-
ment of the
king's su-
premacv.

Advantages
growing on
the change
not con-
templated
by those
who
brought it
about.

Disturban-
ces occur in
Ireland, and
the earl of
Kildare is
imprisoned

Kildare dies in prison.

His son rebels, is obliged to surrender, and is tried and convicted.

The earl of Angus holds the reins of government in Scotland.

The king, the queen dowager, and nobility, compel Angus to fly to England.

nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison; and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and, after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public justice, though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and, having gotten possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able to retain the reins of government. The queen dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance; for, having separated herself from him on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced, and, by secret correspondence, he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and, having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were pro-

tected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but, finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of such an ally to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But, though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power.* In order to have a pretext for refusing, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

The king takes the government into his own hands.

James courts an alliance with France.

The emperor seeks his friendship, but James at last forms an alliance with France.

An interview between Henry and the king of Scotland is forbidden by the pope.

* The anxiety of Henry to bring over James to his way of thinking in matters of religion was great; and various temptations were held out to induce him to make common cause with England against Rome. He still remained under the influence of the pope's representative, and assisted at the trial of two unfortunate men who were burnt alive, to prove his piety and faith were uncorrupted. They suffered at the Rood of Greenside, on the Carlton Hill, August 27, 1532. Other persons, who fa-

voured Lutheranism, were banished. The works of the great reformer were not allowed to be imported; and those who had copies in their possession were obliged to give them up in order that they might be burned, on pain of having their property confiscated and their persons imprisoned. Henry's zealous efforts to convert James, however, seemed only to fortify that prince in the opinions he had previously formed, and to increase his affection for the church of Rome.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

HENRY VIII.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE.—
OF THE KING.—OF THE MINISTERS.—
FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMA-
TION.—SIR THOMAS MORE.—THE MAID
OF KENT.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF
FISHER BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.—OF SIR
THOMAS MORE.—THE KING EXCOM-
MUNICATED.—DEATH OF QUEEN CA-
THERINE.—A PARLIAMENT.—SUPPRES-
SION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.—
A CONVOCATION.—TRANSLATION OF THE
BIBLE.—DISGRACE OF QUEEN ANNE.—
HER TRIAL.—AND EXECUTION.—A PAR-
LIAMENT.—A CONVOCATION.—DISCON-
TENTS AMONG THE PEOPLE.—INSUR-
RECTION.—BIRTH OF PRINCE EDWARD,
AND DEATH OF QUEEN JANE.—SUP-
PRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES.
—CARDINAL POLE.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE
PEOPLE. 1534.

THE ancient, and almost uninterrupted, opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But, when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were at a loss how to choose their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached

to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents which have ever a more powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements, even in the most opposite directions; and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in an habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers than the offer which they made of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But, in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of shaking so ancient and deep founded an establishment as that

Minds, when unsettled, fluctuate in the most opposite directions.

The reformers favoured by new prejudices opposing old ones.

Submitting religion to private judgment seemed to endanger the rights of sovereigns.

The nation is prepared for a rupture with the pope.

The interested inventions of the court of Rome are seen through.

Ignorance had caused indolent acquiescence in received opinions.

More fears
other in-
novations.

Such apprehensions are not wholly irrational.

No king so
absolute as
Henry.

He is proud
of his
imaginary
success over
Luther.

Heresy he
still detests.

of the Romish hierarchy might prepare the way for other innovations. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE KING.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers;* and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and, though afterwards he made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable; and, whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made

it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE MINISTERS.

HENRY's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen favoured the cause of the reformers. Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring here-

Separated from the catholic church, Henry still values himself as the guardian of the catholic doctrine.

The queen favours the reformers.

Cranmer adopts the same precepts.

The duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner adhere to the ancient faith.

All pretend to agree with the king.

* See note HH at the end of the volume.

Each party
seeks to
gain him
over.

tics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party. The king, meanwhile, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority ; and, though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained : but, while the sincerity and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

All flatter
themselves
that he will
be brought
to favour
their views.

FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE ambiguity of the king's conduct served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp, where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome ; against images, relics, pilgrimages : and they excited curiosity with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone ; and that the most infallible road to perdition was a reliance on good works ; by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient reli-

Tindal,
Joye, and
others write
against the
corruptions
of Rome.

Salvation
is held not
to depend
on good
works.

gion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works ; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled. The books composed by these fugitives began to make converts every where ; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections ; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp ; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God.

The Ro-
man
catholics
allow them
to have
some effi-
cacy.

The scrip-
tures are
translated
by Tindal.

Tonstal
bishop of
London
buys up the
copies, and
burns
them in
Cheapside.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their tyranny : it is even an article of impeachment against him that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity, had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to

Wolsey is
accused
of en-
couraging
heresy.

Sir Thomas
More is
opposed to
the re-
formers.

Sir Thomas
More vio-
lently pur-
sues heresy.

He puts
James
Bainham
to the
torture.

Bainham is
burned in
Smithfield.

Thomas
Bilney
denies the
old
religion.

He repents,
and is
burned as a
relapsed he-
retic.

the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but, feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield.

Many were brought into the bishops' courts for offences which appear trivial: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was tried in the bishops' court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the

spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars, who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied, and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots, which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which in another disposition of men's minds would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But, though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him that 'many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him that the dogs would lick his blood as they had done Ahab's.' The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but shewed no other mark of resentment than ordering

The spec-
tators are
deeply af-
fected with
Bilney's
fate.

Martyrdom
is welcomed
with
transports
of joy.

Severe
executions
favour the
progress of
the new
doctrine.

Friar
Peyto
threatens
Henry
with the
fate of
Ahab.

Peyto is
declared to
be a dog
and a traitor
from the
pulpit.

Peyto, and Elston, who defends him, are rebuked by the king's council.

Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames, Elston replied that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.

THE MAID OF KENT.

BUT several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called 'the holy Maid of Kent,' had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and, having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prelate as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention in the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pil-

grimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and, being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and, after distorting her limbs and countenance, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the virgin. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprises. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert that, if he prosecuted that design and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth. Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and, having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the star chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture; and Eliza-

A counterfeit miracle is performed

Elizabeth Barton condemns the king's intended divorce.

New miracles are reported.

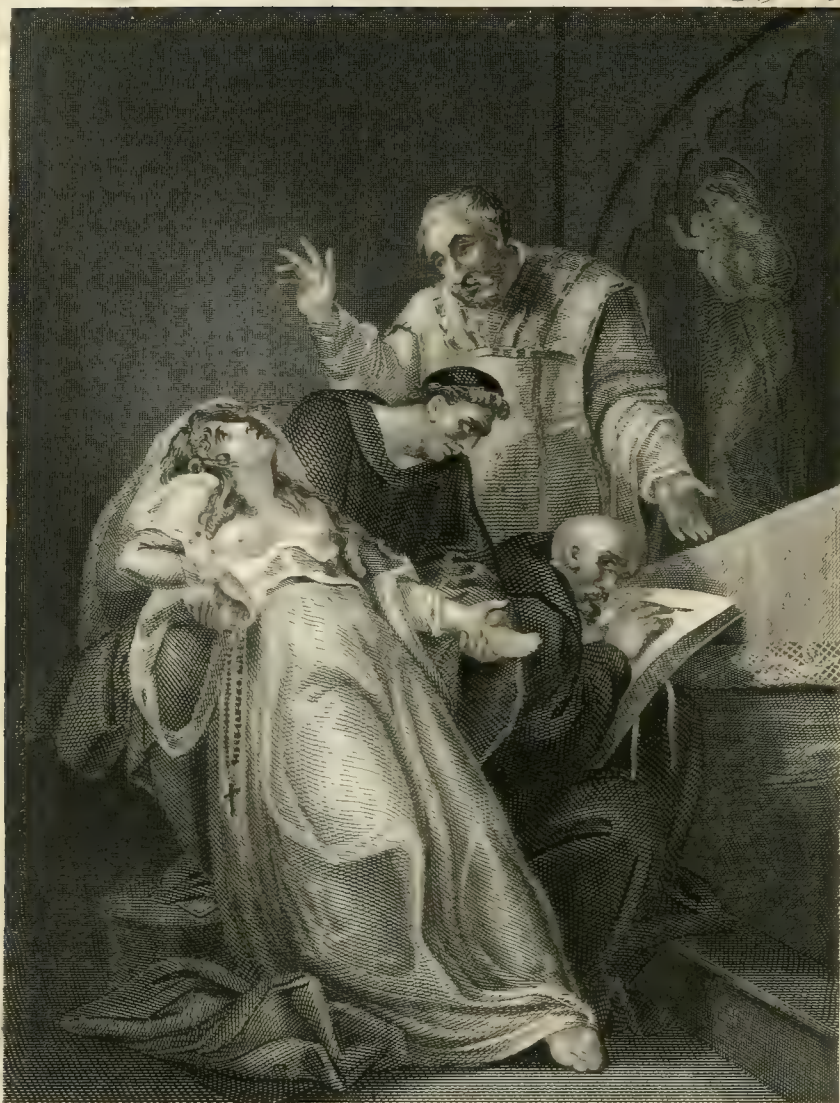
Fisher, bishop of Rochester, favours the holy maid.

The imposture is confessed.

Elizabeth Barton is called the holy maid of Kent.

Masters, a clergyman, is appointed by bishop Warham to watch her trances.

She repeats speeches prompted by Masters.



Fisher and others are condemned for misprision of treason.

Elizabeth Barton is shown to be a prodigal character.

Denying the king to be the supreme head of the church is punished with death.

beth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason, because they had not discovered some criminal speeches, which they heard from Elizabeth; and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions, which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.*

The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and, finding that little clamour was excited by this, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other titles that of 'supreme head of the church:' it was inferred that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives by this new species of guilt. It was certainly a

high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free, people should be governed. But changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked by these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress, pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

Such a law is directly opposed to civilization and freedom.

Henry resolves to make more severe examples.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF BISHOP FISHER. 1535.

JOHN Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes; and, without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness. In this condition he lay in prison about a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, is thrown into prison, and deprived of all his revenues and property.

* She suffered at Tyburn, on the 21st April, 1534, with six other persons, viz., Bocking, the monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of Aldington; Hering, a monk; Gold, a bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar; and Risby a gentleman. At the place of execution she addressed the crowd to the following purpose: "I am come hither to die, being not only the cause of mine own death, but also of the death of all those persons who die with me. Yet,

to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering it was well known unto these learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning; but because the thing I feigned was profitable unto them, therefore they much praised me, and bare me in hand that it was the Holy Ghost, and not I, that did them; and then I being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish phantasy, which thing has brought me to this case."—ED.

Fisher is created a cardinal.

He is condemned and beheaded.

Henry seeks to bend More to compliance.

The solicitor general is sent to him in prison.

faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that, even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

TRIAL, &c. OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation, was anxiously desired by the king. He also bore as great personal regard to More as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and, though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say that any question, with regard to the law which

established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner.* His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and the words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death.† Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, 'Friend, help me up: and when I come down again, let me shift for myself.' The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, 'You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short.' Then, laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard; 'for,' said he, 'it never committed treason.' Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a cause more free from weakness and superstition. But, as the man followed his sense of duty, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admira-

More is drawn in to give an opinion against the prerogative claimed.

He is tried and convicted.

More cheerfully prepares for death.

He is beheaded.

* From this it would appear that Rich had acted a mean, cruel, and malignant part. More represented him to have been always a man of bad character; and thus addressed him on his trial:

"In good faith, Mr. Rich, I am more concerned for your perjury, than for my own danger; and I must tell you, that neither myself, nor any body else to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such reputation, that I or any other would have anything to do with you in a matter of importance. You know that I have been acquainted with your manner of life and conversation a long time, even from your youth to the present juncture, for we lived in the same parish; and you very well know, I am sorry I am forced to speak it, you always lay under the odium of a very lying tongue, of a great gamester, and of no good name and character either there or in the Temple, where you was educated. Can it therefore seem likely to your lordships, that I should in so weighty an affair as this, act so unadvisedly, as to trust Mr. Rich, a man I had always so mean an

opinion of, in reference to his truth and honesty, so very much before my sovereign lord the king, to whom I am so deeply indebted for his manifold favours, or any of his noble and grave counsellors, that I should only impart to Mr. Rich the secrets of my conscience in respect to the king's supremacy, the particular subject, and only point about which I have been so long pressed to explain myself?—*State Trials*.—Ed.

† It is said, when news of his death was brought to the king, who was at that time playing at tables, Anne Bullen looking on, he cast his eye upon her, and said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death:" and presently leaving his play he betook himself to his chamber, and thereupon, fell into a fit of melancholy. More's great grandson, in his "Life," relates that money was miraculously supplied for the purchase of his winding sheet, and that one of his teeth, preserved as a relic, was miraculously converted into two.—*State Trials*.—Ed.

He is beheaded.

ration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.*

THE KING EXCOMMUNICATED.

WHEN the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III., of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who while cardinal had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England; and the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters that, in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes; if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any Catholic princes had made with

him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use. But, though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him. He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant daughter Elizabeth with the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. The two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But, during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and, though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity

The king, in case of non-appearance, is excommunicated, and England laid under an interdict.

Friendship between Henry and Francis is renewed.

Henry and Francis court the protestant princes of Germany.

Great indignation is created at Rome by the execution of Fisher and More.

Pope Paul the third had hoped for a reconciliation with England.

After the execution of Fisher, Paul cites Henry to Rome.

* Sir Thomas More having remained a prisoner in the tower about a week after his sentence, on the 6th of July early in the morning, his old friend Sir Thomas Pope came to him with a message from the king and council, to acquaint him, that his execution was appointed to be before nine that morning. Whereupon Sir Thomas said, "He thanked him heartily for his good news. I have been," says he, "much obliged to his majesty for the benefits and honours he has most bountifully conferred upon me; yet I am more bound to his grace, I do assure you, for confining me in this place, where I have had convenient place and opportunity to put me in mind of my last end. I am most of all bound to him, that his majesty is pleased to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world." Then Sir Thomas Pope

acquainted him, it was the king's pleasure he should not use many words at the place of execution. "Sir," said he, "you do well to acquaint me with the king's pleasure; for I had otherwise designed to have made a speech to the people; but it matters not, and I am ready to conform myself to his highness's pleasure. And I beseech you, sir, you would become a suitor to his majesty that my daughter Margaret may attend my funeral." To which Pope replied, that the king was willing his wife and children, and other friends should be present. Sir Thomas Pope being about to take his leave, could not refrain from tears. Whereupon Sir Thomas More said, "Let not your spirits be cast down, for I hope we shall see one another in a better place, where we shall be free to divine all love in eternal bliss."—*State Trials*.—Ed.

Henry invites over Melancthon and other divines to instruct him in their tenets.

The German princes cannot spare them.

that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their dominions. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and, as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always oppose the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE. 1536.

DURING these negotiations an incident happened which seemed to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which brought her to her grave: she died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, on the sixth of January, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired she wrote a very tender letter to the king, in which she gave him the appellation of her 'most dear lord, king and husband.' She told him that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that, though his

fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven; and that she had no other request to make than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves, and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, 'I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.' The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity upon these conditions: that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome; that he should assist him in his war with the Turk; and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: as to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him against the enemies of the faith; and, after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

What rendered Henry indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both

Catherine forgives all past injuries.

Anne Boleyn rejoices in her death.

The emperor Charles seeks a reconciliation with Henry.

Henry names conditions in reply.

Queen Catherine falls sick and dies.

She writes, when dying, an affecting letter to the king.

Death of the
duke of
Milan.

The emperor and the
king of
France advance
claims to
Milan.

Charles and
Francis
offer personal
insults to
each
other.

Charles invades
Provence,
but
with ill
success.

The king
of Scotland
hastens to
the assistance
of
Francis.

his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention was to gain time, till he should be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in personal insults, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near thirty thousand strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find; both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces; and landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and, making haste to join the camp of the French king,

which then lay at Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But, James having gained the affections of the princess, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend; they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally Henry should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end everything remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed that nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age; the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank

James
meets
Francis.

He marries
the
daughter
of Francis.

She dies
soon after
reaching
Scotland.

Henry is
offended at
the alliance
formed between
France and
Scotland.

Henry
gains a
great ascendancy
over his
subjects.

Henry determines to suppress the monasteries.

which his vigour, more than his address, acquired him in all foreign negotiations, flattered the vanity of Englishmen. The king was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and, after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

Monasteries proved seminaries of folly and superstition.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage seems to have an inseparable connexion with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority of monks, whose habitations, everywhere, proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had everywhere been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and, though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen that he would be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Henry determines to seize the property of the monks.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrolled power as-

sumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on everywhere a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and, as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute, than they are in any Roman catholic country at present; but still the reproaches which it is safest to credit are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institutions of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connexions of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people may be regarded as certain in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and, though monks were the true preservers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools,

Cromwell appoints commissioners to enquire into the conduct of all friars.

Monstrous doings in convents are reported.

Quarrels, selfishness, and hardness of heart are produced by monasteries.

They invent the dreaming philosophy of the schools.

Monastic establishments are little favourable to genius.

no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age, and every one recovered liberty who desired it.

A PARLIAMENT.

BUT, as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to the parliament: and, to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited against institutions which to their ancestors had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.

THE king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. These were found to be the most corrupted, and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a

hundred thousand pounds more.* It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law; so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance.

Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they are called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended everywhere. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished this session.

The commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law such as he dictated to them. It was enacted that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

After all these laws were passed the king dissolved the parliament; a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it sat, and its frequent prorogations. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not choose, during those religious fermentations, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years; a practice at that time unusual in England.

A court of augmentation is established to manage their funds.

The union of Wales with England is further completed.

The commons pass laws dictated by the king.

The same parliament is continued for six years.

* It is pretended that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries; if so, most of them must have been mendicants; for the revenue could not have supported near that number. The mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

A CONVOCATION.

It is proposed to the clergy to furnish a new translation of the bible.

THE convocation which sat during this session was engaged in deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as unfaithful; and it was now proposed that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the reformation think the scriptures ought not to be veiled in an unknown tongue.

The friends of the reformation asserted that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpose of universal salvation had published that salutary doctrine to all nations; that, if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence; that it was now necessary for the people to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven; and that, as a spirit of research was revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and, above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them, and the will of God be again by their means revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion call this pretence a cheat.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to gain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom heaven itself had appointed for their spiritual direction: that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: that, even in the affairs of common life, the laws

had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: that sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: and that, if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better to adhere peaceably to ancient and more secure establishments.

They deny that the people can form a judgment on religious questions for themselves.

The obscurity of scripture might mislead.

Great dangers and disorders must ensue.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to the ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years the work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers. Farther pro-

Parliament orders a new translation of the bible.

gress was soon expected, after such important success.

DISGRACE OF QUEEN ANNE.

BUT, while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favour. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had still increased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her was his jealousy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship. Henry's dignity was offended; and, though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen; the vis-

countess of Rocheford in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions, and, as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and she represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance, and, finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it might at last have served only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. He seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and, in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid: and, having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich,* where the

The countess of Rocheford accuses the queen.

She is accused of a criminal intimacy with her own brother.

The king is jealous of more than one.

His love is transferred to Jane Seymour.

To gain her, he catches at everything tending to criminate Anne.

* On May-Day, 1536

Anne Boleyn loses the king's favour.

She is delivered of a dead son, and Henry is bitterly disappointed.

Anne Boleyn offends by familiarity with those formerly her equals.

A trifling incident inflames the king.

The queen is sent to the tower.

She solemnly asserts her innocence.

But admits some trifling indiscretions

queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished, thought that he meant only to try her; but, finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant. She made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God so to help her as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her.* Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow. She had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself: upon which she defied him.

* "No cause hereof is related yet, unlesse (as Sanders hath it) she let fall a handkerchief wherewith some one (supposed her favourite) did wipe his face, and that this was perceived by the King. But our Histories mention not this passage. The queen finding the King thus gone retires herself. He again hasting to Westminster, takes order to Commit the next morning George Lord Rochfort and Henry Norries to the Tower. After which, herself comming to London in her Barge, was apprehended by some of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her offence, she exclaimed that she was wronged and that she desired to see the King onely before she went; but in vain, they having no such Commission. When she entered the Tower, she is said

She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: but she acknowledged that he had once the boldness to tell her that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

The king is more exasperated.

Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Crammer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

All pursue as enemies or abandon Anne Boleyn.

Crammer alone remains her friend.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence.† This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief

Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, are accused of being criminally acquainted with the queen.

to have fallen on her knees, beseeching God so to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accused. This was about five in the afternoon on the second of May."—*Lord Herbert*. The incident described was doubtless in Shakspeare's mind while writing his tragedy of Othello. A dreadful catastrophe is there produced by a lost handkerchief. With exquisite skill the lady is shewn to be all purity, while the frenzy and despair of the husband command our sympathy. Indirectly the poet vindicates the mother, while he extenuates the wrath of the father of the reigning sovereign, which doomed her to die.—*Ed.*

† See note II at the end of the volume.



Smeton
criminate
queen Anne
and him-
self.

proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession, for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed, as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal, and said that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless; but for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

TRIAL OF QUEEN ANNE.

The queen
and her
brother are
tried
for incest.

THE queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more; their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown; the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart, and had said to each of them that she loved him better than any person whatsoever; which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her. By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the twenty-fifth of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court both against the queen and lord

She ably
defends
herself.

Rocheford; and her verdict contained that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, said, 'O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate.' And then, turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory that some attachment had been acknowledged between the earl of Northumberland, then lord Percy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them; he received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that, if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

She is sen-
tenced to be
burned or
beheaded

A former
attachment
between
Anne and
the earl of
Northum-
berland,
is recalled.

The earl
declares no
promise of
marriage
had
passed.

The marri-
age be-
tween
Anne Bo-
leyn and
Henry is
declared
invalid.

EXECUTION OF QUEEN ANNE.

THE queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him: from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter

The queen
prepares for
death.

She re-asserts her innocence.

Anne softens her tone on the scaffold.

She is beheaded, and buried in the tower.

to his care. Before the lieutenant of the tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations ; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. 'The executioner,' she said to the lieutenant, 'is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very slender.' Upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary ; her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law ; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king ; called him a most merciful and gentle prince ; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign ; and, if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree made to hold arrows, and was buried in the tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate

* Henry's impatience to ascertain the death of Anne Bullen, in order that no obstacle might be in the way of his marriage with Jane Seymour, was so great, that it is related he waited with great anxiety, on the morning of her execution, to learn that she had suffered. On that day he proposed to indulge in the pleasures of the chase in Epping forest ; and, while taking breakfast, seemed restless and uneasy, till the report of a gun being heard he brightened up. That sound assured him that he was a widower. "It is done," said he, and added, rising from his seat, "Now the business is done, uncouple the dogs, and let us follow the sport." He is represented to have been in high spirits when he returned from the hunt.—ED.

† Bishop Godwin gives a very pithy summary of the last scenes of Anne Bullen's life. "The 1st of May (it seemeth) she was informed against, the 2nd imprisoned, the 15th condemned, and the 17th deprived of her brother and friends, who suffered in

queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry, though he imputed guilt to her brother and four persons more, was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character. But the king made the most effectual apology by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency ;* and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.†

The lady Mary thought the death of her stepmother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received ; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience : he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets ; to acknowledge his supremacy ; to renounce the pope ; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess ; but she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father, containing her assent to the articles required of her ; upon which she was received into favour.‡ But, notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the

There are no grounds for believing Anne guilty.

The king marries Jane Seymour.

The lady Mary seeks to gain the king's favour.

She signs a letter renouncing the pope, and declaring the marriage of her mother to be unlawful.

her cause, and the 19th executed. On the 20th the King married Jane Seymour, who on the 29th was publicly showed as queen."—ED.

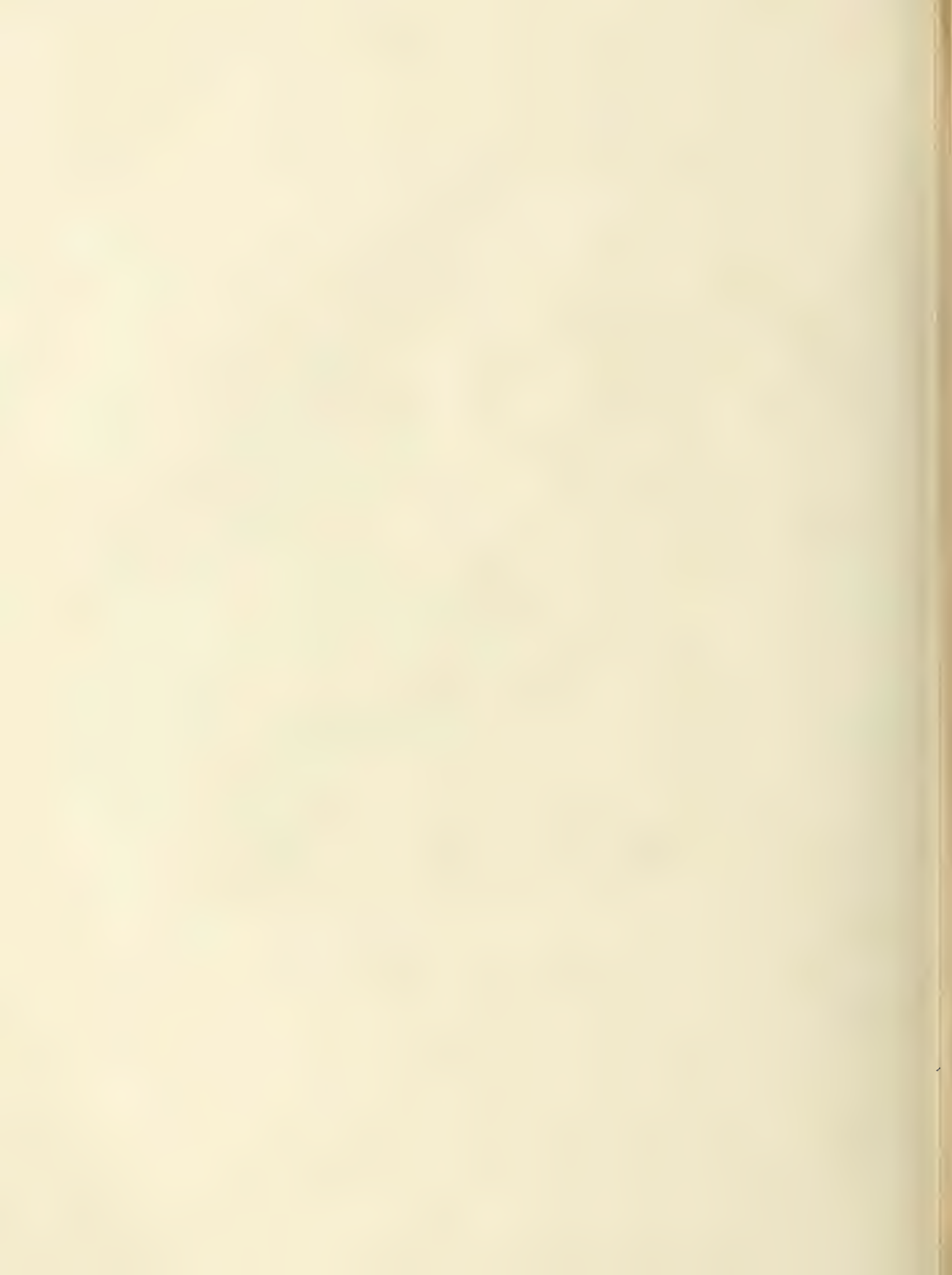
† "I finde by our Records, that the Princesse Mary did about those times much endeavour to be restored to the King her Fathers good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princesse Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, shee should be received as Heir to the Crown. Therefore by frequent and earnest letters written with her owne hand, she both acknowledged her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the king to write to her, or send some token as a signe of a Reconciliation. Upon which submission, our King, by the Duke of Norfolk, sent certain Articles for her to subscribe : which were. First, Whether she doth Recognise the King's Highnesse for Sovereign Lord, and King, and will submit her self unto his Highnesse and all Laws of the Realm. Secondly, Whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the



QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

OCT. 1537

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD



The princess Elizabeth is kindly treated by Henry and his queen.

issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

A PARLIAMENT.

A new parliament is called.

The speaker compares Henry to Solomon for justice and fortitude.

The parliament is most complaisant to the king.

THE trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament; and he here, in his speech, made a merit to his people that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him for justice and prudence to Solomon; for strength and fortitude to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of his chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified,* that queen and all her accomplices were

attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and, in case he should die without children, he was empowered by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the tower. She recovered her liberty soon after, but he died in confinement.

Parliament ratifies the divorce from Anne Boleyn.

The king dying without issue is empowered to dispose of the crown by will or letters patent.

It was made treason to marry any princess related in the first degree to the crown.

Realm. Thirdly, Whether she will Recognize the King's Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of England, and utterly refuse the Bishop of Romes pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby. Fourthly, Whether she doth freely Recognize and acknowledge both by God's Law and man's law, the marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her mother, to be unlawful. Fifthly, for what causes, and by whose motion and meanes she hath remained in her obstinacy so long. Sixthly, what is the cause she now at this time above all others submitteth, and who did move her hereunto. In satisfaction to which she returned a subscription, signing with her own name the four first articles, but concerning the other two she demurr'd; some Persons being Interested therein, whom she would not discover. What effect followed hereupon appears not otherwise, than that notwithstanding this and other submissions, the King proceeded with his intended marriage.—*Lord Herbert.* The letter from Mary with the deed which she sub-

scribed is preserved in the state-paper office. The former abounds with fulsome praise, of which she must have known her tyrannical and murderous father was utterly unworthy. In this the future bigoted queen acted a wretched part, and not less disgust is occasioned by the injurious manner in which she speaks of a deceased mother while making the declaration, "I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the King's Highness, and his laws, without other respect recognize and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was by God's law incestuous and unlawful."—*Ed.*

* The parliament in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason;—'For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness.'

The brother of the duke of Norfolk is attainted after death.

Attempting to restore the authority of the pope incurs the penalty of a pre-munire.

All persons taking office must renounce the pope on oath.

The convocation encourage Henry to break entirely with the court of Rome.

All are submissive to Henry.

An act of attainder was passed against him this session of parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown; the king was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a pre-munire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of 'So help me God, all saints and the holy evangelists.' The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry; but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government.

A CONVOCATION.

THE extreme complaisance of the convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and, as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: but the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent. Cromwell pre-

sided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vice-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee archbishop of York, Stokeley bishop of London, Tonsal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power; the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles.

The church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, that 'they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledged their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom.'

The convocation came at last, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a

Cromwell continues in favour with the king.

The church is averse to the reformation.

The lower house of convocation owns the king to be the supreme head of the church.

Articles of faith are framed.

A sort of compromise is made between the opinions of reformers and catholics.

The use of images in worship is said to be warranted by scripture.

The ceremonies of Good Friday, &c. are still retained.

Praying for the dead is held to be good and charitable.

signal victory to the reformers: auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared: the real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting that the use of images was warranted by scripture; the protestants in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose; 'Since, according to the due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning; all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But, since the place where

departed souls are retained before they reach paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by scripture, all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them.'

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom could one man be found, except Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions; for, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious divisions have place, a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the same dogmas. The protestants all of them carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles; none of the catholics went so far. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprises which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: and he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined and scholastic subtilties.

DISCONTENTS AMONG THE PEOPLE.

THE concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be

Purgatory is left uncertain.

The articles of faith were approved of altogether by few.

Henry had power to regulate and stop the career of the reformation.

Henry becomes more absolute than any other prince.

The people become discontented on account of the late innovations.

extended.* All the late innovations had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and, as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives suited to vulgar capacity, it was able to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And, when it was observed that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent.

The secular priests excite discontent among the people.

But the people did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics, the authority which he exercised inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable por-

Cromwell exercises authority which inspires disgust and terror.

tion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The treatment of the monks is deemed cruel and unjust.

INSURRECTION.

THE first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thousand men; but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed; and they prayed the king to consult the nobility concerning the redress of these grievances. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger from a low multitude. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now shew them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect; the populace was dispersed; Mackrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's

A tumultuary rising takes place in Lincolnshire.

Henry sends a military force against the insurgents.

A pardon is offered to the rebels, who disperse, and their leaders are taken.

* See note KK at the end of the volume.

The rebel commanders are executed.

A more formidable rebellion breaks out in the north.

The rising is called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.'

It is joined by forty thousand men.

The rebels experience some repulses.

hands, and were executed; the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations; a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection raised in those parts.

The northern rebels were more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.' Some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ; they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle; they all took an oath that they had entered into the pilgrimage from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about forty thousand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The earl of Shrewsbury raised forces, though at first without any commission, to oppose the rebels; the earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton; Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough castle against them; Courteney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops; the earls of Huntingdon, Derby,

and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York.* They had laid siege to Pomfret castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general against the northern rebels; and, as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, with the earl of Shrewsbury; and, as his army, scarcely exceeded five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning: but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable, and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negociation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony, sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming.† But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsis-

They take Hull and York.

The duke of Norfolk is sent against the rebels.

A negociation is opened with them.

A pardon is offered to all but ten.

* Where they were successful, they restored the religious establishments which had been suppressed, and replaced the monks and nuns by force. In their advance, they ordered able bodied men to join their ranks, as they should answer it before the High

Judge at the day of doom, and what was hardly less awful, on pain of having their houses pulled down, their goods seized, and their lives forfeited.—Ed.

† This they were informed was the greatest indulgence they could expect from the king. "Ten of

The rebels
disperse, but
again as-
semble.

They
put forward
exorbitant
demands.

They dis-
perse them-
selves.

Henry puts
forth a
haughty
manifesto.

tence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security. But the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever; and notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But, while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed. The duke of Norfolk forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them that they ought no

their provokers and ringleaders" must be given up. It was absurd, Henry caused it to be intimated to them, to pretend to direct him, or to suppose that, after he had been so long a king, he did not know better than they could do what was for their good.—ED.

* His manifesto ran thus:—"I have never read, heard, nor known that princes, counsellors, and prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people: nor that they were persons meet or of ability to discern and choose meet and sufficient counsellors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm;

more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government than a blind man with regard to colours: 'and we,' he added, 'with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexperienced folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet or not for our council.'*

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with eight thousand men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and, having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt, made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprise Hull met with no other success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and, from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders.† Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrec-

The king
declares the
malcontents
to be but
brutes.

A new in-
surrection
breaks out.

It is
suppressed.

Severe ex-
amples are
ordered to
be made.

and of least experience, to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and to take upon, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule your prince, whom ye are bound by all laws to obey and serve."—ED.

† From the "State Papers" we find that a terrible example was necessary. The order given to Norfolk was as follows:—"Our pleasure is that before you shall close up our banner again, you shall in any wise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of any town, village, or hamlet, as have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging them up in trees, as by the quartering of them and the setting

Many of the
leaders are
executed

tion, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York for deciding law-suits in the northern counties; a demand which had been made by the rebels.

A general
pardon is
granted.

PRINCE EDWARD BORN, AND QUEEN JANE'S DEATH. 1537.

Soon after this prosperous success an event happened which crowned Henry's joy; the birth of a son, on the twelfth of October, who was baptized by the name of Edward.* Yet was not his happiness without alloy; the queen died two days after. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, lord St. John; Sir John Russel, lord Russel.

The queen
gives birth
to a son,
afterwards
Edward VI.

The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Hen-

ry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance to be courted. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis. A truce, concluded between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry is
courted by
foreign
princes.

The peace
of Europe
is re-estab-
lished.

Henry continued desirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people by proclamation 'that this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and he ordered that no man should read the bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang

Negotia-
tions be-
tween
Henry and
the German
princes are
opened,
but lead to
no result.

He allows
translations
of the bible
to be read
with res-
trictions.

of their head and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places as they may be a perpetual spectacle to all other hereafter that would practice any such like matter, which we require you to do without pity or respect."—ED.

* Baker and others report that Edward was brought into the world under the Cæsarian opera-

tion. From a dispatch, written to the English ambassador at the French court, preserved among the state papers published by government, it appears that the queen survived his birth twelve days, and then died from having partaken of improper diet.—ED.

The king
halts half
way be-
tween ca-
tholics and
protestants.

mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned.' In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES. 1538.

The entire
destruction
of the mo-
nasteries is
resolved
upon.

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion; this measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprise; and, as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and, a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and, having learned that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and, as several abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

A new visi-
tation is
ordered.

The monks
voluntarily
resign their
establish-
ments.

Certain
convents
claim to be
spared.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the

one institution might be laudable while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten if no remains of them were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the virgin shewn in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shewn, during several ages, the

Nunneries
are less ob-
jectionable
than mon-
asteries.

The king
determines
to abolish
all.

The lives of
the friars
are de-
famed, and
reliques
held up to
ridicule.

Such fool-
eries are
common to
all nations.

Gross im-
postures are
discovered.

At Hales
a sham
miracle is
periodically
exhibited.

Pilgrims
archeated.

A miracu-
lous cruci-
fix is broken at St.
Paul's
cross.

blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it in a vial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the vial till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the vial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of 'the Rood of Grace.' The lips, and eyes, and head, of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey bishop of Rochester broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London,* and cut in pieces; and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forest, who was punished for

denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but, as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But, of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday. Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days; plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury.† The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six-pence; at the virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred

A pretended
finger of St.
Anthony is
pawned.

The shrine
of Thomas
a Becket is
destroyed.

A hundred
thousand
pilgrims
registered
at one time
in Canter-
bury.

Of rings at
various
shrines.

* Horrid buffoonery was associated with cruel resentment in the course pursued on this occasion, "The unhappy man," Baker writes, "had taken the oath of supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others that the king was not supreme head of the church, was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned: and, on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire, wherewith he was consumed. A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of Wales, which the Welsh men had in great reverence called Darvel Gatheran, of which went a prophecy, that this Image should set a whole Forest on fire, which was thought to take effect, on setting this Frier Forrest on fire, and consuming him to no-

thing." Besides commencing with this brutal pun of bringing an idol of *Wood* to burn a *Forrest*, some miserable verses were placarded on the apparatus set up in Smithfield to which he was suspended. They told that Darvel Gatheran, who had been reported to fetch outlaws from Hell, had come with spear and shield to burn on that spot.

"And Forrest the Liar
That obstinate liar,
That wofully shall be dead,
In his contumacy
The gospel doth deny
The king to be supreme head"

Ed.

† Among other mountebank devices to render the shrine attractive, a skull was exhibited as the head of Becket, which the pious might kiss. It was opened that the interior might be viewed, and possibly used as a collecting plate.—Ed.

Vast offerings made at Becket's tomb.

Henry causes the saint to be tried, condemned, and burned.

There were revenues of the monasteries suppressed amount to £161,100.

Convent lands were let at low rents.

and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three-pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three-pence. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom.* It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear. He not only pilaged the rich shrine† dedicated to St. Thomas; he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor;‡ he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.§

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the

farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.||

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures; he either made a gift of the revenues of covents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks. He erected six new bishoprics; Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day. And, by all these means of expense and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the

Great discontent is caused by the abolition of monastic establishments.

Henry interests the nobility in the success of his measures.

Six new bishoprics are erected.

The ruin of convents had been foreseen.

* This stone, called 'The Royal of France,' was afterwards highly prized by the king, who did continually wear it on his thumb.—*Bishop Godwin*.

† The booty secured for Henry by this proceeding, if it cannot excuse this violence, compels an admission that the temptation was great. The men sent to Canterbury to secure the valuables, filled two coffers with jewels and gold, each of which was so heavy, that to lift it required the strength of eight men.—*Ed.*

‡ June 11th, 1539.—*Ed.*

§ Shortly afterwards a proclamation was issued, which set forth that Becket had lost his life in a riot provoked by his own obstinacy, and had only been canonized because he was a champion of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; and he was now declared to be a rebel and a traitor, and no longer to be regarded a saint.—*Ed.*

|| See note LL at the end of the volume.

great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also transferred to the crown, passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese in the county of Lincoln was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained, there were many decayed gentlemen, who, travelling from convent to convent, were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness: but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome.* The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side. He had declared war with the dead, whom the

pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostasy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALD de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the Duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was distinguished; and Henry intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but, though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua; he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him

He is likened to Julian the Apostate.

Reginald Pole is descended from the royal family.

Henry gives him the deanery of Exeter.

Pole studies at Padua.

* A very moderate share of respect for the Roman Catholic faith would have sufficed to wake disgust at the conduct of some of the over-excited reformers. It was not enough for them to deny the pope and abandon the ancient ceremonies of the church; they thought it pious to deface churches and chapels, to demolish the painted windows, to affront with foolish ribaldry the long venerated images of saints, to tether horses

to the high altars, to tear up books which had been considered sacred, and devote their pages to the commonest uses. These, and many other excesses, in the first throb of joy, at emancipation from the papal thralldom, degraded reform in the eyes of rational men, and filled with horror those who still revered the ancient faith.—ED.

A considerable part of the benefices and tithes transferred to the crown.

The monks were hospitable.

New proprietors of their lands are to keep ancient hospitality.

The pope sends Henry's soul to the devil.

Henry invites Pole to give his opinion of his measures.

Pole strongly opposes them.

The pope makes him a cardinal.

Henry's enmity against him becomes violent.

while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy; Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connexions, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied by writing a treatise 'of the unity of the church,' in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure. Pole was on his guard; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and, though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536. Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive.

Courteney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted, and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward. They were all executed except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. As no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates.

A conspiracy is formed.

Several of the gentry involved in it are executed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HENRY VIII.

DISPUTATION WITH LAMBERT.—A PARLIAMENT.—LAW OF THE SIX ARTICLES.—PROCLAMATIONS MADE EQUAL TO LAWS. KING'S PROJECTS OF MARRIAGE.—HE MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES.—A PARLIAMENT.—FALL OF CROMWELL.—HIS EXECUTION.—KING'S DIVORCE FROM ANNE OF CLEVES.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE HOWARD.—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.—DISCOVERY OF THE QUEEN'S DISSOLUTE LIFE.—A PARLIAMENT.—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was sum-

Henry is expected to proceed to extremities against the pope.



SIR NICHOLAS CAREW

1640

He refuses
to submit
to a gene-
ral coun-
cil.

moned to meet at Mantua, he renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful. After her death Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox bishop of Hereford had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner and the partisans of the old religion. Gardiner, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and, in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

Gardiner
obtains
great in-
fluence over
the king.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome but some other passion, which stopped his career. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And, though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the num-

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faith of the
whole na-
tion.

berless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him than, while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the catholic faith.

He defends
the real
presence.

DISPUTATION WITH LAMBERT.

THERE was one Lambert,* a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, had been released. He continued to promulgate his tenets; and, having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporeal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained that, though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment, because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion, were obliged to conform to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

Lambert, a
school-
master,
denies it.

Lambert is
accused be-
fore
Cranmer
and Lati-
mer.

He appeals
to the king

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his

* Nicholson is mentioned as being his real name.—Ed.

Henry appears in Westminster-hall

supremacy and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster; scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty; the prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left; the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers; and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

The bishop of Chichester speaks against Lambert.

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that, though his majesty had thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a beehive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity of convincing Lambert of his errors; but, if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment.

Lambert is threatened with condign punishment.

After this preamble, which was not

* At the opening of the examination, the king demanded of the accused what was his name; upon which, dropping on his knees, the latter replied that "his true name was Nicholson, though by many he was called Lambert." The royal disputant upon this exclaimed, "Ha! hast thou two names! I would not trust a man with two names, though he were my own brother." Such a remark was well calculated to prepare the unfortunate man for the treatment he subsequently experienced.—ED.

† It is melancholy to note the situations in which a man of Cranmer's learning and reputed piety

very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and, when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation.* He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition; Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics;† Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer; Tonsal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonsal; six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley; and the disputation was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, browbeaten, and abashed, was reduced to silence. The king then asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he were resolved to live or die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency. The king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as viceregent, pronounced the sentence against him.‡

The king interrogates the schoolmaster, and argues against him.

The bishops follow the king.

Lambert is sentenced to be burnt.

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king as cruel as possible. He was burned at a

was found at various periods of his life. Here we find him supporting the absurdities which a capricious tyrant dignified with the name of religion, to consign a poor enthusiast to the stake. In another place he will be exhibited still more unworthily employed in vanquishing the scruples of a virtuous monarch, who shrunk with horror from shedding blood, from burning a fellow creature alive, for opinions deemed erroneous, but conscientiously entertained.—ED.

‡ See note MM at the end of the volume.

The cruel
sentence is
cruelly ex-
ecuted.

slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office he cried aloud several times, 'None but Christ, none but Christ;' and these words were in his mouth when he expired.

Lambert is
firm to the
last.

Some few days before this execution four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield.

Six other
persons are
burned.

A PARLIAMENT. 1539.

It was the unhappy fate of the English during this age that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament; on the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

The people
are so
opposed to
this
parliament

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate all diversity of opinion in religion; and, as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to choose a committee who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of

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Bangor, and
Ely.

Norfolk then moved in the house, that, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith intended to be established should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was complied with; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the six articles, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and, having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

A bill
is introduced
which reduces
the articles to
six.

A bill
is introduced
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six.

LAW OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

IN this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason, and admitted not the privilege of abjuring; an unheard of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and, if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture as in cases of felony. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The
denial of the
first article
subjects the
person to
death by fire.

Dissent
from the
real presence
is punished
with
severity.

Com-
missioners
are appointed
to inquire into
these
heresies.

The king, in framing this law, laid his

Both protestants and catholics are oppressed.

Cranmer opposes the new law, but is obliged to dismiss his wife.

Latimer and Shaxton are committed to prison.

The parliament wholly subverts the constitution.

Royal power is extended.

oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy;* but, as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give proof of compliance. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and, being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, shewed him his former favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

PROCLAMATIONS MADE EQUAL TO LAWS.

THE parliament, having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and, to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations, which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this license might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also

to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, who may full ill bear it; that sudden emergencies often occur which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered, by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper; and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.

What proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable custom of the realm. They did not consider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations without invading some liberty or property of the subject. It is true the kings of England had always been accustomed from their own authority to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was no doubt a strong symptom of absolute government; but still there was a difference between a power exercised on a particular emergence, and justified by the present expedience or necessity, and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Darcy, Hussey, and others who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality,

Speedy remedies required for sudden emergencies.

The king's proclamations are declared to have the force of perpetual laws.

The parliament still pretended to set some limits to the king's authority.

Another law is passed, still more opposed to the spirit of liberty.

* See note MM at the end of the volume.

Several bills
of attain-
der are
passed.

Henry
seeks to
punish
indignantly
the mother
of cardinal
Pole.

The judges
authorise
the attain-
der of an
individual
who is
forth-
coming.

A bill of
attainder is
passed
against
cardinal
Pole's
mother.

who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to cardinal Pole had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is said had been seen at Coudray, her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son the cardinal: but Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwell to ask the judges whether the parliament could attain a person who was forthcoming without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them? The judges replied that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts of proceeding according to justice; no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied that, if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and, this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwell shewed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house. No other proof seems to have been produced in order to ascertain her guilt: the parliament, without farther inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill without any

better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed; the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

The only beneficial act passed this session confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny; and, were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted with many invidious circumstances; arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these conventuals were brought to make a concession, regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself. Three abbots had shewn more constancy than the rest; the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and, in order to punish them for their opposition, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited. Besides, the king knew that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act the parliament asserts that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been 'without constraint, of their own accord, and according to due course of common law;' and, in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever. It is remarkable that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers, and that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute.

In this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed; Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedence assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular that a blacksmith's son, for he

The marchioness of Exeter is attainted.

An act is passed confirming the surrender of monasteries.

The surrender of the monasteries is obtained by iniquitous courses.

The act confirming it is not opposed by the mitred abbots in parliament.

Cromwell, a blacksmith's son, takes precedence after the royal family.

Each religious party triumphs alternately through the king's caprices.

Henry seeks a new wife.

He proposes for the duchess de Longueville, but meets with a refusal.

was no other,* should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed, the catholics were extremely vigilant, in informing against offenders; and, five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family; a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

HENRY'S PROJECTS OF MARRIAGE.

BUT, as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the duchess dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But, meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess. He demanded the duchess dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal; the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having

privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him served rather to inflame his desires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him, who was now somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew was a farther incitement; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but, as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their sister, and that one was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures. He proposed to Francis that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the purchaser. Henry still insisted on his proposal; which, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

HE MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES.

THE king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and, as the

The lady is sent to Scotland being betrothed to the king.

Henry wishes to choose from a number of French ladies.

* His father was a blacksmith at Putney, who subsequently became a brewer. He was not regu-

larly educated, but had acquired a knowledge of several languages.—Ed.

Henry contains a German matrimonial alliance.

A marriage is negotiated between Henry and Anne of Cleves.

He is dissatisfied with her person and conversation.

The council decide on sending Anne back to her own country.

princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as very advantageous to him. Cromwell joyfully seconded this intention; and proposed Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbien* determined Henry; and, after some negociation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was concluded, and Anne sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received: he swore she was a great Flanders mare, and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant, and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to lord Russel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman told him that his misfortune was common to all kings, who could not, like private persons, choose for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors whether the marriage could not be dissolved, and the princess

* Henry took every precaution that experience could suggest, to be well informed respecting the person and accomplishments of his future consort. Hans Holbein, his own painter, was sent over to furnish an accurate likeness, and from one of his ambassadors in Germany he sought every needful information respecting the mind and habits of the lady. Her education and morals were said to

sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in choosing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: he asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he intrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and, though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes, and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England. An alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that, if he sent back

be excellent; and it was added, brought up by the duchess her mother, she had in a manner never been from her elbow. The ambassador further stated that Holbein had very successfully expressed her image; and this, when it came to Henry's eye, he thought beautiful. The gay hope such tidings inspired, was dissipated the moment he beheld the original, and incurable dislike succeeded.—Ed.

Henry's situation is very critical.

The emperor Charles passes through France.

Francis acts most honourably by Charles.

A German alliance is most important to Henry.

Henry, for political reasons, completes his marriage with Anne.

He is more dissatisfied with her than ever.

Religious differences among his people are complained of by the king.

Tenets are prepared, to which they are required to assent.

the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever, and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: he was resolved never to meddle with her, and even suspected her not to be a true maid; a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but, though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.*

A PARLIAMENT. 1540.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed; a grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured because the scriptures were now published in English, and ought to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which his people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory. The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had ensued from the publication of the scriptures. Cromwell, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house; and the peers in re-

turn said that he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister received, soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the garter.

There remained only one religious order in England, the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition no-wise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church; his profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: so ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. It was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expense which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was obliged to be

Cromwell is made earl of Essex.

The knights of Malta are suppressed by parliament.

Henry claims new grants from his parliament.

Having no trusty ally, he incurs expense to guard against invasion.

* Though Anne continued to share the royal bed, her royal husband seems never for a moment to have forgotten the impression made upon him when she first arrived. Her ladies expressed hopes that

she would soon appear likely to become a parent; upon which she replied, this might only be if "How dost thou do, sweetheart," and "Good morrow, sweetheart," could produce such an effect.—ED.

more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

FALL OF CROMWELL.

THE king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: his aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and, having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown: besides enjoying that commission which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards; he had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries.* The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants were inclined to bear him as little favour, and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects.

But there was another cause which sud-

* Popular good-will cannot always be conciliated by benevolence. When Cromwell was no more, those who had murmured against him living had cause to mourn his loss. Two hundred poor persons, are said to have been fed twice daily at his gate.—ED.

† Cromwell solicited a trial before his peers. Proceedings by bill of attainder, which he had pre-

denly set all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient, but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, long engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey; and, when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell at the council table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the tower. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous. The only circumstance of his conduct, by which he seems to have merited his fate, was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding session against the countess of Salisbury and others.†

EXECUTION OF CROMWELL.

CROMWELL endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose; and, though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all

viously advocated, was a course which he could not approve in his case. In connection with this proceeding, Cranmer again appears in a very disadvantageous light. Though at first he wrote a letter to the king in behalf of his friend, finding Henry was not moved, he would not further risk offending him, but voted for the bill which sent Cromwell to the block.—ED.

Henry wishes to marry Catherine Howard.

The parliament condemns Cromwell to die.

He endeavours to move the king's compassion.

Henry refuses to pardon him.

movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: 'I am a most woful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell.' And a little below, 'Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.' When brought to the place of execution he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints. He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence towards inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which he had owed to any one. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwell in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence.

Cromwell is executed.

He was careful to remember and requite his former friends.

KING'S DIVORCE FROM ANNE OF CLEVES.

THE measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to

the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not inwardly given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen; the parliament ratified the decision;* and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as the prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and, when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead) that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but, as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time; the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in

The marriage is dissolved.

Anne feels no uneasiness on the occasion.

She desires to live on good terms with the king.

The king of France and the emperor are again at variance.

* See note NN at the end of the volume.

Steps are taken to divorce Henry from the queen.

Francis makes important relations to the Emperor.

performing generous actions, to make, in confidence, some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with sultan Solymán and the Venetians, he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England to enter into a confederacy against him. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese; he informed Solymán and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations; he even poisoned and misrepresented many things which the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor; and, as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and, thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

Charles betrays the confidence of Francis.

Henry renounces the friendship of the king of France.

HIS MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE HOWARD.

THE new turn which Henry had taken was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and, as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corres-

He marries Catherine Howard.

ponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Northolke and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and, as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but, if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing.

Protestants are oppressed with the new law.

Dr. Barnes is burned, and refuses to recede from his protestations.

While Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England, had reason to say that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

Impartially executed. Henry burns catholics with protestants.

Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was soon sup-

A rebellion breaks out in Yorkshire, but is suppressed.

The countess of Salisbury is ordered to be executed.

She resists the executioner.

Henry visits the north.

Innovations in religion cause persecution in Scotland.

pressed; and Nevil, with other ringleaders, executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution. And this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended. She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner that, if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: and thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke.* Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered great service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

The insurrection in the north engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people. He purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND. 1541.

THE same spirit of religious innovation, which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun to excite jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527 Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had

fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned very ill disposed towards that church of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendship, had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with some of the clergy a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death, while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an incident which followed still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died, the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr.

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton was one friar Forrest, who became a zealous preacher. His diocesan the bishop of Dunkel enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it and leave the rest alone. Forrest replied that he had read both Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the

Patrick Hamilton, a young reformer, is engaged in a controversy.

He is condemned to the stake.

His betrayer dies suddenly.

A bishop directs a friar only to preach from gospels favourable to the church.

* The scene was most dismal. After severely wounding the unfortunate lady, her grey hairs, and her person generally, being stained with her blood,

it was not till her neck was forced down upon the block by assistants that the headsman could give the finishing blow.—ED.

Friar
Forrest is
burned.

scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar, for that the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew.*

The clergy
pursued
reformers
as pirates
and
robbers.

The clergy were reduced to great difficulties not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests thought that they had a right to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders; and that the same simple principles of equity, which justified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of such heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said, be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions and even the existence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But, though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all dangers, secretly spread itself every where; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

The new
doctrines
are not re-
pressed by
persecution.

But the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by

The church
is in
danger.

* A display of the facetious, which, though it might have been spared where so dreadful a scene was contemplated, was not in ill keeping with the jocular brutality about to be associated with murder. See p. 683.—Ed.

† Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented,

like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

The king
and the
nobility
desire the
possessions
of the
clergy.

The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James. They represented the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependance on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed; they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds; they promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply; and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address, had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, and then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York in order to be present at the interview.†

Henry and
the king
of Scotland
propose
meeting,
but it is op-
posed by
the Scotch
clergy.

James
declines the
interview.

THE QUEEN'S DISSOLUTE LIFE.

HENRY, vexed with the disappointment, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage; the agreeable person and dis-

Henry
threatens
vengeance.

to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire in the presence of the person who brought them; adding it was better he should destroy them, than they him.

Henry
lives
happily
with his
consort.

The queen
is accused
of leading a
dissolute
life.

Cranmer
writes a
narrative of
the facts
disclosed.

position of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness. One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. At first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to lord Russel high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. The king's impa-

tience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom. The privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given, and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: he found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who remained a long time speechless, and at last, burst into tears.* He found, to his surprise, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but, when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage, and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But, as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage, and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service,† she

The king
orders an
inquiry to
be institut-
ed.

Proofs of
the queen's
guilt are
accumulat-
ed.

The queen
confesses to
misconduct
before
marriage.

* This is stated on the authority of a communication which Henry caused to be made to his ambassadors at foreign courts. He first ordered those about him to remark how he had been affected. Due care was accordingly taken to give a lively picture of his sensibility. In the letter, "sent from divers of the council," written to Paget, the ambassador to France, we read, "What inward sorrow the king's majesty took when he perceived the information true, as it was the most woeful thing that ever came to our hearts to see it; so it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his heart was so pierced with pensiveness, that long it was before his majesty could speak, and utter the sorrow of his heart unto us: And finally, with plenty of tears (which was strange in his courage) opened the same. Which done, she was spoken withall in it by the Archbishop

of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the Bishop of Winchester, to whom at first she constantly denied it, but the matter being so declared unto her, that she perceived it to be wholly disclosed; the same night she disclosed the same to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the confession of the same in writing, subscribed with her own hand."—*Lord Herbert*.—Ed.

† On this subject the communication to Paget, already quoted, says, "Now may you see what was done before the marriage: God knoweth what hath been done sithence: But she had already gotten this Derrham in her service, and trained him upon occasions, as sending of errands, and writing of letters, when her Secretary was out of the way, to come to her privie chamber. And she had another

Different degrees of guilt are not regarded by Henry.

seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

A PARLIAMENT. 1542.

A parliament is assembled.

HENRY found that he could not by any means so fully or expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals as by assembling a parliament. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and, from these views, to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And, as there was a law in force making it treason to speak ill of the queen as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

The two houses petition to leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen.

All of the bills are passed.

Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before marriage, and concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders

Between persons are omitted to be concerned in treason.

of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding; for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

Some of the parties implicated are pardoned.

However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted that any one who knew, or vehemently suspected, any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law, against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the same time from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others. It was also enacted that, if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said that the king must henceforth look out for a widow, for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. The queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and, as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

Extraordinary laws are passed to secure virtuous queens-consorts.

The queen and lady Rocheford are beheaded.

The king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter; he took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: it had been provided, by the

The king amasses lands, colleges and hospitals.

also into her privie chamber to be one of her chamberers, one of these women which had before lye in bed with her and Derham; what she pre-

tended is easie to be conjectured.--*Lord Herbert.*—Ed.

Statutes for their preservation are annulled.

He extorts from many bishops a surrender of chapter lands.

Henry plunders the church, and persecutes its enemies.

Commissioners are appointed to choose a religion for the people.

local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president, or any number of fellows, could consent to such a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites.* The church had been so long their prey that nobody was surprised at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

ECCLESIASTIC AFFAIRS.

THE clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both be regarded by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion. But the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life, he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two archbishops and several bishops of both provinces, with doctors of divinity; and he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress, the parliament in 1541 had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: and they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust,

and had no other rule, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem to savour somewhat of the spirit of liberty; it was enacted that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And, as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation, though at first invented for arbitrary purposes.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called 'The Institution of a Christian Man;' which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition: for Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established.

The people had occasion soon after to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his 'Institution of a Christian Man.' He ordered a new book to be composed, called

The parliament takes its religion from the king.

He seeks to introduce confusion into the laws.

A system of religion is published, called "The Institution of a Christian Man."

It is to be regarded as Henry's own composition.

* See note OO at the end of the volume.

A second book is written, and national faith is expected to vary with his humour.

Bishop Gardiner wishes to be retained in the English Bible.

The scriptures are only permitted to be read by merchants and gentlemen

The mass book is revised by the king.

The pope's name omitted in book, and blotted out from old books.

Plays and interludes are abolished.

Men will not have a religion prescribed to them

‘The Erudition of a Christian Man:’ and he published, by his own authority and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution: but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the scriptures. A review had been made by the synod of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed that, instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue. Among these were, ‘ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, humilitas, satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hostia, charitas, &c.’ But, as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament, soon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them.* Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences. These persons were allowed to read, ‘so it be done quietly and with good order.’ And the preamble to the act sets forth, ‘That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty

granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the scriptures.’ It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king’s model for uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

The mass book also passed under the king’s revision, and little alteration was as yet made in it; some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out, and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was used with every new book printed, or even old book that was sold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.†

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces, were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced. We do not hear that the catholics attempted by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit by which the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side; perhaps the greater simplicity of the protestants gave less hold to ridicule. It was therefore a very agreeable concession, which the king made to the catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments: but, as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

* The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorised edition of

the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

† Among the expedients to which he had recourse to bring the pope into contempt, was a sham fight

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HENRY VIII.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—VICTORY AT SOLWAY.—DEATH OF JAMES V.—TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.—NEW RUPTURE.—RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.—A PARLIAMENT.—AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—A PARLIAMENT.—CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.—A PARLIAMENT.—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.—PERSECUTIONS.—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF SURREY.—ATTAINDER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.—DEATH OF THE KING.—HIS CHARACTER.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1542.

HENRY, being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament; but, as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and, as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word in declining the promised interview, which was the real ground of the quarrel: but, in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprise, he mentioned, namely, that his nephew had granted protection to English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command; and, though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and Sir James Learmont of Darsay to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army

at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Saddler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations, and had posted a considerable body, under the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army; and an action ensued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded, took to flight. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish.

VICTORY AT SOLWAY.

THE duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and, being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as soon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso; but, hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, gave the

on the Thames. The French ambassador, Marillac, describes two ships, one bearing the royal arms, the other those of the pope, to have engaged; and, after a sharp contest, the latter was vanquished; and the

populace assembled to witness this grand spectacle, had the pleasure of seeing effigies of the bishop of Rome and the cardinals thrown into the river.—ED.

Sir Robert Bowes makes an incursion into Scotland.

The English are defeated by the Scots

The parliament grant no supply, but Henry prepares for war.

Henry, in a manifesto, complains of the conduct of James.

The duke of Norfolk is ordered to march against the Scots.

The duke of Norfolk advances to the borders of Scotland.

After passing the Tweed, the English retreat.



THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.

OR 1572.

FROM A PORTRAIT BY J. H. H. H.

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

The Scottish king resolves to pursue them into England.

signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was surprised to find that his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at the Solway Frith; and he himself followed, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving lord Maxwell, their general, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action; but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility; among these the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey; who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

His troops fly before a small body of English.

DEATH OF JAMES THE FIFTH.

THE king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had

The king of Scots is greatly incensed against his nobles.

betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future, so wrought upon him, that he abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted, and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and, hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: 'The crown came with a woman,' said he, 'and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor kingdom; Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage.' A few days after he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but, as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory, but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him.*

He yields to despondency.

King James dies.

Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and, after reproaching them for their pretended breach of treaty,† he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped those disorders so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented.‡ He offered to bestow on them their liberty, and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of

Henry proposes to marry his son to the queen of Scots.

Henry proposes to marry his son to the heiress of Scotland.

* See note PP at the end of the volume.

† From the state papers, which have only been recently given to the public, it is evident that with them he had little cause to be offended. It can hardly be doubted that his apparent severity was kindness, and dictated alike by his policy and theirs.—ED.

‡ Lord Herbert says Henry commanded Sir John Gage, his comptroller, "to bring them two and two

together in new gowns of black damask (all at his cost) from the tower to the star chamber, where Sir Thomas Audley, the lord chancellor, after assuring their conduct, proceeded to say, "that such was his benignity that he would shew them kindness for unkindness; and right for wrong; and thereupon (after their promise to remain true prisoners) commanded that they should be returned no more to

Heliberates
the Scottish
noblemen,
who engage
to favour
his views.

The pope
makes
Beaton a
cardinal.

Beaton is
said to have
forged a
will,

By virtue
of which he
takes
possession
of the go-
vernment.

the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so advantageous to both kingdoms; and, being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the Duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed; and they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess: at least (for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact) he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation. By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and, having united his interests with those of the queen dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

TREATY WITH SCOTLAND. 1543.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III.;

prison, but brought to divers noble houses, there to be regaled and made much of. Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury had the Earl of Casilis commended

and seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had obtruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and, though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. By means of these equitable conditions, the war which had threatened Scotland seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual amity.

But the cardinal primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able to confound all these

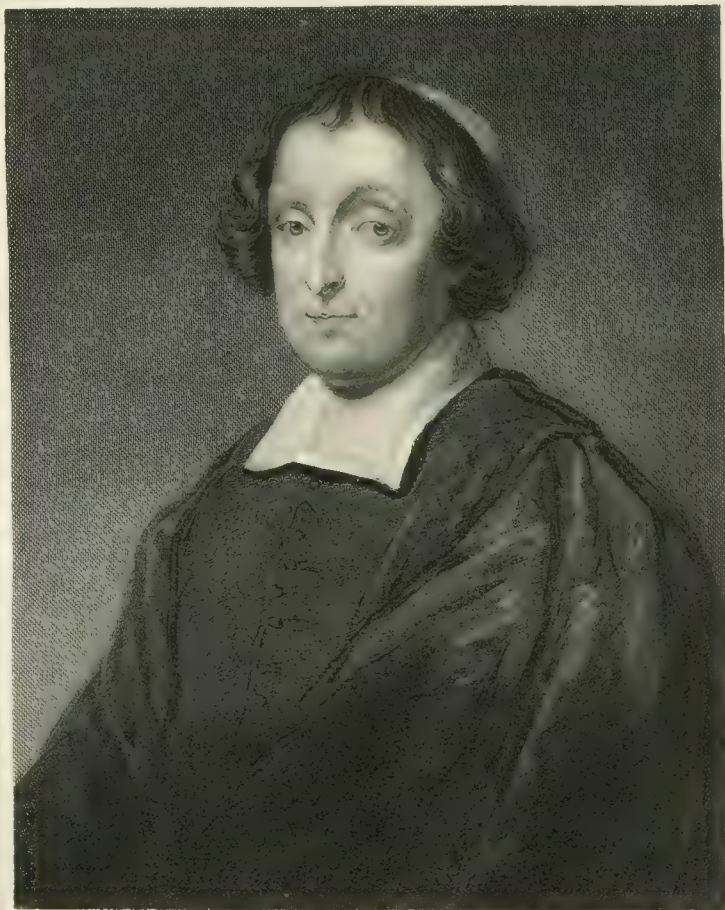
to him, the Duke of Norfolk the Earl of Glencairne, &c."—ED.

James,
earl of
Arran, is
opposed to
cardinal
Beaton.

The earl of
Angus, and
the prison-
ers from
England,
join him.

A negotia-
tion for
marrying
the Scot-
tish prin-
cess to the
prince of
Wales is
opened.

A matri-
monial
treaty of
alliance is
concluded.



CARDINAL BEATON.

1516-1546.

BY J. B. COOPER.

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

Beaton
takes steps
to defeat
the ar-
range-
ments.

measures which appeared so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and, having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if intrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies. Besides the partisans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the Catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture; but Sadler prudently dissembled, and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given of returning into custody. None of them shewed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis. Henry was so pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him

Insults
are offered
to the Eng-
lish ambas-
sador.

The
liberated
prisoners
are sum-
moned to
return.

graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages.*

None
comply but
the earl of
Cassilis,
who is
greatly
honoured
by Henry.

NEW RUPTURE.

THIS behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And, as a war was soon expected, he found it necessary to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war; and, having made great, though fruitless efforts, during the preceding campaign, he was disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen mother; and he promised that money, and, if necessary, military succours, should be dispatched after him. Arran the governor, seeing all these preparations, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but, being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to intrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones.

Beaton
claims aid
from
France.

The king
of France
sends over
the earl of
Lenox.

He prom-
ises future
aid.

The queen's
person is
placed in
the keeping
of four
families.

* This affected admiration of good faith was a deep stroke of not very honourable policy. Cassilis released, was enabled to serve Henry and to betray his country more effectually than if he had remained a prisoner. It was not enough that Scot-

land had to contend with an enemy more powerful than herself, she had a foe in her own bosom, in her treacherous nobles who had sold themselves to England.—ED.

The arrival of Lenox, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable.

RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.

THE opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet, being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from Rome, and that he had broken his promise. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against England. He had been informed of some raileries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis had sacrificed him to the emperor; and rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each with twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him,

and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: in case these conditions were rejected, the confederated princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories. That they might have a pretence, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with sultan Solymán, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solymán: and they observed that this league was a breach of the solemn promise given to Clement VII., never to make peace or alliance with England.

A PARLIAMENT.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negotiating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years: it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual.* The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity; which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs.

* They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid fourpence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands,

fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

Henry is offended with the king of France.

He complains that Francis had broken his word.

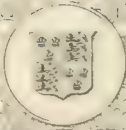
Henry forms a league with the emperor.

A partition of France is planned.

War is declared.

A supply is granted to Henry by parliament.

Greater sums had been taken from the laity, than from the clergy.



QUEEN CATHARINE PARR.

OB. 1546

DAWSON, TURNER, ESQ^{RE}, A.M., F.R.A., & L.S.

A court is established to punish disobedience to the king's proclamations.

The only protest made in Henry's reign, is entered against this law.

Malcontents are to be burnt, for rejecting the king's doctrines.

All Henry's subjects are bound implicitly to receive their faith from him.

The parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes; they appointed that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign.

It was enacted this session that any spiritual person, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, 'The Erudition of a Christian Man,' or contrary to any doctrine which he should thereafter promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence; it was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But, in order to make the king entirely master of his people, it was enacted that he might hereafter at his pleasure change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: so far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom; and all his subjects were expressly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Parr, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor. Francis in person took the field early, and made himself master of the whole duchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles, having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and, after taking almost every fortress in the duchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: but, while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and skilfully made a retreat. Charles despaired of success in this enterprise, and found it necessary to go into winter quarters.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THE vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent; but the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so indolent a

The king marries Catherine Parr.

Hostilities are commenced.

The campaign produces no great event.

The affairs of Scotland become important to England.

The earl of Arran is overpowered by, and reconciled to Beaton.

Implicit confidence is placed in Beaton by the queen dowager.

Lenox is neglected by cardinal Beaton.

He enters into a secret correspondence with the English court.

character, that had he not been stimulated by his friends, he never had aspired to any share in the administration: and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom; the queen dowager placed implicit confidence in him; the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension; Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible: and, as the cardinal and the French party, to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and, as he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that, since he must choose between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals to attend him. All those who were inclined

to the protestant religion, or discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions; and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

Lenox levies an army,

But is forced to come to an accommodation with the cardinal.

Mary and Elizabeth are restored by parliament to the succession after prince Edward.

Power is given to Henry to exclude them at his pleasure.

A PARLIAMENT. 1544.

WHILE the winter season restrained Henry from military operations he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing without betraying his usual extravagance and caprice: though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact that, in default of his own issue, he might

The king is unable to dispose of the crown by will.

dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent.*

An act passed, declaring that the king's usual style should be 'King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland.' It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its cause against Luther, and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.

Henry retains the title of defender of the faith.

An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan levied upon the people. It will easily be believed that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths, which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but, as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

English subjects are held to be bound by oaths they have never

The most commendable law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for that purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such

The law of the six articles is mitigated.

* In case of his death and that of prince Edward without male issue, the crown was to descend to the lady Mary, and afterwards to Elizabeth, "with such conditions as by his Highnesse shall be limited by

offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

Accusations of preachers must be preferred within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies from the parliament; not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: but, as his wars, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expense, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects; and he enhanced gold from forty-five to forty-eight shillings an ounce, and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation.

Henry raises the nominal value of the precious metals.

He coins base money.

He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner, Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition. These powers of the prerogative, compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

An alderman of London is made to serve as a soldier.

Early this year (1544) the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea forces, the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith;

A fleet and an army are sent to invade Scotland.

his letters patent under his Great Seal, or by His Majestie's last will, in writing, signed with his hand."—*Lord Herbert*.—ED.

Edinburgh
is pillaged
and fired by
the Eng-
lish.

Lenox is
forced to
fly to Eng-
land.

The em-
peror and
Henry plan
a grand in-
vasion of
France.

and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down; and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to, the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and, being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England, having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but, finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England, where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas in marriage. In return Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude.

Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; and it was commonly said that he did too much if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conquest. But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprise against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais, Charles from the Low Countries; they were to enter on no siege; but, leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these for-

midable preparations much above forty thousand men.

CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.

HENRY, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists. The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: he next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil, the king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was the governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin,* who

Henry
lands at
Calais.

Nothing on
the frontier
can resist
his army.

The empe-
ror's army
takes
Luxem-
bourg and
other
places.

Henry cap-
tures Bou-
logne.

* This triumph, though of little intrinsic importance, afforded a fine opportunity for display on

the part of the vain-glorious Henry. Trumpeters, ranged on the walls of the town, gave their loudest

was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

The emperor treats for a peace with France.

A peace is concluded between Charles and Francis.

Henry returns to England.

Lord Evers ravages Scotland.

During the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Disier; and, finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists at Cerissoles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had made, at a great expense, an acquisition which was of no importance.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and, having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled

an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English; but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army fell into confusion; and, had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces had appeared near the abbey of Melross. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and

Some trading advantages are gained over the Scots.

Lord Evers boasts of having conquered Scotland.

The English ravage Tiviotdale.

The Scots prepare to engage the English.

and most animated blasts; while the king's highness rode, with all the ostentation of a conqueror, into

the town, the sword being borne naked before him by the marquis of Dorset.—ED.

The English are defeated and put to flight.

Auxiliaries arrive from France.

The earl of Hertford lays waste the country.

A large French fleet seeks the English fleet.

they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and, being favoured by the advantage of the ground as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand five hundred men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches,* and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides gallies; and, having embarked some land forces, he sent them to make a descent in England. They sailed to the isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of draw-

ing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the sinking of the Mary Rose, one of the largest ships of the English fleet,† the damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

Francis's chief intention, in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprise. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions; they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them; and, having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament.

A PARLIAMENT. 1545.

THE great expense of these two wars maintained by Henry obliged him to summon

The English are attacked by the French.

No victory is gained.

Francis besieges Boulogne, but fails in the attempt.

Henry's German auxiliaries mutiny and retreat.

A parliament is summoned.

* Treachery on the part of the Scottish nobles assisted the operations of Hertford. His instructions were to "shed blood enough." They contained, as quoted by Mr. Tytler from the Hamilton MSS., the following passages, "you are to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a memory of the vengeance of God." "Beat down and overthrow the Castle, and Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can; sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to the sword without exception."

† The French boasted that the Mary Rose had been sunk by their fire: the English declared her loss to have been occasioned through her being too heavily laden with ordnance. The English fleet, after being affronted in their own harbour, went out under Dudley to give the enemy battle, but nothing of importance occurred. It is remarkable that the watch-word for the English fleet in the night, during the evolutions which followed, was "God save king Henry," to which the answer was, "And long to reign over us." This may almost be regarded as a proof that the national anthem of "God save the king," said to have been produced in the time of Charles I., is of an earlier date.—ED.

Henry obtains new grants from parliament.

a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land: the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound.* But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chantries, free chapels, and hospitals.† Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile parliament.

Henry spurs the universities which are given up to him by parliament.

The king and those he may appoint are to determine all heresies, vices, and sins.

The prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute, in which they recognise the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledged that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: to him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins, whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. The proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct inward sentiments and opinions.

The king's proclamations are to regulate the actions, words, and thoughts of his subjects.

The king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities,

* Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds, and below ten, were to pay eight-pence a pound; those above ten pounds, a shilling.

† A chantry was a little church, or chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c., endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of

in religion. He told them that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended.

Henry complains of religious dissensions.

He laments that permission to read the bible is abused.

PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND. 1546.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and, finding that, from his great increase in corpulency and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority.

Skirmishes take place between the French and English.

The king is in a declining state.

one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: free chapels were independent of any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former.

Henry and Francis desire peace.

Francis, likewise, was not averse to peace with England; because, having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained, by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.*

Peace is concluded.

Henry permits the litany to be translated into English.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to save us 'from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities.' Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: but, Gardiner having written to the king that, if he carried his opposition against the catholic

Cranmer urges further innovations.

* The State Papers, and other authentic records, prove that Henry had ample cause to regret the folly which had led him to purchase glory at so fearful an expense. It is seen from letters written by Wriothesley, that the king was greatly distressed for money; and the chancellor declared that he was at his wit's end when considering how it might be raised. His poverty was partly caused by the sums paid to

religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: the queen dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death: and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits, of the deceased.† He declared that, during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. 'Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?' When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them.

The duke of Suffolk dies.

Henry expresses great sorrow for his loss.

Cranmer himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him that, if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were the secret supports of heresy. Henry desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be brought to condign punishment. Every

Cranmer's interest suffers from the death of Suffolk.

Henry orders an inquiry into the primate's conduct.

the Scotch lords, among whom we find that miracle of honour, the earl of Cassilis, put down for two hundred marks out of the sum periodically distributed.—Ed.

† His wife, the beautiful Mary, the queen of France, had died ten years before, on the 25th June, 1534.—Ed.

His friends
desert him.

The king
reproves
the council
for their
hostility to
Cranmer.

All the
members
embrace
him.

body now considered the primate as lost ; and his old friends began to shew him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys, at the door of the council chamber, before he could be admitted ; and, when he was at last called in, he was told that they had determined to send him to the tower. Cranmer said that he appealed to the king himself ; and, finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded ; and, when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms ; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy : but he was determined to crush all their cabals. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized, and said that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial : and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part than is usual in such forced compliances.

PERSECUTIONS.

Henry
punishes all
who differ
from him
on matters
of religion.

Anne
Ascue is
accused of
dissenting
from the
royal doc-
trine.

BUT, though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining health, impelled him to punish, with fresh severity, all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatising on that delicate article ; and Henry was the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She

was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation ; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity. She even wrote to the king, and told him that, as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required : but, while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor Wriothesley, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her : but she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors add an extraordinary circumstance : that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the tower to stretch the rack still farther ; but that officer refused compliance : the chancellor menaced him ; but met with a new refusal ; upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder.* Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive ; and, being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair.† Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lassels of the king's household, and

She is
imprisoned

Anne Ascue
is questioned
about
her patrons
and patron-
esses.

Though in-
humanly
tortured,
she con-
fesses
nothing.

Anne Ascue
is carried to
the stake.

* Bishop Goodman shared in the infamy of bringing this amiable, though enthusiastically bigotted female, to the dreadful fate which awaited her.—ED.

† Justice can hardly be done to the wretched persecutors of a helpless young female, without transcribing her statement of the crime, as it was deemed,

for which she was thus inhumanly treated. Her confession in Newgate runs thus : " This is the heresie which they report mee to holde, that after the priest hath spoken the wordes of consecration there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it, for a necessary article of fayth ; yet

She is burnt with three others.

They all reject pardon at the stake.

The king becomes more passionate than ever.

He finds the queen less favourable to the reformers.

John Adams a tailor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which consumed them. Wriothesley did not consider that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.*

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and, being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind. Henry, highly provoked that she should differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the oppor-

tunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented that the more elevated the person who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics, and Henry went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesley executed his commands, and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed; for, as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the

Gardiner inflames the mind of Henry against Catherine.

Articles of impeachment are ordered.

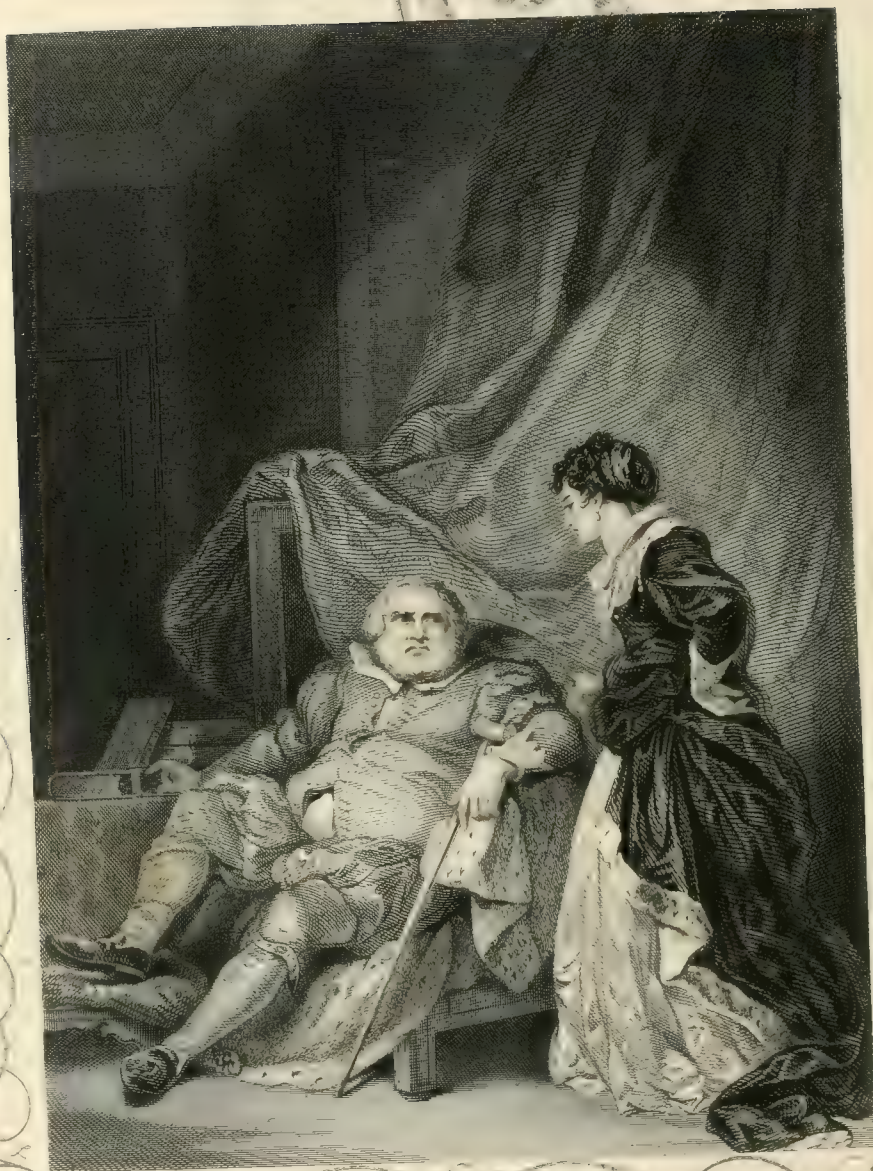
The impeachment is seen by the queen's friends.

Catherine visits the king, and adroitly engages him in argument.

after those words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self same body that hung on the crosse on good Fryday, both fleshe, bloud, and bone. To this belefe of things, say I nay: For then were our common crede false, whiche sayth that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick, and dead. Lo this is the heresie that I holde, and for it must suffer the death."—*Foxe*.—ED.

* Another unfortunate man suffered on this occasion, in a different way. Nicholas Shaxton, formerly bishop of Salisbury, had favoured the same principles for which Anne Ascue was doomed to the flames. He had been deprived of his honours, and had endured great hardships and poverty; but when he found his life in danger, he at last recanted. He solicited then a benefice or dignity that might

support him; and on Shaxton was put the ignominious task of trying to subdue the conscientious resolution of the intrepid Anne Ascue. He called upon her to take the course which he had preferred, to escape her impending fate. She rejected his counsel, and pitied him, declaring it would have been better for him that he had never been born. At the place of execution, Shaxton was appointed to preach a sermon before the fire was kindled, and in which, of course, the unhappy apostate justified the atrocity about to be perpetrated, which he could not but abhor in his heart. His sense of guilt and degradation, supposing one spark of "ingenuous shame" to have survived, must have inflicted pain hardly inferior to that which the condemned were made to endure.—ED.



The queen
defeats the
malice of
her ene-
mies.

husband to choose principles for his wife ; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband : and, as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise of every nation. 'Not so ! By St. Mary,' replied the king, 'you are now become a doctor, Kate ; and better fitted to give than receive instruction.' She meekly replied that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises ; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement ; that she found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her ; whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she received profit and instruction. 'And is it so, sweetheart ?' replied the king, 'then we are perfect friends again.' He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her, and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner. She even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beast, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate ; and then ordered him to depart. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger. He said to her, 'Poor soul ! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices.' Thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction ; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never regain his favour and good opinion.

But Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured

by ill health, burst out soon after to the destruction of a man who possessed a much superior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom. The duke had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprises ; he had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden ; he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the north ; and he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. From the favours heaped on him he had acquired an immense estate. The king had successively been married to two of his nieces ; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter. Besides his descent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III. : and, as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. All these circumstances provoked the jealousy of Henry ; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, from the attempts of so potent a subject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example ; he had made some successful attempts in poetry ; and, being smitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praises of his mistress, by his pen and his lance, in every masque and tournament. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry ; but, though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased, had sent over Hertford to command in his place ;

Henry seeks
the dis-
traction of
the duke of
Norfolk.

The Norfolk
family was
most potent
from his
wealth and
connec-
tions.

Norfolk
is exposed
to displea-
sure from
Henry
being pre-
judiced
against his
son.

The earl of
Surrey is
eminently
distinguished
for his accom-
plishments.

The king is
perfectly
reconciled
to her.

The chan-
celor at-
tends
to take her
to the
tower, but
is angrily
dismissed.

Henry suspects him of having designs on the princess Mary.

and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And, as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waived every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF SURREY. 1547.

Norfolk and Suffolk are committed to the tower.

ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day confined in the tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were suspected to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was suspected of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which made him be suspected of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence,* condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

Surrey is condemned and executed.

ATTAINDER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was

* He brought forward facts as well as arguments, which ought to have ensured his acquittal; but a sense of justice, or proofs of innocence, rarely interposed to save the accused from Henry's vengeance. While he was on his death-bed, Surrey was beheaded, January 19th, 1547, on Tower-hill.—Ed.

still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court; yet his accusers discovered no greater crime than his once saying that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence.† Soon after he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required. But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon.‡ The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and, fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But, news

The wife and mistress of Norfolk assist his enemies.

His appeals to Henry have no effect.

A bill of attainder passes the lords.

† His application was not only pathetic, but mean and grovelling.—Ed.

‡ The praise here given to Cranmer, in which Hume follows Burnet, seems to have been undeserved. From the journals of the house of lords, he is proved to have assisted at the trial, and to have been present when the fatal decision was pronounced.—Ed.

Norfolk is ordered for execution, but saved.

being carried to the tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

DEATH OF THE KING.

The king's end approaches.

THE king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and, as some persons had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death, every one was afraid lest, in the transports of his fury, he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months, and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

He dies.

Henry leaves the crown by will to his son.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth; the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but, as he subjoined that after the failure

He prospectively arranges the succession.

of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. He left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and, though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of their souls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years, he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question.

The right of succession becomes doubtful.

Henry left money for masses to be said for his soul.

HIS CHARACTER.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities; he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility; and, though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature; violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice; but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals

He may be deemed in some respects a great, but not a good prince.

His vices were numerous.

He was violent and severe, but bold and liberal.

altogether destitute of virtues : he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. That the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light. The treatment which he met with from Rome provoked him to violence ; the danger of a revolt seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must be acknowledged that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character. The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe ; the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

Notwithstanding his cruelties, he possessed the regard of his subjects.

It may seem a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred ; he seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude ; his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes ; and the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expense.*

He had long a sincere friendship for the king of France.

With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French

monarch in a very superior and advantageous light), served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline ; he foretold that he should not long survive his friend ; and he died in about two months after him.

Francis is much affected at hearing of Henry's death.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THERE were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII., and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half : it amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently : but though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognisance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick despatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration : all the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue were subjected to that penalty ; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions ; insomuch that had they been strictly executed, every man must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catharine of Arragon or Anne Boleyn ; by another, it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the

Ten parliaments were summoned in this reign.

The laws against treason were made unprecedentedly rigorous.

Contradictory statutes passed.

* The daring ruffianism of Henry's character seems to have caused some of our historians to lose sight of his hypocrisy. What could be more vile than his pretending to feel religious scruples about continuing to be the husband of a brother's widow, while seeking to marry the sister of his mistress? His successes over the various bodies of insurgents

that rose against his rule, inspired awe ; and his reckless insolence which threw off the abominable thralldom of Rome, conferred a benefit on the nation. This no doubt caused some well meaning persons to regard the royal miscreant with a reverence and gratitude, which he never deserved.—ED.

It was difficult to escape being charged with treason or slander.

No man could be safe.

The reformation favoured the administration of justice.

Sanctuaries were abolished in this reign.

princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed into slander: nor would even a profound silence be able to save a person from such penalties: for by the former statute, whoever refused to answer on oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: if the person was silent, he was a traitor by law; if he answered either in the negative or affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties on them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: the privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony to all under the degree of a subdeacon: but the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason; and it limited them in other particulars. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished en-

tirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age was the reviving and extending of some old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow; butts were to be erected in every parish; and every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wick for the service of the common people. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberds with them, by which they were enabled on occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy. Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called. The martial spirit of the English rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men: discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops, though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first, Boulogne afterwards, served to increase the number. Every one who served abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will. The parliament was so little jealous of its privileges, (which indeed were at that time scarcely worth preserving) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the stannary courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were imposed; and on his refusal to pay, he was

Laws were made to encourage archery.

The king could call all his subjects to arms.

Heavy fines were imposed on a member of the house of commons.

Parliament
was negli-
gent of its
privileges.

thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paltry court, was to enact, that no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: for as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.*

Irregularity
in raising
supplies.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shows what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only; yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments assembled, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last, the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say that the imposition was made to endure, during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: they observe that the law of tonnage and poundage was expired, yet made no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: they affirm that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his lifetime, and no longer. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors for more than a century persevered in the like irregular practice; if a practice may deserve that epithet, in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the same course a furious tempest was excited; and historians, partial or ignorant, still re-

Henry's ir-
regularities
were imi-
tated by his
successors.

present this measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales without consent of parliament. It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

The king
was allowed
to make
laws for
Wales.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands; the inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe: hence the mutual dependence of these countries on each other, and the great loss sustained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries, and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers; and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual; they told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

Commerce
severely in-
terrupted
by war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any salads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England; the little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders: queen Catherine, when she wanted a salad, was obliged to despatch a

Many ve-
getables are
first pro-
duced in
England
during this
reign.

* In his three and thirtieth year, in a parliament then holden, an act was made, that whosoever should poyson any person, should be boyled to death; by

which statute one Richard Roose, who had poisoned divers persons in the bishop of Rochester's palace, was boyled to death in Smithfield.—*Baker*.—Ed.

Hops first introduced.

messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

English women were accused of foreign artificers

Foreign artificers much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: hence the violent animosity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and in 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners: they next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders, killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city: they also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day, the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of one thousand three hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed: the other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry dismissed them without farther punishment.

Riots occur from this cause.

A proclamation forbids women to babble.

Fifteen thousand foreign artificers were obliged to leave the city at one time.

So great was the number of foreign artificers in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when

Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine. Henry confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives, and obliged them to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities: he also asserts that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread: and, to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed on aliens. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes, are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above; which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts, that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery; which would amount nearly to two thousand a year; he adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally four hundred in a year. It appears, that in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII., and this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance and occupation to the lower classes.

Foreigners are described by a star-chamber edict as starving the nation.

Foreign merchants are viewed with jealousy.

Two thousand executions took place annually.

There is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign, by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that 'since the making of that statute and ordinance, many and the most part of all the

In Henry's reign England was less prosperous than in former times.

Boroughs and towns corporate are said to have fallen to decay.

cities, boroughs, and towns corporate within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance as at the time of making the statute: for at this day the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vinters, fishmongers and other victuallers; and there remain few others to bear the offices.' Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning: so different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly.

Wolsey infers increasing riches from the increase of the customs.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted: luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes: the chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter: a statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal: beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butchers' meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed.

Parliament fixes the prices of meat.

* The beggars thought themselves of sufficient importance to petition the king against the practices of "another sort (not of impotent, but) of strong, puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars and vagabonds—bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, friars, pardoners, and somners." The petition presented in 1558

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued, as appears by the new laws, which were from time to time enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to the increase of sheep; because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure. It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money; for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

The country is depopulated by the abandonment of the tillage.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present: but commodities were not above four times cheaper: a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Good land let for a shilling or fifteen-pence the acre.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government, which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor, but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.*

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent.; the first legal interest known in England.

Interest of money is fixed at ten per cent.

opened thus:—"To the King our Sovereign Lord. Most lamentably complaineth, their woeful misery unto your highness, your poor daily Bedemen, the wretched hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror men dare look) the foul unhappy sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms.—*Harleian Miscellany*.—ED.

All interest
is regarded
as usurious.

Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal; and the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

Monopolies
are encour-
aged by
law.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolising laws, confining to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general. There remain too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations, which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were shut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation.

Wolsey
founds
Christ
Church at
Oxford.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others: he founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: but on his fall the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern: but Henry restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans; and sometimes fought with as great

Greek in-
troduced
into the
university
raises great
contests.

* The following account of the pompous and certainly very catholic obsequies of Henry VIII. is taken from a book in the college of arms:—"The chest wherein the royal corpse was laid, stood in the midst of the privy chamber with lights, and divine service was said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy chamber, in their course and order, night and day, for five days, till the chapel was ready, where was a goodly hearse with eighty square tapers, every light containing two feet in length, in the whole 1800 or 2000 weight in wax, garnished with pensils, escutcheons, banners, and bannerals of descent; and at the four corners banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask, with a majesty (i. e. canopy over, of rich cloth of tissue, and valence of black silk, and fringes of black silk and gold. The banners without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the chapel, were covered with black

animosity as did formerly those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet: so little liberty was then allowed of any kind. The penalties inflicted on the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation, it were better that the language were totally banished the universities. The introduction of Greek into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge. Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican. The countenance given to letters by the king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding: there is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.*

Alleged in-
accuracy in
pronounce-
tion is
punished by
whipping
and degrada-
tion.

Oxford ex-
cites the
emulation
of Cam-
bridge.

Henry and
his minis-
ters encour-
aged liter-
ature.

cloth to the high altar, and the sides and ceiling set with the banner of St. George and others. The 2nd of February, the corpse was removed, and brought into the chapel by the lord great master and officers of the household, and then placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue garnished with escutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. It continued there twelve days, with masses and *diriges* said and sung every day, Norroy each day standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words, in a loud voice, 'Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII.' There is an appalling incident connected with that journey which we copy from a MS. among the Sloane collection:—"The king being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

1547.

STATE OF THE REGENCY.—INNOVATIONS IN THE REGENCY, AND THE EARL OF HERTFORD CHOSEN PROTECTOR.—REFORMATION COMPLETED.—GARDINER'S OPPOSITION.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.—ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BEATON.—CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—BATTLE OF PINKEY.—A PARLIAMENT.—FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—YOUNG QUEEN OF SCOTS SENT INTO FRANCE.—CABALS OF LORD SEYMOUR.—DUDLEY EARL OF WARWICK.—A PARLIAMENT SANCTIONS THE ATTAINDER OF LORD SEYMOUR, WHO IS EXECUTED.—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

STATE OF THE REGENCY.

THE late king, by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers would never depart from the plan which he had traced out. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and Edward was then only a few months past nine, he

Henry VIII
hoped to
reign after
death.

was wetted with Henry's blood. In the morning, came plumbers to solder the coffin, under whose feet, I tremble to write it," says the author, "was suddenly seen a dog creeping, and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer, William Greville, who could scarcely drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also." It appears pretty certain that the sleepy mourners and choristers had retired to rest after the midnight dirges had been sung, leaving the dead king to defend himself, as best he might, from the assaults of his ghostly enemies, and some people might think they made their approach in a curish form. It is scarcely, however, to be wondered that a circumstance so frightful should have excited feelings of superstitious horror, especially at such a time and place; for this desolated convent had been the prison of his unhappy queen Catherine Howard, whose tragic fate was fresh in the minds of men,

appointed sixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Antony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley; Sir Antony Denny and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Antony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmond Peckham. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.*

He wills
the regal
authority
to his
executors.

A council of
twelve is
appointed.

They are
nominated
capriciously
by Henry.

and by a singular coincidence it happened that Henry's corpse rested there the very day after the fifth anniversary of her execution. There is a class of writers too, who regard the accident which has just been related as a serious fulfilment of friar Peyto's denunciation against Henry, from the pulpit of Greenwich church, in 1533, when that daring preacher compared him to Ahab, and told him to his face, that 'the dogs would in like manner lick his blood.' In a very different light was Henry represented by bishop Gardiner, in the adulatory funeral sermon which he preached at Windsor on the 10th of February, on the text, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;' in which he set forth the loss both high and low had sustained in the death of so good and gracious a king."—*Miss Strickland*.—Ed.

* According to Strype and other chroniclers, Edward was a prince of great promise. "So forward

INNOVATIONS IN THE REGENCY.

The executors immediately departed from the king's will.

A protector is said to be necessary.

The chancellor also opposes it.

BUT the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was suggested that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom despatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: and as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by choosing a protector, who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound to follow the opinion of the executors. This proposal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesley. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself by his office entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the direction of public business would devolve in a great measure on himself: he opposed therefore the proposal of choosing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which being corroborated by act of parliament, ought to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it: but he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers who had been raised by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign

of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern by their own authority, they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal, which seemed calculated for preserving public tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might endanger Edward's person or his authority. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and despatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king: the bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions that they held their offices during pleasure; and it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown.*

The executors in their next measure showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will, because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices: he had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises. That they

The earl of Hertford is named protector.

All offices were resigned and new ones accepted in the name of the young king.

The late king had intended to create new peers.

in learning," writes Burnet, "that before he was eight years old he wrote Latin letters to his father." At the time of Henry's death Edward was in Hertfordshire. The earl of Hertford waited on him there, and having brought him to Theobalds, announced to the child that his father was no more. He and the lady Elizabeth, who was with him, manifested great sorrow on the occasion, which was soon drowned in the pompous rejoicings common at the opening of a new reign. On the 31st of Janu-

ary the young king entered London, and was lodged in the tower.—Ed.

* Henry VIII. was buried at Windsor, on the 18th of February. The coronation of Edward took place on the 20th, the ceremony being abridged, in regard to "the King's Majesty being of tender age." A general pardon for state offenders was granted on the occasion; from which, however, the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, and a few other names were excepted.—Ed.

Henry's wish in this respect is carefully ascertained.

Changes contemplated by Henry in the peerage are made.

The earl of Southampton puts the great seal in commission.

might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Antony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency: and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. [Feb. 17.] Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield accepted the title of baron. Several, to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promises, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred: some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends: for, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of

the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council, who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent, by which any other innovation might be authorised. But the council declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed on him; and he should be confined to his own house during pleasure.

The removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented: his ambition carried him to seek farther acquisitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, [March 12] by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power;* and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: he reserved a power of naming

The judges declare such commission to be illegal.

Southampton is in consequence deprived of the great seal.

A patent is granted by the king, giving Somerset regal power.

* "His style or title was, "The most noble and virtuous prince Edward, duke of Somerset, earl of Hertford, viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymour, governor of the person of the king's majesty, and protector of all his realms; his lieutenant-general of all

his armies both by land and sea; lord high treasurer and earl marshal of England; governor of the isles of Guernsey and Jersey; and knight of the most noble order of the Garter."—*Strype*.—Ed.



EDWARD SEYMOUR DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OF 1552.

FROM THE ENGRAVING BY J. H. STOKES.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF SOMERSET.

The protector and his council are empowered to do whatever they deem necessary.

Somerset's authority is universally submitted to.

It is thought to ensure public tranquillity.

The protector favours the reformers.

any other counsellors at pleasure ; and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever. Even had this patent been more moderate in its concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned ; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others : but as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to ; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and titles. All men of sense likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitances of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

RELIGIOUS STRIFE.

THE extensive authority and imperious character of Henry, had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection ; but, on his demise, the hopes of the protestants and the fears of the catholics began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers ; and now he

scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles ; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw the total abolition of the catholic faith in England ; and they began to declare in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion ; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome ; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy ; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastics, they could never succeed in that enterprise.

The numerous and burdensome superstitions with which the Romish church was loaded had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion ; and all rites and exterior observances were zealously proscribed, as hinderances to their immediate converse with Heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit ; the novelty of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full

He aims at correcting all abuses in the ancient religion.

The reformers, by increasing strength.

Enthusiasm is kindled in reformers by a spirit of opposition.

It is sustained and increased by various circumstances.

Dangerous
consequen-
ces ensue.

extent, and was attended with consequences, which, though less durable, were for some time not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition : but as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual ; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

The protec-
tor takes
counsel
from Cran-
mer.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to that doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He seems to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished or entirely evaporated.

Gardiner
opposes the
ancient
faith.

The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester ; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally revered by the nation ; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked ; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude ; he even deigned to write an apology for holy water, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon ; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good ; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid on the eyes of the blind ; above all, he in-

sisted that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of Parliament.

Gardiner
opposes the
reformation
consti-
tutional
grounds.

But though there remained in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with an immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power ; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers ; and having suspended the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry, and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated ; but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles in order to drive away the devil.

A visitation
of all the
English
dioceses is
ordered.

Some of the
ancient
supersti-
tions are
denounced.

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed throughout England in defending the ancient superstitions. The court of augmentation, to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches ; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the

Annuities
to monks
are fixed on
vacant
churches.

He writes
in opposi-
tion to
bishop
Ridley.

The topics
of sermons
are re-
strained.

profit of the clergy: orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people; and all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching anywhere but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licenses, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bishop
Bonner
feels the
progress of
the reformation.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures, but soon after retracted: Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations. 'Tis a dangerous thing,' said he, 'to use too much freedom in researches of this kind; if you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to; if you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure.' 'For my part,' said he, on another occasion, 'my sole concern is, to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage; provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death; no man can give me a pardon, nor so much as to procure me a reprieve: to speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech and integrity in action will stick by a man when everything else takes its leave; and I must not resign them on any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then I am ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments.' This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

Gardiner
resists with
more deter-
mination.

He is
sent to the
Fleet.

One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to

know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, 'an insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification.' The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement which generally have place in religion.

Gardiner is
bitterly con-
sidered by a
martyrolo-
gist.

Tunstal bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

Bishop
Tunstal is
dismissed
from the
council.

The same religious zeal, which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance and after long delays, had summoned a general council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them; a policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it necessary to interpose, to appease

A general
council is
assembled
at Trent.

Its delibera-
tions are
protracted
by the pope.

Animo-ities
break out
in the coun-
cil.

It is trans-
ferred to
Bologna.

The elector
of Saxony
is made pri-
soner by the
emperor.

The French
king dies.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Henry II.

the animosity of the divines, and bring them to some decision. The more difficult task for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: he took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: by the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: he employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were farther discouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, first of Henry VIII., then of Francis I., their usual resources in every calamity.*

Henry II., who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less inflamed with rival-

ship and animosity against the emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic league, and promised them protection, he was unwilling to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of. He was much governed by the Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in choosing rather to give immediate assistance to Scotland, which even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

The new
king is less
hostile to
the emperor
than Fran-
cis was.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

THE hatred between the two factions, the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had taken to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions; and began to give alarm to the clergy. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals and for his extensive learning: but these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther,

Wishart
preaches
against the
clergy.

The priests
in Scotland
are exceed-
ingly illite-
rate.

* The French king's mind had been impressed with a conviction that he should not long survive Henry. "At the commencement of 1547, seven months after the treaty of Crespy, news was brought to France that Henry VIII. was no more, having died on the 28th of January. 'My brother then is gone,' he mournfully exclaimed, 'my turn to depart will not long be delayed. During six or seven years Francis had suffered severely from an ulcer, but this did not induce him to live a more temperate life. It was much aggravated in the month of February this year by a complicated fever, which he in vain endeavoured to shake off by courting the pleasures

of the chace at La Muette, at Zeimours, at Rochefort, at St. Germain, and at Rambouillet, where at length it became necessary for him to keep his bed. It was there that the *roi chevalier* breathed his last, on the 31st of March, recommending his soul to God and his people to his son, two cares which had previously occupied but little of his thoughts. Pierre Castellan, who made his funeral oration, declared from the pulpit that the king's pious death was (such at least was his conviction) an indication that in his case purgatory would be dispensed with, and that the monarch had passed at once into paradise, or heaven."—*Pictorial History of France.*—ED.

and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God.* But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher; and that the pestilence would never cease till they had made him atonement. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: the infected stood within, the others without: and the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission.

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell: and being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrews, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute; and the cardinal, though he had gained him

over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart: he determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience, but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that in a few days he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in opposition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle, and had barricadoed the door of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed on him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, 'Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities; especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance on thee: we are sent by God to inflict the

Beaton is present at the burning of Wishart.

A conspiracy is formed against Beaton.

Assassins enter the castle.

He is ordered to repent.

* See note QQ at the end of the volume.

deserved punishment: for here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel.* Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This murder was executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends to the number of one hundred and forty persons, prepared for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen;—the disputes and contentions of theology, and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigour, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration: but the queen dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to support the government and supply the weakness of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

THE protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possi-

ble, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of eighteen thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail; one half of which were ships of war, the other laden with provision and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: he himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick. These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging depredations committed by the borderers; but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and to security: that the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: that fortune had at last removed all obstacles, that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female, that of England on a male; and happily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age the most suitable to each other: that the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a long and secure peace had established confidence: that the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish with more passion a state of

The protector is resolved to unite England and Scotland by marriage.

He puts forth a manifesto

which advocates a union of England and Scotland.

* So saying, and without waiting for an answer, he stabbed him twice or thrice through the body. When his friends and servants collected without, the conspirators lifted up the deceased prelate, and

showed him to them from the very window at which he had sat at the day of Wishart's execution. Beaton, at the time of his death, was fifty-two.—H. G. Bell.—Ed.

Great advantages Scotland anticipated.

happiness unknown to their ancestors: that when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace; that though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace; and desired a union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: and that besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded.

The manifesto proves of no avail.

Somerset soon perceived that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations: he found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwick, [Sept. 2.] and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles, which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: but they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours respite, till they should prepare themselves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their application for mercy.

Somerset invades Scotland.

The governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted and lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action: but having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick,

Frequent skirmishes occur between the invaders and the invaded.

he found it difficult to make an attempt on it with any probability of success: he wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and, passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain [Sept. 10.]. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard, Arran the main body, Huntley the rear: their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

The Scots are other than the English.

The offer is rejected.

From the English to the Scots.

THE BATTLE OF PINKEY.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds, till the enemy should approach: he placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms; and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged

The English army is drawn up on the high grounds.

The English ships open their fire on the Scots.

Lord Grey and the English cavalry are overthrown.

The English standard is in danger.

The battle is retrieved.

in close fight with the van of the English.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships; the eldest son of lord Graham was killed; the Irish archers were thrown into disorder, and even the other troops began to stagger; when lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way, and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears; and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay across their front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: the standard was near being taken: and had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger.

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwick showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: he made Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and ordered

them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ships galled them from the flank: the artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: the English archers poured in a shower of arrows on them; and the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely and in good order towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers: the panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewn with dead bodies.* The priests above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise, so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

replenished pasture. The river ran all red with blood,—so that in the same chase were counted, as well by some of our men that somewhat dilligently did mark it, as by some of them taken prisoners, that very much did lament it, to have been slain above thirteen thousand. In all this compass of ground, what with weapons, arms, hands, legs, heads, blood and dead bodies, this flight might easily have been traced.”—*Hayward*.—Ed.

The English fight with determined courage.

The Scottish van retreats.

It is pursued by the English, and a dreadful slaughter ensues.

Somerset gains a complete victory.

*The case is any thing but overstated. An old writer says. “With blood and slaughter of the enemy, this chase was continued five miles in length, westward, from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields of Urderesk until Edinburgh Park, and well nigh to the gates of the town itself, and unto Leith, and in breadth nigh to four miles from the Frith sands up towards Dalkeith southward. In all which space, the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may note cattle grazing in a full

The queen dowager flies to Stirling.

The queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time, the earl of Lenox and Lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Douglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxburgh, and some other small places, and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate; but no commissioners from Scotland appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

THE SEVERITY OF THE LAW IS MITIGATED.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament, November 4; and being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, on a stool or bench at the right hand of the king; and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the

Somerset returns to England.

To procure great honours from the king.

laws passed this session. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles: none were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals, several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning; only there remained no precise standard, by which that crime could be defined; a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

The severity of the law is abated.

A repeal passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute: that other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four-and-twentieth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any past effects which had ensued from them.

Unconstitutional statutes are repealed.

It was also enacted, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the penalty of *præmunire*; and for the third, be attainted of treason: but if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason: if any of the heirs of the crown should usurp on another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion; the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion.

The parliament is not very zealous in regard to religion.

The convocation meet.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired that no law regarding religion might pass without their consent and approbation: but the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power, and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

They claim that no law affecting religion shall pass without their assent.

The protector had assented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power [1548.]: he even continued to exert his authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion.

Orders are issued against ancient religious practices.

An order was issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation, which was much desired by the reformers; and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

Images are ordered to be removed from churches.

As private masses were abolished by

law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them: and though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.

A new communion-service is required.

The people were at that time extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit. By the nature of things this restraint could only be temporary: for in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals; and the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages.

The people are distracted by opposite opinions.

They are favourable to sermons.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE SEEK TO GAIN INFLUENCE IN SCOTLAND.

The greater the progress that was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to

Union with Scotland is opposed by the reformation in England

alliance with a nation which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by lord Grey: he also erected some fortifications at Lauder; and he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty, and some smaller fortresses which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men, half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Anelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital: but on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessé with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington. This was an undertaking for which they were by themselves totally unfit; and, even with the assistance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of success in starving the garrison. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed, and the garrison was repulsed with loss in several sallies which they made on the besiegers.

The hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland not being steady, regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had served only to inspire them with the strongest aversion to that union, which was courted in so violent a manner: the earl of Huntley, in particular, said pleasantly, that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing. The queen dowager, finding these sentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater security, should be sent to France, and be committed to the custody

of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate; allowed no resource in case of miscarriage; exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners; involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles: the governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of one hundred men at arms: and as the clergy dreaded the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal which principle or interest could inspire. It was determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French galleys lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dumbarton;—an extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea; and, after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Somerset, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprise against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten year's truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots

The expediency of sending the young queen to France is deliberated

The parliament favours the measure.

Married to the dauphin.

A ten years truce.

The Eng-
lish and the
Scots
renew
hostilities.

The Eng-
lish sustain
many
reverses.

The French
in Scotland
retreat be-
fore the
earl of
Shrews-
bury.

recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fastcastle by surprise, and put the garrisons to the sword: they repulsed with loss the English, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: in the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces: and though a small body of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Haddington with some ammunition and provisions, the garrison was reduced to such difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men; and adding three thousand Germans, who on the dissolution of the protestant alliance had offered their service to England, he gave the command of the whole to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Dessé raised the blockade on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his present situation; and contenting himself with the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

JEALOUSIES OF THE SEYMOURS.

THOUGH the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots in supporting them against the invasions of

England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had crept into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had arisen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately on the demise of the late king; insomuch that had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged.* The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral, but gave umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The first symptoms, of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting by presents the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the

Jealousies
break out
between
Somerset
and his
brother.

Lord Sey-
mour mar-
ries the
queen dow-
ager.

Attempts to
gain favour
with the
king.

* In the articles of high treason and other misdemeanours preferred against him by the council, it is stated, the document being addressed to the admiral, that he had acted with great precipitancy, and yet with cautious duplicity. It says, "You married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that if she had conceived streight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession and quiet of the realm.—That you first

married the queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same; insomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you: and likewise procured the Lord Protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage: by which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known, but also it is to be feared, that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace."—*State Trials*.—Ed.

Seymour is
a mon-
ished, but
in vain.

affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise on Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous; and as he had acquired many partisans, he made a direct attack on his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject: the young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution, and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him; but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions; and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempt, he

Somerset
returns to
pursue his
brother's
intrigues.

The admiral
seeks to
become
governor to
the king.

would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England. The council sent for him to answer for his conduct, but he refused to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprise; and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor; and they even let fall some menaces of sending him to the tower for his temerity; and the admiral finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

He refuses
to attend
the council,
but is com-
pelled to
make sub-
mission to
his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen dowager, died in childbed;* but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation: he made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business and the pursuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair: but as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession,

The queen
dowager
dies.

Seymour
pays his
court to
the lady
Elizabeth.

* The queen dowager, there is reason to believe, was desperately enamoured of Seymour. While she was the widow of lord Latimer she owned she loved him, and had been, for a time at least, indifferent to the great elevation offered her by Henry. Their union was not a very happy one. From the Burghley papers it appears that, on her death-bed, she reminded him that he had given her "many shrewd taunts." "These words," says Lady Tyrwhit, who reports them, "I perceived she spoke with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore unquieted."

† A great degree of familiarity subsisted between the princess and Seymour. She resided with the queen; and the admiral would enter her bed-room, sometimes while she was in bed. He would then open the curtains and bid her good-morrow. Other freedoms are mentioned in the Burghley papers, which seem to justify the suspicion that the attentions of the admiral were fixed in a very marked

way on the princess. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess, writes, that Elizabeth had told him he loved her but too well, and had done so a good while, and that the queen was jealous. The writer adds "that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the admiral to the lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms. And hereupon the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." The queen dowager, though still handsome, might not unreasonably regard with displeasure the conduct of the admiral. From the portraits of Elizabeth in her youth, she seems to have possessed great attractions. Mrs. Ashley tells, that her husband had at divers times warned her that the lady Elizabeth seemed to bear some affection to Seymour, and "would blush when he was spoken of."—ED.

The admiral is suspected of entertain the most criminal designs.

He intends to form a mercenary army.

He prepares arms for ten thousand men.

The earl of Warwick seeks the ruin of both the Seymours.

if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack by presents the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: he endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: he found means of holding a private correspondence with him: he openly decried his brother's administration: and asserted, that by enlisting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people. By promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occasion, muster an army of ten thousand men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers: he had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sherington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not bewanting. Somerset was well apprised of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by entreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours on the admiral, to make him desist; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both.

TREACHERY OF THE EARL OF WARWICK.

Dudley earl of Warwick was the son of

* Before the battle, lord Huntley sent a challenge to Somerset, which the latter declined to accept, "being of such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to have so weighty a charge of so precious a jewel, the governance of a king's person, and thus the protection of all

that Dudley, minister to Henry VII. who, having by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority: and having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much ascribed to his courage and conduct;* and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: and as he found that lord Seymour, whose abilities he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on to the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

When Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower: some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries; yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluct-

his realms." Warwick, upon this, prayed to be allowed to accept it, and promised the trumpeter who had carried the challenge to Somerset a hundred crowns if he would bring it back to him. Somerset refused his consent.—ED.

Warwick is the son of the infamous Dudley, minister to Henry VII.

The victory at Pinkey is ascribed to Warwick's courage.

Somerset causes the admiral to be committed to the tower.

ance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country: but as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles, and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge would be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent, that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that, though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid on the merchants.

But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give

themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, November 4, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning Lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: there were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king, March 22, 1549, enjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce. The bill passed in a full house: near four hundred voted for it, not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill.* The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account

A new session is opened.

A bill of attainder is passed against the admiral.

He is beheaded.

* He is said to have died courageously. Latimer, who preached more than one sermon in which this catastrophe was mentioned, thought he died "dangerously, irksomely, and horribly." The preacher had himself been confined in the tower when Seymour was there; but he did not let undue kindness for a fellow-prisoner make him too tender of the reputation of the admiral. According to him, while in the tower, Seymour plucked an aiglet from his hose, which he contrived to use as a pen, with ink of his own making, and with these materials he wrote two letters to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, calling upon them to conspire against the king. When on

the point of submitting to the executioner, Latimer added, Seymour was heard to direct his servant "to speed a certain matter of which he wotted," and the servant being interrogated as to the meaning of his master's dying words, confessed that it had reference to the two papers which have been mentioned, and which were found sewed between the soles of a velvet shoe. From what he had heard of his former profligacy, and of one intrigue in particular with a woman who had eventually been hanged, Latimer said he had always looked to his coming to this end.—ED.

The admiral's attempts were principally levelled against his brother's authority.

of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious, enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones; for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.*

A committee of divines composed a liturgy.

All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: they retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: they indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations; and they flattered themselves that they had established a service, in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion: but as the reformers pretended to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to saints and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the

The liturgy is translated into English.

new liturgy. The parliament established this form of worship in the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies.

There was another material act which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiritual head, and less dependent on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this institution much forwarded by the principles of superstition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chastity so frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the establishment of celibacy, and even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests, yet confess in the preamble, 'that it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage; and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain.' The inconveniences which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament passed, forbidding the use of flesh-meat during Lent and other times of abstinence.

The principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England: but the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service, and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people. The great attachment of the late king to that

Uniformity is ordered to be observed in all the ceremonies of the church.

Priests are permitted to marry.

The doctrine of the real presence is not abandoned.

* The admiral left an infant daughter by Catherine Parr. She was then but six months old, and was placed under the care of the Duchess of Suffolk. Somerset engaged to make an annual provision for the desolate orphan; and the plate and furniture

belonging to her nursery was to be sent to her protectress. He meanly neglected to fulfil these engagements; but the child did not live long enough to be sensible of the cruelty of her uncle.—ED.

tenet might in part be the ground of this obstinacy ; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination : the priests were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power ; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loath to renounce so extraordinary, and as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it ; and the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, deprived of his see, and committed to custody.* Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations ; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority.† Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed in that age a necessary policy to enforce uniformity in public worship and discipline : but there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians ; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce

opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain that they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission, by act of council, was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible, to impose penance on them, and to give them absolution ; or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm ; and in the execution of this charge they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial ; the forms of law were dispensed with ; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin ; and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt : they were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression on her. Her doctrine was, 'that Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin, and consequently he could take none of it ; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh.' This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox ; and there was a necessity for deliver-

* Edmund Boner Bysshop of London, as in the tyme of kynge Henrie he was readie and wyllynge to disannull the Popes autoritee here in Englande, so at this tyme he was very earnest in the defence of all other articles pertainyng to the doctrine of the church of Rome, and therefore was deprived of his bishoprike and cast into the Marshalsey. After whome, Nicolas Ridley late Bisshoppe of Rochester was by the kynges autoritee translated to London.—*Laquetie*.—Ed.

† About the same time Stephane Gardinar bysshop of Wynchester was apprehended. He had sayde

that those thynges whiche the Protectour and others did in the kynges minoritee were of noe effect, and therefore the yere before was commanded to keepe his house. At this tyme he makynge a sermon before the kynge and the counsell, concernynge the kynges procedynges, he allowed the sacrament to be used in bothe kyndes, and divers other thynges, but upon examination of other matters uttered at the same time he was sent to the Tower, and there continued all kynge Edwardes reigne.—*Laquetie*.—Ed.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EDWARD VI.

1549.

DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE.—INSURRECTIONS.—CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—WITH FRANCE.—FACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOMERSET.—SOMERSET RESIGNS THE PROTECTORSHIP.—A PARLIAMENT.—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND, AND BOULOGNE SURRENDERED.—PERSECUTION OF GARDINER.—WARWICK CREATED DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—HIS AMBITION.—TRIAL OF SOMERSET.—HIS EXECUTION.—A PARLIAMENT.—A NEW PARLIAMENT.—SUCCESSION CHANGED.—THE KING'S SICKNESS.—HIS DEATH.

THERE is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with beneficial consequences ; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars ; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always residing in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces, and among their tenants ; afforded a ready market for commodities ; and were a sure resource to the poor ; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness,

Abuses are attended by some benefits.

Some good effects resulted from monastic institutions in England.

Joan is condemned to die.

Cranmer prevails on Edward to send her to the stake.

The princess Mary adheres to popery.

ing the woman to the flames for maintaining it ; but the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors ; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance ; and he said that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles' creed : these latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress ; as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes ; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate, at last committed her to the flames.* Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the fagots that were consuming him ;—a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age.

These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor, who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council.†

* Cranmer, it is right to say, though in favour of an example being made, took great pains to persuade Joan to save her life by recanting, but she would not listen to such advice, and was resolute to gain the crown of martyrdom.—ED.

† Mary appears to have been a firm, sincere catholic. While writing very humbly to the king, she declared herself ready, even to submit to martyrdom, rather than renounce her faith. In one of her letters she says, " If neither at my humble suit, nor for the

regard of the promise made to the emperor, your highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your majesty may be a judge herein yourself, and rightly understand their proceedings, (of which your goodness yet I despair not :) otherwise rather than to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled conscience."—ED.

Friars were less extortionate than other men.

The common people suffered from the transfer of church lands.

Estates are laid waste, and tenants expelled.

Pasturage increases to the prejudice of tillage.

The poor are obliged to do more additional toil.

The people suffer from the coin being debased.

yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressures of necessity. It is also observable, that as the friars were limited to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges: but when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

These grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession, which, of all mechanical employments, requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: whole estates were laid waste by enclosures: the tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of

the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his *Utopia*, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.*

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence. It was by an addition alone of toil they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at least the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to society, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion of their faculties.†

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued; the good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a

* "Because by the greedinesse of some, who have gotten into their hands much Cattell, and many Farmes, which they have turned from Tillage to Pasture (especially for Sheep): old rents are Rayseed, prices of things Inhanced, and so, much Poverty and Theft ensued; It was Enacted, that no Man should have in his own or Farmed lands, above 2000 Sheep (yet that every Temporall Person may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no Man shall take and hold above two Farmes at once, and those to be in the same Parish; upon certain Penalties there set down."—*Herbert*.—Ed.

† A remarkable law passed: "The Statute of Richard the Third, permitting free importation of all kind of Bookes, was Repealed. And (for the benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted, that no Book-seller should buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any stranger, but by engrosse. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raised above reason, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treasurer, the chiefe Justice of either Bench, or any two of them shall moderate the same, upon a certain Penalty."—*Herbert*.—Ed.

Great evils arise from the coinage of base metal.

Recent enclosures are ordered to be thrown open.

The common people claim immediate redress.

Serious riots break out, but are suppressed.

Religion is made a pretext for insurrection.

universal diffidence and stagnation took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning enclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late enclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise and to commit disorders; but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, with an unlimited power, to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatised it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton: many of the rioters were killed in the field; others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against enclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priests of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made the insurrec-

tion immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russell had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he began to negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. The council, to whom Russell transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon on their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining; but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusers under Battista Spinola; he then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution on them both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried, and executed: many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law.* The vicar

A rebel army is formed in Devonshire.

Restoration of the mass, and resumption of abbey-lands demolished.

The rebels march against Exeter.

They are defeated, and many of them executed.

* The citizens of Exeter appear to have defended themselves with extraordinary resolution, till they "were fain to eat their horses and make bread of coarse bran," moulded in cloaths for that, otherwise, it would not cleave together. Sir William

Kingston was active on this occasion. Baker writes, "The sedition being thus suppressed, it is memorable what sport Sir William Kingston, the Provost Marshal made, by virtue of his office, upon men in misery. One Boyer, Mayor of Bodmin in Cornwall,

A priest is
hanged on
the top of
his steeple.

of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against enclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions: they required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them; and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Mousehold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and, summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation.* The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him, but met with a repulse in an action where lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: he therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his

Ket, a tanner, heads the insurrection in Norfolk.

The earl of Warwick marches against him

had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the mayor made great provision. A little before dinner, the provost took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore requested to have a pair of gallows set up against dinner should be done. The mayor failed not of his charge. Presently after dinner the provost taking the mayor by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the gallows was; which when he beheld, he asked the mayor if he thought them to be strong enough. Yes, (said the mayor), doubtless they are. Well then, (said the provost), get you up speedily, for they are intended for you. I hope, (answered the mayor), you mean not as you speak. In faith, (said the provost), there is no remedy, for you have been a busy rebel. And so without respite or defence he was hanged to death: a most uncourteous part for a guest to offer his host. Near the said place dwelt a miller, who had been a busie actor in that rebellion: who, fearing the approach of the marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the mil-

lateral enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick, having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack on them, and put them to flight: two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector.

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword: he straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last impracticable to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots

Ket is
defeated.

He is
hanged at
Norwich
castle.

The English
at Haddington
are hard pressed
by the
Scots.

ler, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the miller, and had been so for three years before. So the provost came and called for the miller; when out comes the servant, and saith, he was the man. The provost demanded how long he had kept the mill. These three years, answered the servant. Then the provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next tree. At this the fellow cried out, that he was not the miller, but the miller's man. Nay, sir, (said the provost), I will take you at your word, and if thou beest the miller, thou art a busy knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave; and howsoever, thou canst never do thy master better service than to hang for him. And so without more ado he was dispatched."—ED.

* Under the branches of the oak, Ket pretended to establish the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas. He had some regard for fair play; and allowed those a hearing from the oak who chose to speak against the insurrection. Aldrich, mayor of Norwich, did this more than once; and several ministers of religion gave exhortations from the "tree of reformation."—ED.

It is found impracticable to supply the garrison with provisions.

and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: the place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: and as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwick; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

France attempts to recover Boulogne.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he assembled an army; and falling suddenly on the Boulonnais, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprise Boulenbourg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable, destroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris: he left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; but they all proved unsuccessful.

The result is a failure.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in the account of the event.

The protector seeks an alliance with the emperor.

As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident

ambassador, in this negotiation: but that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome: he therefore declined the advances of friendship from England. An exact account is preserved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward, was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England.

Charles desires to be known as the champion of the catholic religion.

The prerogatives of English kings are said to be greater than those of French kings.

Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not complete the marriage contracted with Edward: and as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years in the execution of the treaty: but when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

The emperor aims at concluding a peace.

FACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL.

AFTER Somerset obtained the patent investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of

The duke of Somerset is arrogant and overbearing.

the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought in every thing to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. Warwick covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deserve that appellation: and this attempt seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his

conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: the great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expense of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand, served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure. Not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult, and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's churchyard, with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people, was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones, being carried away, were buried in unconsecrated ground.*

CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOMERSET.

ALL these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house [October 6th]; and assuming the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote

* The steeple, and most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield, was mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones applied to this spacious building: and more than this, the cloyster of Paul's, on the north side of the church, in a place called *Pardon* church yard, and the dance of death very curiously wrought about the cloyster,

and a chappel that stood in the midst of the churchyard, also the charnel-house, that stood on the south side of Paul's, (now a carpenter's yard) with the chappel, timber and monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury Fields, and the stone converted into this building.—*Baker*.—Ed.

The execution of his brother creates a feeling against Somerset.

He builds a palace in the Strand.

He lays a sacrilegious hand on ancient edifices.

The other members of the council set against him.

The arrogance of Somerset is greater than his capacity.

He affects popularity.

Many of the lower ranks are hostile to the protector.

The council require the lord mayor and aldermen to obey their orders.

letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset: they laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority: secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them; the common council of the city declared their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them.

SOMERSET RESIGNS THE PRO-TECTORSHIP.

As soon as the protector heard of the defection of the counsellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies: but finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and tower had declared against him, and even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply for pardon. No sooner was this despondency known, than lord Russell, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neuter, joined the party of Warwick, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public by proclamation of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that

Somerset carries the king to Windsor.

His friends generally desert him.

The council indict their conduct to the king.

they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption, as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence; and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with; Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him: he was, however, sent to the tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was in some degree involved in the very idea of regal authority.

The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion: but Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all those points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high-

Somerset is charged with usurpation.

He is sent to the tower.

Warwick supports the reformation.

The earl of
Sonthampton dies.

A new
council of
regency is
formed.

Somerset
confesses
his fault on
his knees
before the
council.

He is re-
mitted into
the council.

spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russell was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the see of London. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal: but such niceties were during that age little understood, and still less regarded, in England.

A PARLIAMENT.

A SESSION of parliament was held [Nov. 4.] and the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him [Dec. 23.]; and he imputed these misdemeanours to his own rashness, not to any malignity of intention: he even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther: his fine was remitted by the king: he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humble, readmitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley,

with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

During this session a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, that if any, twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about enclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: and attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church: from which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had everywhere received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church; but others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament for the present contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament: such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sherington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent, that he had become a very honest man.

A severe
law is
passed
against
riots.

The bishops
complain of
the encroachment
of the civil
courts.

Commissioners
are appointed
to compile
a body of
canon
laws.

Sir John
Sherington
joins
themselves
zealous re-
formers.

PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

WHEN Warwick and the council of re-

The council of regency is involved in great difficulties

Negotiations opened with France.

A marriage is projected between Edward and a French princess.

gency began to exercise their power [1550], they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the channel of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following [March 24th]. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the English stipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eyemouth. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled; but this project never took effect.

PERSECUTION OF GARDINER.

THE intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of

the protestants, was nowise acceptable to that party in England: but in all other respects the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any colour of law or justice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate in a sermon the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, secretary Petre, and some others of the council were now sent, in order to try his temper; and endeavoured to find some grounds for depriving him. He professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or desired: a new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: he was likewise to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays, was part of the prerogative; that the book of common prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the law of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles

The proposed French marriage is disapproved by the reformers.

Gardiner is proceeded against.

He is required to make concessions;

and recognise the full authority of the king during his minority.

except the first: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed.

The council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties on him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. They demanded a promise that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner, who saw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: his books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages.

Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: but the council, unwilling to make use of a concession, which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution, which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not

stop here. Day bishop of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Vesey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience: even Kitchen of Llandaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in everything, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers.

These plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher. Many of these books were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding; those of literature were condemned as useless; those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: they were in danger of losing their own revenue; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other

Other prelates are treated with favour.

The reformers destroy monasteries and other books.

The princess Mary totally adheres to the ancient faith.

She is remonstrated with by the council.

Mary declares herself ready to suffer martyrdom.

The emperor interferes in her behalf.

The king laments her obstinacy.

The protestants are at this time united.

ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause; and as for protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities if liberty of conscience were refused her: but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to comply, they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: and when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant sects was popery, or, more properly speaking, the papists; these they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partisans by fire and sword: they had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of such furious quarrels. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement:

John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, settled at Embden in East Friesland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious, useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendent and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies.

These differences among the protestants were matters of triumph to the catholics, who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood, and must be carried away by every kind of doctrine: the continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted: the speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery; but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts: they even found leisure to attend to the public interest, nay, to the commerce of the

Lutheran divines seek a refuge in England.

Differences among protestants afford the catholics a triumph.

The eternity of hell torments is strongly asserted.

Religious zeal does not cause the council to lose sight of their temporal interests.

nation. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hans-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III., had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Still-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom: and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper to seek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation; privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburg, and other Hans-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants* had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company:

but when aliens' duty was also imposed on all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.

About the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c., he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger. The bullion sent over by Sweden set the mint to work: good specie was coined, and much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled:—a circumstance, which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

But all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not content with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained partisans who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share he had in the Yorkshire insurrection, the title was extinct, and the estate vested in the crown. Warwick procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the

A spirit of industry is communicated in the kingdom.

Warwick's ambition, therefore, grew into orders.

He obtains Sir Thomas Percy's estate.

* From a work of great historical research, it appears that the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, was in favour of the adoption of the salutary measure here mentioned. In a letter from him to the duke of Northumberland, dated Antwerp, April 16. 1553, preserved in the State Paper office, we find him arguing against suffering any more being "maid fre of this company,"—the merchants of the Steel yard, and at the same time he insists on the necessity of an apprenticeship to the merchant's vocation. He says, "So, and please yor grace, how ys yt possibell that ayther a mynsterell-player, or a shoye-[shoe] macker, or anny craftye men, or any other that haythe not bynne browght vppe in the syence, to have the pssent vndstonding of the feat of the Marchaunt Adventorer? To the wyche syence I myselfe

was bound prentisse viii yeres, to come by the experyence and knowledge that I have. Nevertheless. I need not to have bynne prentisse, for that I was free by my Father's coppie; albeit my Father Sir Richard Gresham being a wyse man, knew, although I was free by his coppie, it was to no purpos, except I were bound prentisse to the same; whereby to come by the experience and knowledge of all kynds of merchandise. So that by this ytt maye apere vnto yor grace, thes men that be maid fre by this new hansse, for lacke of experyence and knowledge, haythe bynne and ys one of the cheffyst occasions of the fall of the xchange, as also hayth browght or comodittes owght of reputacion, and the mchaunts of the same."—*Burgon's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham.*—Ed.

He becomes
duke of
Northum-
berland.

north; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland: his friend Paulet lord St. John, the treasurer, was created first earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

He aims at
ruining
Somerset.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partisans, as steps only to farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends of that unhappy nobleman: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger: sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned. His treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: they revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested; and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

Treacherous
confidants be-
tray the
protector.

Somerset,
his duchess,
and others,
are suddenly
arrested.

In one night [Oct. 16.] the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and committed to custody: next day, the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy on Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens

d'armes on a muster day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

They are
accused of
treasonable
designs.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward: twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy counsellors.

Somerset is
brought to
trial.

We have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: but it appears that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had usually been employed in like cases. The witnesses were at least examined by the privy council [Dec. 1.]; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity), their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof seems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: the intention alone of assaulting the privy counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords,* but had not formed any resolution on that

He admits
having
planned the
murder of
Northum-
berland and
others.

* He had contemplated asking them to a banquet, and if they came with a bare company, to be set

upon by the way; if strongly, their heads were to be cut off at the place of feasting.—*State Trials*.—Ed.

head: and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last, the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on tower hill [Jan. 22, 1552.], amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained to the last moments the fond hopes of his pardon.* Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, con-

demned, and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was on some pretence tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds, with the loss of his office: to mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shown to Somerset.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held [Jan. 23.] in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation: the new liturgy was authorised; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship. To use the mass had already been prohibited under severe penalties; so that the reformers, it appears, whatever scope they had given to their own private judgment in disputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were resolved not to allow the same privilege to others; and the practice, nay, the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time equally unknown to all sects and parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A law was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money. This act was the remains of ancient superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in

Lord Paget
is fined six
thousand
pounds.

Lord chan-
cellor Rich
is compelled
to resign.

The re-
formers
prove
intolerant.

Taking in-
terest on
money is
prohibited.

* Dr. Cox, who was there present to counsel and advise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God; which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind, (as it appeared) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower and others, taking them all by the hands that were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money. Which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the hangman coming unto him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, where his only hope remained, and

covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, shewing no manner or token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks. Thus this most meek and gentle duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, "Lord Jesu, save me!" As he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life!—*State Trials.*—Ed.

the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at this time fourteen per cent.*

A new bill is framed to prevent treason.

A bill was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of state, they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice; but the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whosoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the thirty-fifth of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure: for the second, should incur a *præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted for treason: but if any one should unadvisedly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions which threw

A law enacted which is very severe against slander by writing, printing, &c.

on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented: it was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons sent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

It was almost impossible to avoid offending the new law.

The commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself; that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity: but the members of that house trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

Two witnesses are required to prove treason.

The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor;† but the commons, not choosing that a money-bill should begin in the

The peers pass a bill to provide for the poor.

* The work already quoted affords proof that such interest was not thought enormous; in "a letter which the council sent to Thomas Gresham at Antwerp, from Westminster, on the 24th of February, 1551-2, their lordships notice with approbation that he had secured a loan from Lazarus Tucker of £10,000 for six months, on interest at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum." The council further instruct the English agent, that "it shall be well done to take the x m li. [£10,000] upon the interest of vii li. in the hundred for vi months; and with parte thereof, make up that which shall be lacking of the dett which must be paid the last of this month: which lack, we think resteth about iiij m li. [£4000] and so shall vi m li. [£6000] remaine; out of the which the Schetz may have one thousand pounds, which the King giveth them, and so shall remain v m li. [£5000.]" Except that Mr. Hoby shall have neede to have some piece for his necessities, the which may be lent to him. And then that v m pounds [5000] may remaine well toward the paiement of xiv m pounds [14,000] which shall be due the last of Aprill.—*Burton's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*.—ED.

† From a petition prepared some time before by Sir Richard Gresham, father of Sir Thomas, the poor seem to have been in a deplorable condition, caused, as he would make it appear, by the rapacity of those

devoted to religion. He being then lord mayor, wished some provision to be made for unhappy persons who could not keep themselves in time of sickness. He thus expresses himself:—"So it is, most gracious Lorde, that nere, and withyn the Cytie of London, be iij Hospytalls, or Spytells, commonly called seynt Maryes spytell, seynt Barthilmewes spytell, and seynt Thomas spytell; and the new abbey of Tower-Hyll, founded of good devocion by auncient Faders, and endowed with great possessions and rents, onley for the releffe, comforte, and helpinge of the pore and impotent people, not beyng able to helpe theymselfes; and not to the mayntenance of Chanons, Preests, and Monks, to lyve in pleasure, nothyng regardyng the miserable people lying in every strete, offendyng every clene person passyng by the way, with theyre fylthy and nasty savours. Wherefore may it please your marcifull goodness, (enclyned to pytie and compassion,) for the releffe of Crysts very images, created to his own similitude, to order by your high authoritie, as supreme hed of this Chyrche of England, or otherwise by your sage discrecion, that your Mayer of your Cytie of London, and his brethren the aldermen for the time beyng, shall and may from henssforth have the order, disposicion, rule, and governaunce, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenewes apperteynyng and belongyng to the said Hospitalls, or any of

The commons frame a new one for the same object, which is passed.

The bishops are empowered to proceed against those who neglect Sundays and holidays.

Bishop Tonsal is distinguished by moderation and probity.

He is imprisoned.

upper house, framed a new act to the same purpose. By this act, the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers entrusted to the prelates seem as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers.

There was another occasion, in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops: they empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays. But these were unguarded concessions: the general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them. Many clergymen about this time were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or tailors, and some kept ale-houses: the bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tonsal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of the age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, and beneficence. He had opposed all innovations in religion: but as soon as they were enacted, he had always conformed to every theological system established: his known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of

theym; and of the minister swich be, or shal be withyn any of them. And then your Grace shall facille perceyve, that where now a small nombre of Chanons, Preests, and Monkes be founde, for theyr own proffitt onely, and not, for the common utilitie of the Realme; a great nombre of pore, nedy,

Durham, and of acquiring a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonsal of his bishopric: a bill of attainder, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic; and of Cranmer, who always bore a sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham: but when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonsal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

This equity, so unusual, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partisans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures: they were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected, though it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament [April 15], which had sitten during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one.

A NEW PARLIAMENT.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives.

sykke, and indigent persones shal be refresshed, maynteyned, and comforted, and also healed and cured of theyr infirmities, frankly and freely, by Physicians, Surgeons, and Potycaries."—*Burton's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*.—Ed.

A bill of attainder is proposed against Tonsal, which is rejected.

He was saved by the influence of Somerset's faction.

A new parliament is called.

The king writes circular letters on the subject of the elections.

The electors are required to choose those who may be recommended by the privy-council.

Members are recommended to certain counties.

This interference on the part of the crown is patiently submitted to.

The see of Durham is divided.

After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words:—‘And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, on our behalf, recommend within their jurisdictions, men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel.’ Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire, Sir William Fitz-Williams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire, Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *conge d’elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transcribed to posterity.

[March 1, 1553.] The parliament answered Northumberland’s expectations. As Tostal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenues assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make a rich plunder of the revenue, as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant.

The commons gave the ministry ano-

other mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained; they granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, ‘for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion.’

DECLINE OF THE KING’S HEALTH.

THE debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France four hundred thousand crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, had been converted to the king’s use: yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds; and great dilapidations were made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: but as his health was declining, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward’s approaching end.

SUCCESSION CHANGED.

THAT nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both been declared illegitimate by parliament; and though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were the king’s sisters by the half blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: that the queen

The commons grant new supplies.

The debts of the crown are at this time considerable.

Edward’s health declines.

Northumberland persuades Edward that his sisters are illegitimate.

The queen of Scots is said to have lost her right of inheritance.

Northumberland points to Lady Jane Gray as the next heir to the crown.

Edward is induced to exclude Mary and Elizabeth from the accession.

of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and, being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: * that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and, above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne: and though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk

by a second wife having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred on him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by further alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke: he also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnised with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

The marquis of Dorset is made duke of Suffolk.

Northumberland forms new family alliances.

EDWARD'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

EDWARD had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having recovered, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The king is indisposed.

The Dudleys are regarded with suspicion.

* The Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII., who became the consort of Lewis XII., and im-

mediately after that monarch's decease, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.—Ed.

Northumberland pursues his ambitious projects.

His views are favoured by Edward.

His projected settlement is deemed treasonable by the judges.

It causes great alteration.

The languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: he pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare; and by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey, and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required: the council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said that he would

in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority.

The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors: he desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges should draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown, and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent; the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand [June 21]. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the king: Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription: and thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk; for the duchess herself was content to give place to her daughters.*

After this settlement was made, with so

Northumberland offers to fight in the cause of lady Jane Gray.

A patent to secure her succession is prepared.

Mary and Elizabeth are set aside.

* One point of the duke's policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the lady Mary

might raise after the king's decease, if she should be at liberty, he therefore, seeing the king drawing on,

The king's health continued slowly to decline.

Edward was

He was a prince of great capacity.

He was educated, but unable.

many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign [July 6].*

All the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice: he seems only to have contracted from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, a narrow prepossession of matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution: but as the bigotry of protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.†

used all means possible to get her within his power; to which end letters were directed to her in the king's name from the council, willing her forthwith to repair to the king, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his person. Whereupon the lady, suspecting nothing, addressed herself with all speed to the journey, till being upon the way, she was advertised of the duke's design, and thus she returned to her house at Hovesden, and so escaped the snare."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

* His last moments, happier than those of his father, are thus described:—"The hour before his death, he was overheard to pray thus by himself, 'O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake, if it be thy will, send me life and health, that I

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MARY.

1553.

INTRIGUES OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN.—SHE IS DESERTED, AND THE QUEEN ACKNOWLEDGED.—NORTHUMBERLAND EXECUTED.—CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED.—A PARLIAMENT.—DELIBERATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE.—QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP ADJUSTED.—WYAT'S INSURRECTION.—EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GRAY.—A PARLIAMENT.—PHILIP'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

INTRIGUES OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE title of the princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by the lady Jane's partisans were unheard of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognised by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that

Mary's title to the crown is not objected to by the nation.

may truly serve thee. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England, and defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for thy son Jesus Christ's sake.' So turning his face, and seeing some one by him, he said, 'I thought you had not been so nigh.' 'Yes,' said Dr. Owen, 'we heard you speak to yourself.' 'Then,' said the king, 'I was praying to God; O, I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me and receive my spirit;' and in so saying, he gave up the ghost."—*Baker*.—*Ed*.

† The establishment of Christ's Hospital and several other benevolent institutions, the metropolis owes to this youthful monarch. Many improvements were effected in the course of this brief reign. Among them, it may be mentioned, a high-road was made to Kilburn, by Sir Rowland Hill, lord mayor of London.—*Ed*.

The declaration of parliament against Henry's first marriage is disregarded.

The Dudleys are hated.

A civil war is dreaded by the nation.

The council requires the attendance of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth.

their issue ought to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence of Henry ; but as that monarch had been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had long been familiarised to these sentiments : during all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor ; and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred entertained against the Dudleys, who men foresaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light ; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty, by which that project had been conducted ; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it ; they were moved to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprises. The miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

LADY JANE GRAY IS RAISED TO THE THRONE.

NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king ; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had engaged the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring

* The princess Elizabeth, who had received a like invitation, was warned of the danger in time, it has been surmised, by Sir William Cecil.

† In reply to this communication, "The lords answered, that for what they did they had good warrant, not only by king Edward's last will, but by the laws of the land, and considering her mother's divorce and her own illegitimation, and therefore required her to submit herself to queen Jane, being now her sovereign. This letter was written from the Tower of

their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required their counsel and the consolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival ; but Northumberland kept the king's death still secret ; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddesdon, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her.* She immediately made haste to retire ; and she arrived, by quick journies, first at Kenninghall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk, where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person : and she despatched a message to the council, by which she notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a secret, promised them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.†

LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther dissimulation was fruitless. He went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility ; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions ; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and ac-

London, under the hands of these that follow :— Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury ; Thomas Ely, chancellor ; William, marquis of Winchester ; John, earl of Bedford ; Henry, duke of Suffolk ; Francis, earl of Shrewsbury ; John, duke of Northumberland ; William, earl of Pembroke ; Thomas, Lord Darcy, lord chamberlain ; Cobham, Rich, Huntingdon, Cheney, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Clerk, Mason, Edward North, and Robert Bowes."—*Baker*.—Ed.

They are invited to assist the king.

Mary calls on the gentry to support her claims.

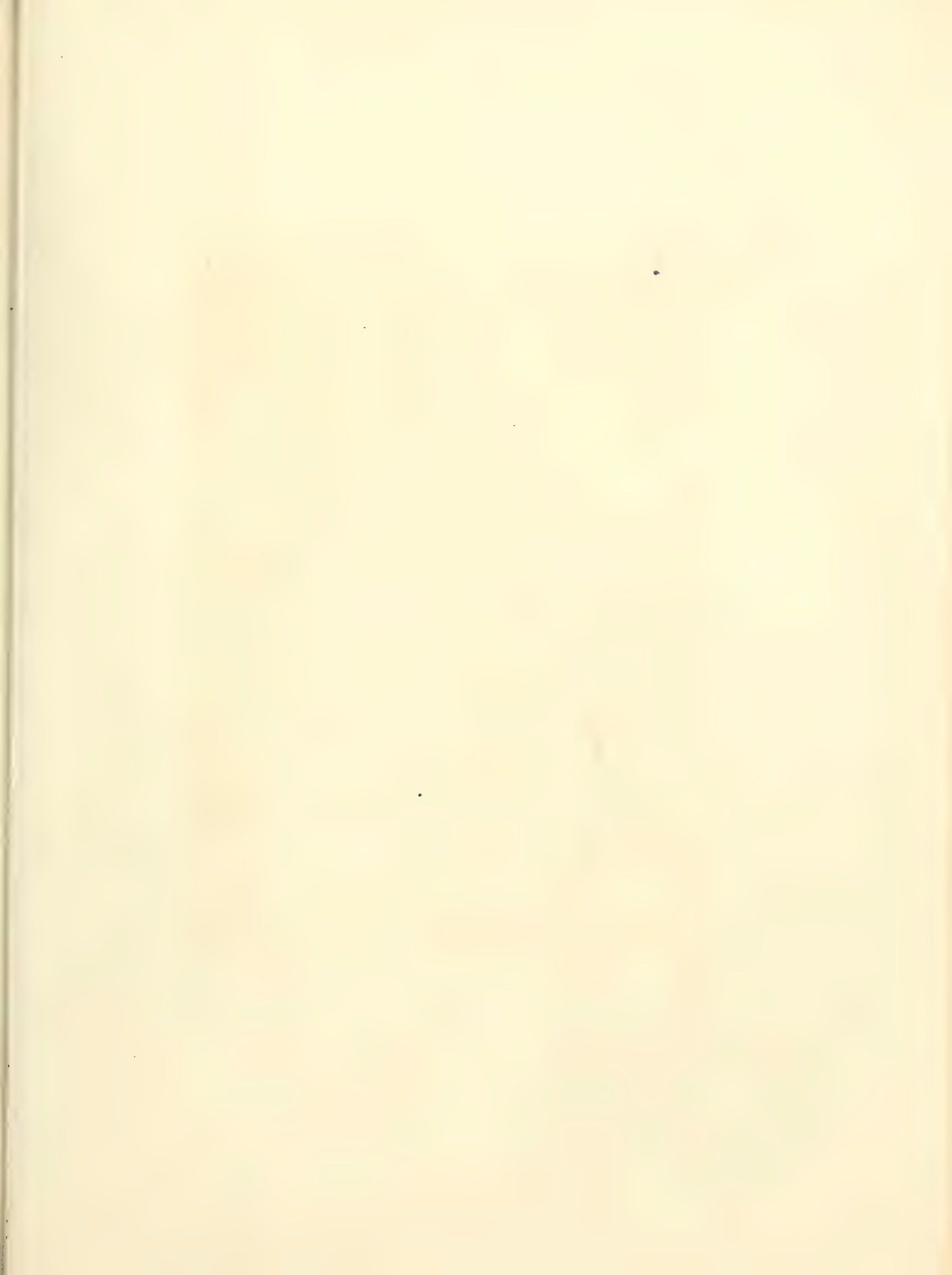
Lady Jane Gray is treated as the sovereign.

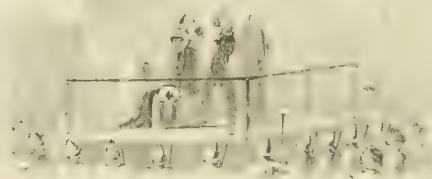


LADY JANE GREY

OR 1554

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON





Jane had
been edu-
cated with
the late
king.

She is pas-
sionately
fond of
learning.

She refuses
the throne.

She reluc-
tantly suf-
fers herself
to be pro-
claimed
queen.

complished parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition. She even refused to accept of the throne; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous; and desired to remain in the private station in which she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties, rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and of her husband, she was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by these means became in reality prisoners in the hands of Northumberland. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence. The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince

the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect on his audience.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion; but when she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements: the earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet, which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for that princess.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and sent Suffolk to command the army: but the counsellors, who wished to remove him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended

The people
attend her
with con-
fidence.

The nobility
and gentry
bring reinforcements
to Mary.

Mary's
fleet joins
her army.

Jane's
counsellors
warn her
of the danger
to which
she is exposed.

Northumberland notes the indifference of the people.

on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment; and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. 'Many,' said he to lord Gray, 'come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, God speed you!'

QUEEN MARY IS RECEIVED AS THE TRUE SOVEREIGN.

He writes to the council for a reinforcement.

THE duke had no sooner reached St. Edmundsbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement. They left the tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled in Baynard's castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his tyranny. Arundel began the conference by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprise which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed that the only method of making atonement was by a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. This motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts: even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain

In his absence the council proclaim Mary queen.

* He, "On the fourteenth of July, set forward on the journey with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, and passing through Shoreditch" made the remark preserved above.—ED.

† This ambitious nobleman, "being then at Bury, and seeing how the world went, thought it his best

pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her: and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction.† The people everywhere, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment; and the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of one thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

NORTHUMBERLAND IS EXECUTED.

THE queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel who arrested him, and abjectly begged his life: at the same time were committed the earl of Warwick his eldest son, lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley: but Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them: Suffolk recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity; but the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial,

The lady Jane returns to a private life.

Mary enters London in triumph.

Northumberland falls on his knees before his enemy Arundel.

Northumberland is arrested and brought to trial.

course to turn with the stream, and thereupon returning to Cambridge he took the mayor of the town with him into the market-place, and then himself, for want of a herald, proclaimed the lady Mary queen, and in sign of joy threw up his cap."—Baker.—ED.

Orders
given under
the great
seal of an
usurper, are
said to
have no au-
thority.

Northum-
berland is
executed.

Lady Jane
Gray and
her husband
committed
and con-
demned.

he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal; and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges. Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under the sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury, he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution [Aug. 22], he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors; whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition; or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family.* Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

When Mary first arrived in the tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attain-

der; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, implored her clemency and protection. They were restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his ancestors, without giving any offence, had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation.† Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in close confinement, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years which he lived. Besides performing all those popular acts, which were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions; and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

The joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the sovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated concerning the state of religion: and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority: and that princess, being educated with her mother, had

Gardiner,
Tunstall
and Bonner
were restor-
ed.

A general
pardon is
granted,
with some
exceptions.

The princi-
ples of
queen Mary
create
alarm in the
nation.

* It was thought that he had some hopes of being spared up to the last moment. Baker writes, "He said the Psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, the *Pater noster*, and six of the first verses of the Psalm *In te domine speravi*, ending with this verse, 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;' and this said, he looked about him as looking for a pardon, but none coming, he laid his head down upon the block and had it stricken off."—Ed.

† "Being come to Wanstead, in Essex, on the thirtieth of July, the lady Elizabeth, her sister, with a train of a thousand horse, rode from her place in the Strand to meet her. On the third of August the queen rode through London to the tower, where,

at her entrance, were presented to her, Thomas duke of Norfolk, Edward lord Courteney, Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, and the duchess of Somerset, who all kneeling down, she kissed them and said, 'These be my prisoners;' and caused them presently to be set at liberty. The next day she restored the lord Courteney to the marquissate of Exeter, and the same day also, she not only restored Stephen Gardiner to his bishoprick of Winchester, but a few days after made him chancellor of England; Yet this was the man that had subscribed to her mother's divorce, and had written books against the lawfulness of her marriage."—Baker.—Ed.

Mary is bigoted, ignorant, and obstinate.

imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence she believed all the misfortunes of her family had sprung. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation therefore had great reason to dread the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere she discovered her intentions.

CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED.

Tonstal, Bonner, and other bishops are reinstated.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonsal, Day, Heath, and Vessey were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonsal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license; and it was easy to foresee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate archbishop of York, Coverdale bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whether old Latimer also was sent soon after: the zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such cruelty, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were browbeaten, because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: one in particular was sent to the pillory, because he

Judge Hales kills himself.

had been peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion; and though the queen still promised, in a public declaration, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The queen's promises of toleration are deemed valueless.

PERSECUTION IS COMMENCED.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her: but the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is replete with many horrid blasphemies. On the publication of his inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which

Cranmer the object of Mary's hatred.

He publishes a manifesto.

He condemns the mass as blasphemous.

He is found guilty of high treason.

he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.*

Peter Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw; and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: but as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. John à Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom, with his congregation; the greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures; several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformation.

Religious persecution is commenced.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble [Oct. 5]. There still remained such numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs;

Protestants fly to foreign parts.

* Though acquitted on the charge of high treason, he was accused of heresy, and sent back to the

and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, little opposition was expected from that quarter.

In the opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery would never be revived.

The two houses are opened with a mass.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate; ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon; and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account: no mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: a step, which eluded in a great measure the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

The laws against treason and felony are made less severe.

The divorce of Henry VIII. and Catharines annulled.

Clauses of the riot act are revived.

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE BECOMES THE SUBJECT OF DEBATE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the

tower. He solicited an interview with Mary, which was refused.—Ed.

Mary's marriage is considered by parliament.

The earl of Devonshire is proposed to the queen as her future husband.

He prefers Elizabeth to the queen.

Mary is displeased with Elizabeth.

Cardinal Pole is proposed to Mary.

two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles ; and her choice of a husband was of such importance to national interest, that they were determined not to submit tamely in that respect to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation ; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections ; and hints were dropped him of her favour towards him ; but that nobleman neglected these overtures, and seemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. This choice occasioned a great coldness in Mary towards Devonshire, and made her break out in a declared animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen ; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catharine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry ; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disguising her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance : but when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her resentment no longer knew any bounds ; and the princess was exposed to the greatest danger.

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priests' orders, was another party proposed to the queen ; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity ; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III. ; the queen's affection for the countess of Salis-

bury, his mother, who had once been her governess ; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion ; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary : but the cardinal was now in the decline of life ; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business. The queen therefore dropped all thoughts of that alliance : but she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels ; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III., of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see ; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office.

These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V., who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations ; and from the same principle he met with that opposition, which overthrew his grandeur and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes ; and suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter ; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties, that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which ensured

A matrimonial union with him is declined.

Mary seeks to reconcile England to Rome.

She is inclined to seek a husband in the family of the emperor.

Charles V. is attacked by the protestant princes of Germany.

Charles in-
vades
France, but
with little
success.

the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz, with an army of one hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprise in person, and seemed determined at all hazards to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe; but the duke of Guise, who defended Metz with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries much dejected with that reverse, which in his declining years had so fatally overtaken him.

He is
greatly af-
fected by a
reverse of
fortune.

No sooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore,* sent an agent to signify his intentions to Mary; who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget gave their advice for the match; and Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time, he represented both to her and the emperor the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion till the completion of the marriage. He observed that the parliament had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed determined to

He proposes
to his
son to
marry
Mary.

Bishop
Gardiner
favours the
project.

grant no farther concessions in favour of the catholic religion: that though they might make a sacrifice of some speculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of some rights which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: that the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine of the catholic church: that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general insurrection: that the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: and that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their ancient laws and privileges.

Gardiner
recom-
mends
great care
to
Mary in
regard to
the catholic
religion.

It is
found
that
the
marriage
is
planned.

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negotiation for the marriage proceeded; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance;

The intend-
ed union of
Philip and
Mary be-
comes gene-
rally
known.

* Who himself had been affianced to her many years before.—ED.

A committee of the commons remonstrates with the queen.

and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament [Dec. 6].

A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit: and they fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Christ had in his last supper held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: the Romanists maintained, that their champions had clearly the better day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the same place during the reign of Edward.

1554.—After the parliament and convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in most places by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were still more openly put in execution: the mass was everywhere re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been asserted by some writers that,

three-fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings; though other historians, more accurate, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. A visitation was appointed, to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites: among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice. It is to be observed that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII., which were still in force.

Many of the protestant clergy are deprived of their livings.

WYAT'S INSURRECTION.

THIS violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which many individuals were exposed: but the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen's issue should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor [Jan. 15].

The protestants are greatly discontented.

The treaty of marriage is prepared and made favourable for England.

It is signed by the emperor's ambassadors.

A contest between the Romanists and reformers, in which both claim the victory.

The discussion is renewed at Oxford.

The mass is re-established.

the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no serious intention of observing them: that the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, sullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: that England would become a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependant dominions: that the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burden of Spanish tyranny, and throughout all the new conquests in America, there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: that the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly be introduced into England: and that the divided sentiments of the people would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude.

These complaints being diffused everywhere, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority: but the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him; and the more prudent part of the nobility thought that as the evils of the Spanish alliance were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons believed that it would be safer to prevent than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas

Wyat purposed to raise Kent; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's impatience or apprehension engaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the day appointed: he was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest lay; but he was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and being discovered, he was carried prisoner to London. Wyat was at first more successful in his attempt; and, having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent against the queen's evil counsellors and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret; and he came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their headquarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to desert; but having secretly gained Bret, these two malcontents so wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deserted to Wyat, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city.

After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wyat was encouraged to proceed.* He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that she should put the tower into his hands, should deliver four counsellors as

An extensive conspiracy is formed.

Sir Thomas Wyat appears in arms.

A body of Londoners sent against the rebels, who were to them.

Wyat advances towards London.

* Wyat was anxious to avoid giving offence, and forbade his followers to pillage. But a body of men so irregularly collected together, and so little dis-

ciplined, could not refrain from many excesses. The bishop of Winchester's house in Southwark was wantonly plundered. Not only did the rioters feast

He communicates with the queen from Southwark.

Wyat approaches London.

He is secured, condemned, and executed.

The princess Elizabeth is harshly treated.

hostages, and, to ensure the liberty of the nation, immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men ; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him.* He had imprudently wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost ; though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkely [Feb. 6.]. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion : four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks ; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were dismissed : Wyat was condemned and executed. As it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister ; and many studied instances of disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countess of Lenox and the duchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate : her friends were discountenanced : and while her virtues drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the oppor-

tunity of this rebellion ; and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined : but the public declaration made by Wyat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered ; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy ; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fothering-castle.

She is committed to the tower.

She is liberated, but again confined at Woodstock.

LADY JANE GRAY AND HER HUSBAND ARE PUT TO DEATH.

BUT this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband : the duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her ; and though the rebels seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death ; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered no wise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation ; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded during that time to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane

The late rebellion proves fatal to others.

Lady Jane Gray is warned to prepare for her death.

on the wines and provisions which it contained, but they destroyed his valuable library, so that, according to Stow, men might have walked "up to their knees in leaves of books."—Ed.

* London bridge secured against him, the next bridge to it was that of Kingston. On his arrival there, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of February, he found that thirty feet of the bridge had been

broken down, and a body of armed men opposed his further progress. They offered but a feeble resistance, and retreated before his guns, and by eleven o'clock at night, he succeeded in getting the bridge so far restored that his troops could proceed, and he immediately marched for London, but made some unnecessary pauses by the way.—Ed.



Engraved by J. Rogers

She ably
defended her
faith.

Lord Guil-
ford is
denied a
parting in-
terview by
lady Jane.

It is so ordered
that they
shall not
die
together.

Guilford
is be-
headed.

Lady Jane
Guilford
is be-
headed.

She made
a speech
to the by-standers.

had presence of mind, not only to defend her religion, by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance.* On the day of her execution [Feb. 12.], her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent; and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them. Their separation, she said, would only be for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes could no longer disturb their eternal felicity.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the same scaffold at tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the tower. She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of

her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate: she even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a memorial of her: she gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least, and her imprudence were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would shew her favour. On the scaffold she made a speech to the by-standers; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She said that her offence was not the having laid her hand on the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy: that she had less erred through ambition

* It is impossible not to admire the strength of mind displayed by the interesting sufferer, on the occasion adverted to in the text, in an interview which she had with Dr. Fecknam; who, two days before her execution, visited her in prison to instruct her in the true faith. The lady, in the conference, produced most cogent arguments in favour of the belief she professed, which were supported with great aptness of quotation. Speaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, their conversation ran thus:

Feck.—In that sacrament do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane.—I think that at the supper I receive neither flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in mind how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross.

Feck.—Why, doth not Christ speak these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" require you any plainer words? doth he not say it is his body?

Jane.—I grant he saith so; and so he saith, "I am the vine," "I am the door," but he is never the more for that the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, "He calleth things that are not as though they were?" God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ, for then, either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross: and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies; or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

* * * * *

But I pray you to answer me this question, where was Christ when he said, "Take eat, this is my body;" was he not at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he but bread? what brake he but bread? and what gave he but bread? look, what he took he brake; and look, what he brake he gave; and look, what he gave they did eat, and all this while he himself was alive, and at supper, before his disciples, or else they were deceived.—*State Trials.*—Ed.

Lady Jane blames herself for not rejecting the crown with firmness.

She owns the justice of her sentence.

than through reverence to her parents: that she willingly received death as the only satisfaction which she could now make to the injured state; and though her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she should show, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous to atone for that disobedience: that she had justly deserved this punishment, for being made the unwilling instrument of the ambition of others: and that the story of her life, she hoped, might be useful, by proving that innocence excuses not great misdeeds, if they tend to the destruction of the commonwealth. After uttering these words, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women; and with a

steady serene countenance submitted herself to the executioner.*

The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed soon after; and would have met with more compassion, had not his temerity been the cause of his daughter's untimely end.† Lord Thomas Gray lost his life for the same crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no satisfactory evidence against him, he was able to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was so enraged at the disappointment, that, instead of releasing him as the law required, she committed him to the tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her resent-

She calmly submits to the executioner.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, acquitted by a jury, is imprisoned by the queen.

* The calmness and fortitude of the youthful victim could not be surpassed. "Kneeling down she said the *Miserere* in English, after which she stood up, and gave her women, Mrs. Elizabeth Tilney, and Mrs. Helen, her gloves and her handkerchief; and to the lieutenant of the Tower, whom Heylin calls sir John Gage, but Holinshed, Bridges, her prayer-book. When she untied her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she desired him to let her alone; and turning to her women they undressed, and gave her a handkerchief to bind about her eyes. The executioner kneeling desired her pardon; to which she answered 'most willingly.' He desired her to stand upon the straw, which bringing her within sight of the block, she said, I pray dispatch me quickly; adding presently after, Will you take it off before I lay me down? the executioner said, No madam: upon this, the handkerchief being bound close over her eyes, she began to feel for the block, to which she was guided by one of the spectators; when she felt it she stretched herself forward and said, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, and immediately, at one stroke, her head was divided from her body."—*State Trials*—Ed.

† In connexion with the melancholy end of this nobleman, we find a remarkable instance of the queen's zeal or bigotry, which forced a catholic minister to interrupt the last moments of a dying protestant. "On Friday the 23rd of Feb. 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London, unto the scaffold on the Tower-hill, with a great company, &c. and in his coming thither, there accompanied him doctor Weston as his ghostly father, notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke. For when the duke went up to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pleased to go up with him. The duke with his hand, put him down again off the stairs: and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.—Then Weston said that it was the queen's

pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said: 'Masters, I have offended the queen, and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul.' And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying that the queen had forgiven him. Then Dr. Weston declared with a loud voice that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers by said with meetly good and audible voice: Such forgiveness God send thee, meaning Dr. Weston. Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus* unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the Psalm, he said, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf to the executioner. Then the executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou doest thine office I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy to thee. Then stood there a man and said, My lord how shall I do for the money that you do owe me? and the duke said, Alas good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, 'Our Father which art in heaven, &c.' unto the end. And then he said, Christ have mercy upon me, and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it up to the people, &c."—*Fore*.—Ed.

A jury is
fined by the
privy coun-
cil.

ment stopped not here: the jury, being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them one thousand pounds, others two thousand pounds apiece. This violence proved fatal to several; among others, to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation had made the objects of her suspicion: and finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles.

A PARLIAMENT.

THOUGH the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble [April 5]. The emperor, to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less than four hundred thousand crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members:—a pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England: and not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of choosing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to

invest the queen by law with a power of appointing a successor:—a power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII.

The parliament was much disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were in such danger, they could not be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: they remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's sister; and they thence concluded that a design was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: they expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England forever a province to the Spanish monarchy: and they were the more alarmed, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: they would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared,—‘that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as a tenant by courtesy of the realm or by any other means.

Such pro-
ceedings he
justifies by
precedent.

Parliament
hopes that
Philip will
not be
made a
Spanish
province.

It declares
against any
title to
govern
England
being given
to Philip.

Mary is an
object of
universal
hatred.

Bribes are
given
by the em-
peror to
English
members of
parliament.

Gardiner
calls on the
parliament
to enable
the queen to
appoint her
successor.

The bishopric of Durham, dissolved in the time of Edward VI., is re-established.

Parliament is dissolved.

The queen is impatient for the completion of her marriage.

A law passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. The queen had, by an exertion of her power, put Tonsal in possession of that see: but though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: but none of these laws could pass the two houses:—a proof that the parliament had reserves, even in their concessions with regard to religion, about which they seem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them [May 5.]

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This princess, who had lived so many years without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so smitten with affection for her young consort, whom she had never seen, that she waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her fondness was but the more increased by this supercilious treatment; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event to which she directed her fondest wishes, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron,

under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then resided; but the admiral informing her that the discontents ran very high among the seamen, and that it was not very safe for Philip to entrust himself in their hands, she gave orders to dismiss them. She then dreaded lest the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband, and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension, lest her person, impaired by time and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

Mary finds seamen disaffected and hostile to Philip.

Her health fails from disappointment; her person is impaired.

ARRIVAL AND MARRIAGE OF PHILIP.

At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton [July 19].* A few days after, they were married at Westminster;† and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained: he was distant and reserved; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so intrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible: but this rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her

Philip arrives, and is united to Mary.

He is disliked by the English.

* We are told by Sir William Monson that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their topsails as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas:—a very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times.

† They were both proclaimed by these titles:—

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Habsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."—Ed.

The queen
is restless
and jealous.

husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

A new
parliament
is sum-
moned.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of securing his affections was to render him master of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She summoned a new parliament;* and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was in a great measure to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament [Nov. 12.], the title of 'supreme head of the church,' though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole had

Mary aban-
dons the
title of
supreme
head of the
church.

arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing his attainder; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see.† This message was taken in good part, and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted: the legate gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius III., being informed of these transactions, said that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what

Cardinal
Pole re-
turns as the
pope's
legate.

England is
reconciled
to the
apostolic
see.

Pope Julius
III. exults
in the
event.

* The preceding parliament had been dissolved on the 5th of May. During its session, we are told by bishop Burnet, "An act passed which seemed of an odd nature, and had a great secret under it. The speaker of the commons brought in a bill, declaring that whereas the queen had of right succeeded to the crown, but because all the laws of England had been made by kings, and declared the prerogative to be in the king's person; from thence, some might pretend that the queen had no right to them; it was declared to have been the law, that these prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether in the hands of male or female; and whatsoever the law did limit and appoint for the king was of right also due to the queen, who is declared to have as much right as any of her progenitors." Many of the commons wondered what was the intention of such a law and authority; and as people were at this time full of jealousy, one Skinner, a member of the house, said he could not imagine why such a frivolous law was desired, since the thing was without dispute; and that which was pretended of satisfying the people was too slight: he was afraid there was a trick in these words, 'That the queen had as great an authority as any of her

progenitors;' on which perhaps it might be afterwards said, she had the same power as William the Conqueror exercised in seizing the lands of the English and giving them to strangers. Freedom of speech and constitutional jealousy were here exercised and manifested not in vain. The bill was modified.—ED.

† On this occasion Pole enlarged on the vast affection Rome had for England. When introduced to the parliament, Mary and Philip being under the canopy, and the cardinal on their right hand, he explained the causes of his coming; and in the course of his harangue, described England to be especially favoured by the pope above all others. "For as stories testify, it was, 'Prima provinciarum quæ amplexur est fidem Christi.' The Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm, notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors, and even princes, did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally, and not in parts as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment."—ED.

Care of
their money
and estates
for the
most part
occupies
the gentry.

They
decline to
restore
church
lands.

They are
secured to
their pre-
sent owners
by law.

The clergy
are depress-
ed.

he ought to give them thanks for performing.

Notwithstanding the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates. They were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into, and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors: but not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also were induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared that notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment: for though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised; and which had required many

ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind.

SEVERE LAWS ARE PASSED BY PARLIAMENT.

THE parliament, having secured their own possessions, revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics, which had been rejected in the former parliament: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen.* Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them entirely lost all regard to national interests: their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation: all attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: the usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom seemed to have given place to like passions against Spain. Philip endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction, lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court: but nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure

The old
laws
against
heresy are
revived.

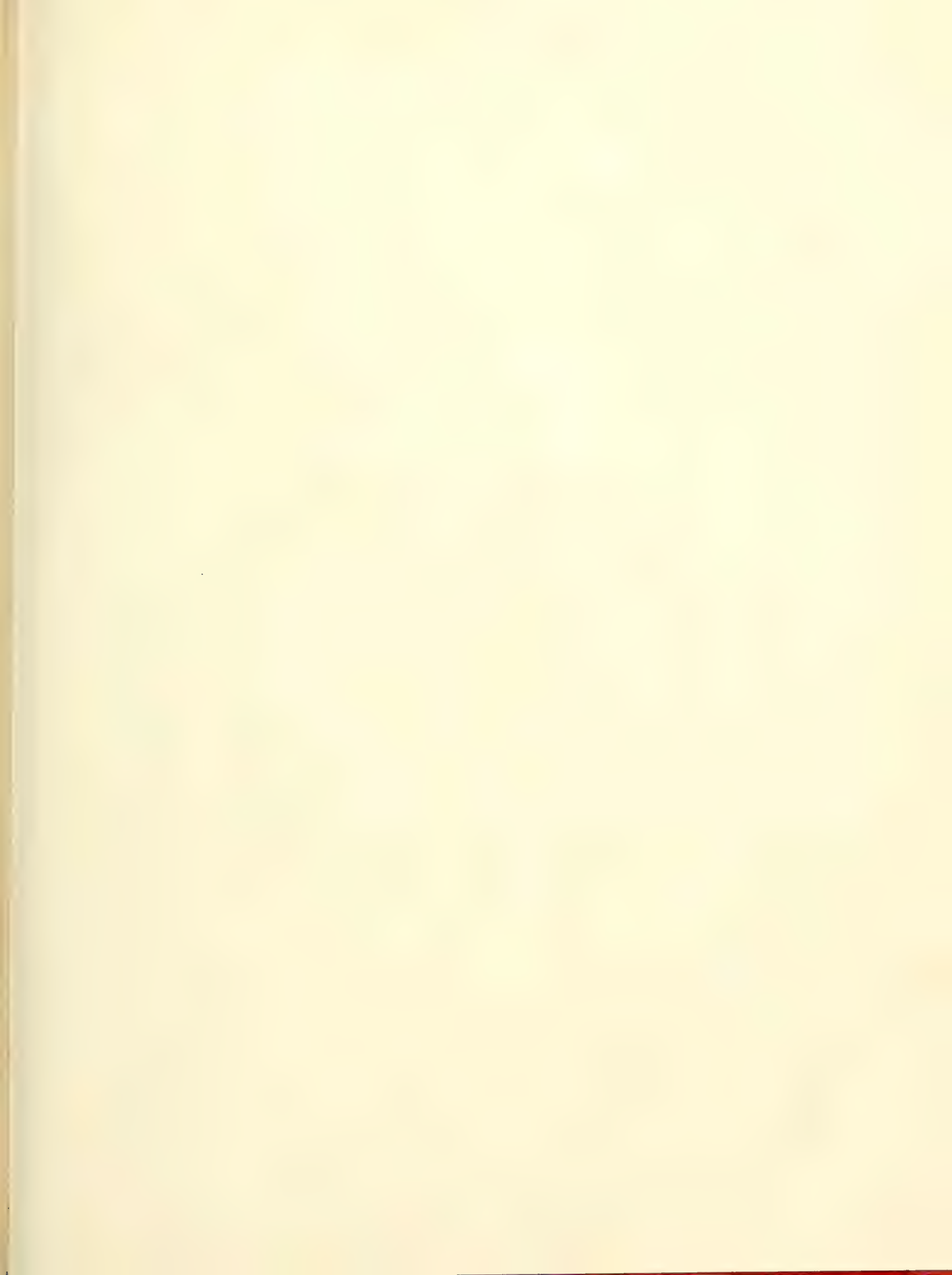
Philip is re-
jected as
heir to the
crown by
parliament.

He aims at
gaining
popularity.

He protects
the lady
Elizabeth
from the
malice of
the queen.

* It was the fashion in this reign to inveigh against the cruel laws which had passed in the time of Henry VIII. "Some of the zealous speakers were of the queen's privy counsel, and others were lawyers, who, by this, their forwardness, were made soon after of her learned counsel. They inveighed against them as cruel and bloody laws; they termed them Draco's laws, which were written in blood.

Some said they were more intolerable than any laws that Dionysius or any other tyrant ever made." "As many men," says Strype, "so many bitter names and invectives were bestowed on these laws. Inso-much that one would have thought this reign would have been more tender of men's lives than any before it."—ED.





EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1550.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Philip is moved by policy and not by humanity.

was not the effect of generosity but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: but that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire, of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen is supposed to be pregnant.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Her flatterers compared this motion to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. Despatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event; * orders were issued to give public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already settled; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers, he said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty: but the nation still remained somewhat

Rejoicings are made and prayers offered on the occasion.

* There is in the State Paper office the form of a letter, announcing the safe delivery of the queen, with a space left for the insertion of the word prince or princess. —Ed.

† The belief that the queen was likely to become a mother, and the rumours founded on it, gave rise to some stirring scenes both abroad and at home. Gresham writes thus to the lords of the council on the 4th of May, 1555:—"It maye please your most honorable Lordships to be advertised that as the iind of this present, here came newes along the seas by men of this country, that the Queene's Majesty was brought a-bed of a yonge Prynce, the last of Aprill; whiche newes contynewed here till the iiiith day. And as the thyrde day, the Regent, being in this town of Antwerpe, about 7 of the clocke at night dyd cause the great bell to ringe, to give all men to understand that the newes was trewe. Signifying unto your honnors, that as the iind day, upon the arryvall of the Quene's highness' mere merchants, according to their most boundyd dewtye, caussyd all our Inglish ships to shoote off with such

incredulous; persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children: Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom.† The parliament passed a law, which in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no farther concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved them. [Jan. 16, 1555.]

She proves to be affected with dropsy.

There happened an incident which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but unable to prevent them, made a secession in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend: for this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's bench after the dissolution of parliament. Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and indeed by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's ministers must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in question by

Several members of parliament seceded.

They are indicted for seceding.

The secession is not regarded as a breach of privilege.

joy and triumph as by man's art and pollisey could be devised, in the presence of the Regent, with all her nobils and gentilwomen. Whereupon the Regent presently sent our Inglish maroners one hundred crownes to dryncke." "All the court," says Grafton, "was full of midwives, nurses, and rockers; and this talk continued almost half a year, and was affirmed true by some of her physicians, and other persons about her; which seemed both grave and credible. Insomuch that divers were punished for saying the contrary." On the 3rd of May, the Bishop of Norwich received "the sodeine good newes of the Quene's Highnes moost joyfull deliverance of a nooble Prince: whereupon, to laude God, *Te Deum* was solemnly sung in the Cathedrall Church, and other places of the cytye [of Norwich], wyth wonderfull joye and muche gladness of all people thoroughoute all the whole cytye and the cuntrye thereaboutes." "The parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate," says Foxe, "after procession, and *Te Deum* sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child; how faire, how beautiful, and how

Several members are imprisoned.

any house of commons which afterwards sat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambassador, says, that the queen threw several members into prison for their freedom of speech.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MARY.

1555.

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST TOLERATION.—VIOLENT PERSECUTIONS.—A PARLIAMENT.—THE QUEEN'S EXTORTIONS.—THE EMPEROR RESIGNS HIS CROWN.—EXECUTION OF CRANMER.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—BATTLE OF ST. QUINTIN.—CALAIS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.—AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN AND THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.—A PARLIAMENT.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.—MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN.

GARDINER OPPOSES TOLERATION; POLE FAVOURS IT.

THE successs which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, (two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme aversion) had so raised his character, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority no longer suffered any opposition or control. Cardinal Pole, though more beloved on account of

his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth, had not equal weight; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots. Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with such important interests: Gardiner had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shown, that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each side supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons employed with regard to

The expediency of enforcing the laws against heretics is debated.

Cardinal Pole is opposed to Gardiner.

Pole wishes to be lenient to heretics; Gardiner advocates severity.

Bishop Gardiner gains great power as a minister.

great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen."—*Burgon*.—ED.

* At the beginning of this year, (1544), a miller's son named William Featherstone, imposed upon the credulity of some countrymen, by pretending to be king Edward VI., and alleging that he had been preserved by supernatural power, or miraculous accident. The pseudo-prince was arrested at Eltham in Kent, and examined before the privy council at Eltham, when his answers clearly proving him to be of unsound mind, he was ordered to be imprisoned in the Marshalsea as a lunatic. By way of example, however, he was paraded round the city in a cart,

with a paper on his person, whereon was inscribed the nature of his offence. The poor idiot was then taken to Westminster, and publicly exhibited in the Hall, after which he was uncartered, stripped, and cruelly flogged at the cart's tail; this punishment was repeated from Westminster to Smithfield, and Featherstone was then sent to the north, his native neighbourhood. Still he could not divest himself of the crotchet that king Edward was living; and having propagated the report that he had conversed with the youthful monarch, he was re-taken and executed at Tyburn in 1545, his body being afterwards quartered.—ED.

Pole's supporters
condemn
theological
animosity.

an argument, that ever has been and ever will be so much canvassed.

The practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to these sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt rather than anger the opposition and mistakes and of others: but while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience, which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled scope to vengeance: but surely never enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution on policy; or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions which of all others are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity so fondly sought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate

Persecution
for heresy
animates
in defective
faith.

To found
persecution
on policy is
most absurd.

Uniformity
in religion
can only be
obtained
by banishing
all
curiosity.

to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics; it also renders men so delicate, that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life: a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alleged for endeavouring, by capital punishments, to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual: and serves only to make men more obstinate, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: the prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: the glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines; and the spectators, moved with pity towards the martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles, which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man, who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of

Constraint
depresses
and en-
fables the
mind.

Opposed to
an attempt
which the
people have
out in
violence.

Heresy
cannot be
put down
by laws
but by
violence.

Toleration
subdues
acrimony.

It is only a new faith that can at once be eradicated.

Liberty of conscience is supposed to be founded on impiety.

Severity may save the children of heretics.

To ensure public tranquillity one sect must prevail.

toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, no wise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily at one blow be eradicated: but as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

Though these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtilty of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to silence. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety; and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing with certainty the dictates of Heaven from mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison under the shape of food to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear so universally certain in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magistrate left, but to take part; and, by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the

public tranquillity? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regarded it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, they enacted very severe punishments against the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from their profane rites and sacraments: nor are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva; Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake; and if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, serve only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance; but the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

MARY AND PHILIP APPROVE OF GARDINER'S VIEWS.

THE arguments of Gardiner being more agreeable to Mary and Philip, were better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed,* the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law not to exercise violence, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to extirpate heresy, had reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment;—the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since

The prince it is urged ought not to remain neutral.

The protestants regard the ancient religion as impious.

The fiercest persecutions, if any, supposed to be preferable.

It is resolved to pursue with severity the reformed religion.

* It is not likely however, that Charles gave any such advice; for he himself was at this very time

proceeding with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Flanders.

rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation ; and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

BURNINGS OF PROTESTANTS.

Persecution
is com-
menced.

Gardiner
attacks
men of high
character.

Rogers,
prebendary
of St. Paul's,
is burned in
Smithfield.

Hooper,
bishop of
Gloucester,
is next per-
secuted.

He refuses
to suffer.

Hooper
is sent
to the
stake.

Sanders and
Taylor are
martyred.

THE persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Pauls, a man eminent for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom he hoped terror would bend to submission ; and whose example would naturally have influence on the multitude : but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, besides the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance : he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children ; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died ; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife ; thus joining insult to cruelty.* Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.†

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers ; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock ; but it was a source

of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid on it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation : but he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity. The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body : the fagots were green, and did not kindle easily : all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked : one of his hands dropped off ; with the other he continued to beat his breast : he was heard to pray and to exhort the people ; till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders was burned at Coventry : a pardon was also offered him ; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, ' Welcome the cross of Christ ! welcome, everlasting life ! ' Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English : one of his guards struck him in the mouth, and bade him speak Latin : another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halberd, which happily put an end to his torments.‡

* This heartless mockery was the more abominable from the known versatility of the insincere Gardiner.—ED.

† The history of martyrdom presents few scenes more striking than those witnessed in Smithfield on the day of his death. There were seen his wife and children, ten, (according to some writers eleven,) in number, one an infant at the breast, assembled to behold their husband and father reduced to ashes. Sad as the spectacle must have been to them, they are described by the French ambassador to have consoled him, while the acclamations of an admiring crowd gave the undaunted Rogers such support in the awful moment, that he might well exclaim, " Oh death where is thy sting ! " and we are told that " he looked as if they were conducting him to a merry marriage."—ED.

‡ This brave old man ought not to be slightly

passed over. He was burned on the same day that Hooper suffered. He was rector of that place ; and when, on Mary's accession, a time-serving brother rector, tried to curry favour with the new queen, by celebrating mass in Hadleigh Church, Taylor openly opposed him, saying, " I command thee, thou popish wolf, to avoid hence." On appearing before commissioners, who sat in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, he told his hypocritical judge, Gardiner, some stinging truths, and asked that mean persecutor, " If he, during twenty years, had not been in the habit of praying against the pope ? "—" I was forced by cruelty ; " was the prelate's answer. " And will you now use like cruelty towards others ? " demanded Taylor. Before he could be sent to the stake it was necessary to depose or degrade him from the rank he held in the church. Bonner went to his prison to perform the ceremony, part of which

Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, spits in the face of an Arian.

Philpot is burned in Smithfield.

Bishop Bonner whips and tortures prisoners.

There was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, inflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face to show the great detestation which he entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: he said, that he was led to it in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that in all religions except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom, who would not also inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

The crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply on him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

consisted in striking the destined victim on the breast. The bishop was on the point of doing this with his crozier, when his chaplain gave him a timely caution, that if Taylor received a blow he would return it. "Aye, by St. Peter will I," cried the unyielding prisoner, "the cause is that of Christ, and I were no good christian if I declined to fight in my Saviour's quarrel." This noble-minded sufferer was the ancestor of the celebrated Jeremy Taylor.—ED.

* Gardiner seems to have manifested great alacrity in the cause of burning. "It is memorable that the

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practised in England during three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

Ferrar, bishop of St. Davids, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion,—'Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished.' The executioners had been so merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures. The explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames.*

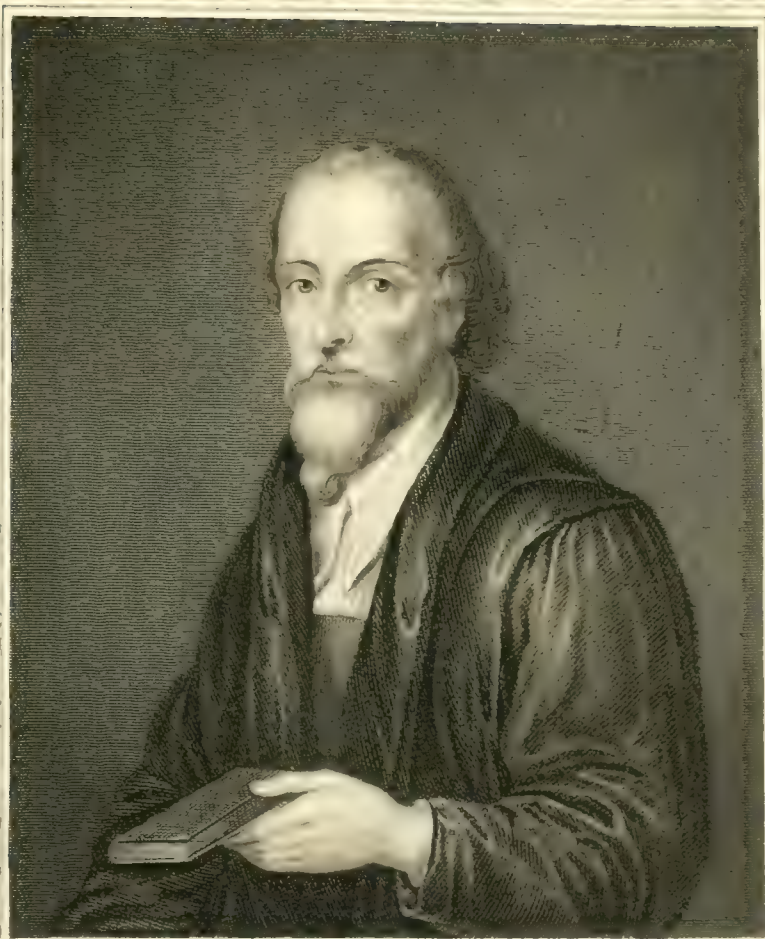
One Hunter, a young man of nineteen,

same day in which Bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer suffered at Oxford, he would not go to dinner till four o'clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of Norfolk was come to dine with him: the reason was because he would first hear of their being burnt; and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, 'Now let us go to dinner;' where sitting down and eating merrily, upon a sudden he fell into such extremity that he was fain to be taken from the table and carried to his bed."—Baker. He suffered much agony, and died fifteen days afterwards.—ED.

Such persecutions were continued during three years.

Ridley and Latimer are burnt.

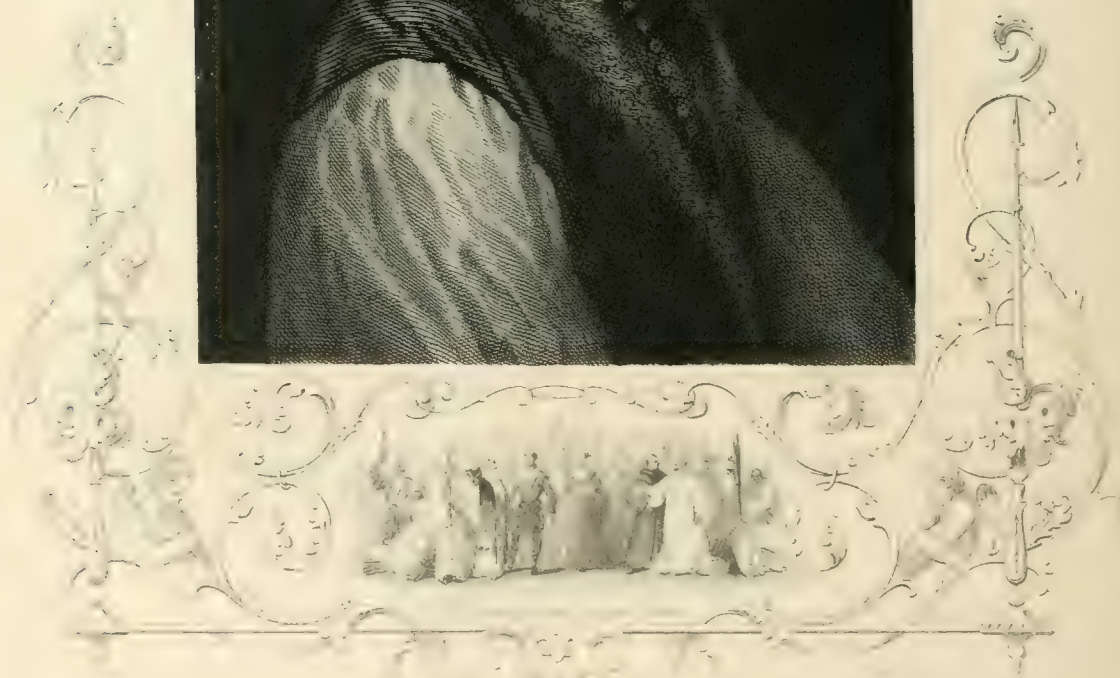
Other victims suffer.



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON

OR 1555

THE REVEREND HENRY RIDLEY D.D.



Bonner exercises new severities.

an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Hawkes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

The tender sex, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution was attended with circumstances, which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate who stood by ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

MARTYRDOMS PRODUCE NEW CONVERTS.

THE persons condemned to these punishments were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, on their refusal, condemned to the flames. These instances of barbarity excited horror; the

The persons condemned are seized merely on suspicion.

constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious among them, and allow the hypocrites to escape: each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery. Repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar: but the court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy: twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms:—'That since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and

The constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration.

The constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration.

Philip is hated by the people.

Philip is hated by the people.

The readers of heretical books are sought for.

to search after all heresies; the bringers-in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service; that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws; giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they would invent for the searching of the premises; empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after.' Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

THE TORTURE IS USED TO EX-TORT CONFESSION.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North and others, enjoining them to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion.' Secret spies also were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, 'that they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more, at their discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise the king's or queen's proceedings, or make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news: and also that the same persons shall declare to the same justices of peace the ill behaviour of lewd, disordered persons, whether it shall be for using un-

lawful games, and such other light behaviour of such persons; and that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused; and that the same justices shall punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing.' In some respects this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition, by introducing into every part of government the same iniquities which that tribunal practises for the extirpation of heresy only, and which are in some measure necessary wherever that end is earnestly pursued.

But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, 'that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels, and without any farther delay be executed by martial law.' From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet it is much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from

Light behaviour is severely visited.

In some cases the oppression of the inquisition is exceeded.

The possessors of seditious or heretical books are subjected to martial law.

Two hundred and seventy-seven persons are burnt in three years

The practices of the inquisition are adopted

Persons who report seditious news are punished.

Fifty thousand persons are hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt.

An embassy is sent to Rome.

Paul IV. effects to give Ireland to Mary.

He abates his pretensions.

the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable: yet in both countries the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such considerable profit: yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Antony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. Paul IV., after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: but to avoid all dispute, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom; and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a usual artifice of the popes; to give allowance to what they could not prevent, and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy: and though Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would confer it on her, he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner.

THE RESTORATION OF ALL THE CHURCH PROPERTY IS DEMANDED BY THE POPE.

ANOTHER point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was

* It has been stated that they caused a great increase of crime. Many persons above the lower class appear to have become violaters of the law;

not so easily terminated. Paul insisted that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the utmost farthing: that whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a present of the ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power; and the people might be certain, that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema on them: that they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. These earnest remonstrances, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England. These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time. The great seal was given to Heath, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the persecutions against the reformed.

A PARLIAMENT.

THESE persecutions were now become extremely odious;* and the effects of the pub-

and a son of lord Sandys was executed for robbery.—ED.

Paul claims all church property.

He demands restoration of the ecclesiastical privileges.

The queen gives her consent.

Bishop Gardiner dies.

Persecution causes manifestations of general discontent.

A new parliament is summoned.

lic discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster [Oct. 21]. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches on it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of the peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

It proves unaccommodating, and is dissolved.

THE QUEEN'S EXTORTIONS.

THE spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was in very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over to the emperor in Flanders. The neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated; and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and

Signs of coldness are shown by Philip, who withdraws to Flanders.

Mary seeks in vain to gain from him any mark of tenderness.

scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds on one thousand persons, of whose compliance she held herself best assured: but that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expenses, and dismiss their servants, to comply with her demands: and as those servants, having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied sixty thousand marks on seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted thirty-six thousand pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands, an expedient, which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of forty thousand pounds, she dissembled her resentment till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: she then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thousand pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of twenty thousand pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above forty thousand pieces of cloth for the Levant,

She extorts money from the people.

Mary raises a loan for her husband.

The export of English cloth is prohibited.

She extorts money from the English at Antwerp.

She inter-
feres with
the Italian
merchants.

for which they were to pay her a crown apiece, the usual imposition. She struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that though she offered fourteen per cent to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, she could not obtain it till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her. All these violent expedients were employed while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money, but to supply the demands of a husband, who showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

She bor-
rows more
money for
Philip.

CHARLES V. RESIGNS HIS EMPIRE TO PHILIP.

PHILIP was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness, which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war and the projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries [Oct. 25.]; and, seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation; absolved them from all oaths of allegiance; and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed on him. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he

Philip be-
comes mas-
ter of the
most ex-
tensive
dominions
in Europe.

Charles V.
resigns his
empire to
his son
Philip.

found that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object, which meets with less opposition; and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

1556.—A few months after, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura; which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos, he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment gave him a sensible concern: he pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, restrained even his curiosity from any inquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. Then fencing against the pains and infirmities under which he laboured, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been so much agitated, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines, and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had so much em-

The vanity
of empire
he discovers
is the source
of endless
disappoint-
ment.

Charles re-
sides in a
monastery.

Philip
proves un-
grateful to
his father.

Charles is
thought to
incline to
the reforma-
ers.

Charles
dies in
retirement.

played himself during his grandeur; and how impossible, that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat two years.

The pope
claims the
right of
appointing
a new em-
peror.

The emperor Charles had very early in his reign found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans, with a view to his inheriting the imperial dignity as well as his German dominions: but having afterwards formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused; and pretended, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected; yet, in case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet. So saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs; for he was now past four-score years of age.

All kings
he declares
to be
his sub-
jects.

The world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V., a prince

who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection; and a priest who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and, from restless ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animosity against the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by his solicitations to break it, and promised to assist him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy. He himself engaged in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and Guise being sent with forces to support him, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies. For this reason, as well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that without sacrificing his honour it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he hoped that the devoted fondness, which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity; much more if war were kindled with France, and, what seemed an inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom.

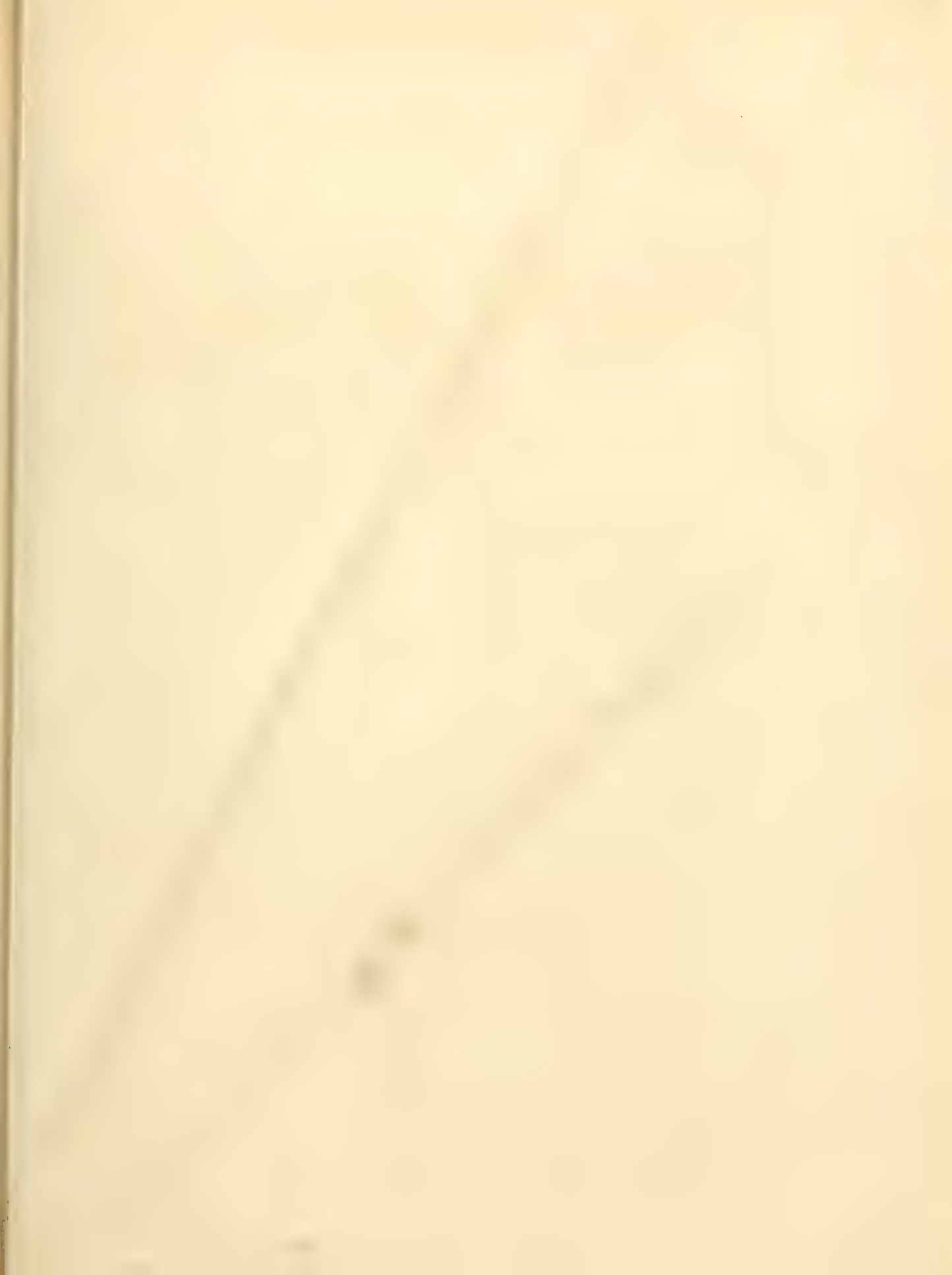
Charles
resigns
empire in
the vigour
of life.

Paul, in
extreme old
age, claims
universal
dominion

He engages
in hosti-
lities with
Alva.

Philip pre-
pares for
war with
France.

Mary's
government
is more
than ever
odious.





RECANTATION AND MARTYRDOM OF CRANMER.

An act of barbarity was this year exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner, but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, on his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner Bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned; prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, in an unguarded hour, he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in the church, before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution [March 21]. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design,

or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprised of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear without resistance whatever hardships they should impose on him: that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak the truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish by a base denial the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death had alone extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven; and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness or even feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, 'This hand has offended.'* Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings; and by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that

Cranmer makes a contrary declaration.

His countenance is wholly withdrawn.

He is committed to the flames.

* Bitterly and sincerely as he repented his past misconduct, with respect to his apostacy, he seems to have felt no touch of remorse for the unworthy part

he had acted in urging a tender-hearted youth, to doom a more consistent enthusiast to the horrible punishment, which was reserved for himself.—Ed.

Cranmer's heart is found unburned by the fire.

after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants.* He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party.

Cardinal Pole becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

After Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England: but though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the most laudable expedient for that purpose; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious persecutor and his personal enemy, he was prompted to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

Mary wishes to engage in a war with France.

THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, zealously opposed this measure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London to support his partisans [1557]; and he told the queen,

Ministers oppose the queen's wish for a rupture with France.

that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprising Scarborough; and a confession being extorted from them that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

Philip declares he will never revisit England if their opposition is persisted in.

War is declared against France.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government, and must prove unequal to the expenses of war: but though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from all her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and, in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with sixty thousand pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearth of pro-

Great financial embarrassments are experienced.

The queen raises money by arbitrary means.

† This incident, however, was purely commonplace. In numerous cases of burning, the heart of

the sufferer has been found unconsumed, where the rest of the body has been reduced to ashes.—ED.



visions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

BATTLE OF ST. QUINTIN.

THE king of Spain had assembled an army, which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age: the constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Marienburg and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, he expected in a few days to become master of it: but admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gens d'armes; and animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He despatched a messenger to his uncle Montmorency, desiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, to facilitate the entry of these succours [Aug. 10]: but the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution on them, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to a total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: among the latter was the old constable himself, who fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded

by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; Paris was attempted to be fortified; and had the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands: but Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions: a very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprise; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled; couriers were sent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy; and the French having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprise: he broke up his camp, and retired to winter quarters.

CALAIS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

BUT the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him in the depth of winter to plan an enterprise, which France during her greatest successes had always regarded as impracticable. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate: but Coligny had remarked, that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which during the winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnambridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of the autumn, and to recal them in the spring. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers,

All France is in consternation.

St. Quintin, which is besieged.

A new and more secure method is found to attack Calais.

The duke of Guise prepares to attack Calais.

The English army is sent to the Low Countries.

Many of the nobles are committed to the tower.

St. Quintin is besieged.

The French are defeated.

The constable Montmorency is taken.

The project is suggested by the papers of Coligny.

it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise.

1558.—Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais: at the same time, a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruising, composed a fleet, which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam-bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in the castle of Newnam-bridge and the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam-bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprise; but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fosse, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgement in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover his post; but having lost two hundred

men in a furious attack which he made on it, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes fell soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Crécy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown.* The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place, which no former king of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council, who, after engaging in a fruitless war for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expenses and burdened with debts, a people divided and dejected, a sovereign negligent of her people's welfare, were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of recovering Calais; and as the Scots, instigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home than to think of foreign conquests.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

AFTER the peace, which, in consequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen dowager, on pretence of visiting her

Ham and Guisnes fall.

Calais is taken by the French.

The French greatly rejoiced in their triumph.

The English are dispirited and discontented.

The French take St. Agatha.

Newnam-bridge is captured by the French.

The castle of Calais is assailed.

* "The English had occupied it two hundred and ten years, and they thought it so impregnable, that they had inscribed on one of its gates this boastful

inscription; 'The French will retake Calais when lead shall swim on the water like cork.'"—*Pictorial History of France*.—Ed.

daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility: her secret design was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom: and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation; and when every thing was thus prepared, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter; a marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms; and the only means of ensuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she could choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess; had had recourse to arms and violence, and had constrained the Scottish nobility to send their sovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence.

When the queen dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and

it was not till after many delays that he could be persuaded to resign his authority: but finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent. It was a usual saying of this princess, that provided she could render her friends happy, and could ensure to herself a good reputation, she was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this sentiment is greatly censured by the zealous reformers, as being founded wholly on secular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oisel, a Frenchman celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels: and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles: but though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen regent, after ingenuously confessing that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the affections of her subjects.

This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connexions with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen regent to take part in the quarrel: and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have re-

The queen dowager claims the regency.

The earl of Arran resigns his authority.

The queen regent attempts to impose a general tax, but fails.

War with England opposed by the Scottish nobles.

Hostilities
are com-
menced
against
England.

course to stratagem. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England. The enterprises, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: when d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council.

Mary, the
young
queen of
Scots, is
married to
the dau-
phin.

In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin: and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony and to settle the terms of the contract.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders, which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England: the queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament [Jan 20], and to demand supplies to her exhausted exchequer: as such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments during this reign had shown, that where the liberty and independence of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the

The Eng-
lish parlia-
ment is as-
sembled.

* Elizabeth several times believed herself in imminent danger. When confined in the tower, finding the constable had been suddenly removed, and Sir Henry Bedingfield appointed to succeed him, it reminded her of Sir James Tyrrell being substituted for Sir Robert Brackenbury, by Richard III., seventy years before, preparatory to the murder of the princes. Bedingfield made his appearance

court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should at least be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy provided against them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods: the clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

A subsidy
is granted.

The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which were already made, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: but his words were thought irreverent to her majesty. He was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms; and though he expressed sorrow for this offence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

Sales and
grants of
crown
lands are
conferred.

Copley, a
member of
parliament,
is com-
mitted for
speaking
irreverently
of the
queen.

The English nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehensions with regard, not only to the succession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth: the violent hatred which the queen bore to her, broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her

The prin-
cess Eliza-
beth is
surrounded
by spies.

immediately after lady Jane Gray and lord Guilford had suffered. His attendants, Elizabeth suspected, were to escort her to the place of execution; and she anxiously inquired whether the scaffold on which the unfortunate lady Jane died, had been removed—almost fearing it remained in a state of preparation for herself.—ED.

She gives herself up to study.

The king of Sweden offers marriage to Elizabeth.

She prefers a single life.

An expedition is sent to the coast of Brittany.

time wholly in reading and study, and saw very little company. While she remained in this situation, which for the present was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for those great actions by which her life was afterwards distinguished, proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name. As her first question was, whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister: but the princess would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other.* The princess shewed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject.†

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, which being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland: but the equip-

ment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest so well guarded, as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Coquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages; and were proceeding to commit great disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell on them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ships, with considerable loss: but a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace on the French. The marshal de Therines, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport; but count Egmont coming suddenly on him with superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skillfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought gave him full security from that quarter: but the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river; and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile the principal army of France,

Active hostilities are commenced against France.

The marshal de Therines is forced to give battle.

The French are defeated.

* Yet reports unfavourable to the character of Elizabeth were industriously circulated. "From the MS. life of Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, who had been in the service of her sister Mary, we learn, 'that there was a report of a child born and miserably destroyed, but that it could not be discovered whose it was. A midwife testified that she was brought from her house blindfold, to a house where she did her office, and returned in like manner. She saw nothing in the house but candle-light, and only said it was the child of a very fair young lady.'"—*Queens of England*.—Ed.

† The common net at that time, says Sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady

Elizabeth: for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament;—it is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread, and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe, and take it:—

which though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time to escape the net which by a direct answer she could not have done.

The armies
of France
and Spain
meet.

under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow: but Philip possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negotiations were entered into; and as the terms offered by the monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip, that of Calais and its territory to England: but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that valuable article. This was the only circumstance that could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the nation.

Negotia-
tions are
opened.

News ar-
rives of the
death of
queen
Mary.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

MARY had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the prospect of Elizabeth's succession; apprehensions

Mary is
conscious
that she is
hated.

* Every circumstance connected with her situation was most galling. The boundless joy of the catholics at her being likely to have issue was turned into bitter mortification. How severe the blow was felt by them, may be understood from the exulting prayers which the supposed happy state of her majesty called forth. The pious effusion of Weston, after a form of supplication for mother and child, concluded thus: "Heare us (O Lord) and grant us our petition. Let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church say: where is their God:" as if on the fulfilment of their expectations, the existence, at all events the credit of the Deity, must necessarily depend.—ED.

804

of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed;* dejection for the loss of Calais; and above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who she knew intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle there during the remainder of his life; all these melancholy reflections preyed on her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died [Nov. 17], after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months and eleven days.

She be-
comes me-
lancholy.

Queen Ma-
ry dies.

It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, malignity, tyranny; every circumstance of her character, took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding: and amidst that complication of vices, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life, except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases, a weak, bigoted woman, under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She appears, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so remarkable in that monarch: to which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution, a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.†

She was
bigoted,
and ma-
lignant, but
sincere.

She mani-
fests the re-
solution of
a Tudor.

† Some ingenious modern writers, have endeavoured to make it appear that Mary, though in some respects misled, was, in the main, an amiable woman. There certainly is reason to believe that she was sincere in her preference for the catholic religion. In defence of her principles, she resisted her father, and offered herself as a martyr to her brother. But she at last gave way to the former, and subscribed to the degradation of her mother, and to her brother she would probably have been equally compliant, had Edward been as formidable as Henry was. The general interests of the country she was ready to sacrifice to conciliate her husband, and in matters of faith, her mind had been

Cardinal
Pole dies.

Cardinal Pole had long been sickly from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him universally beloved; insomuch that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV., had entertained some prejudices against him; and when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar, and confessor to the queen: but Mary would never permit the new legate to act on the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

Paul IV.
had revoked
his
legantine
commis-
sion.

Peyto, his
successor,
is rejected
by Mary.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THERE OCCUR few general remarks, besides what have been made in the course of our narration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a year would afterwards answer all necessary charges. The arbitrary proceedings of the queen, joined to many monopolies granted by this princess as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it necessary to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the stilliard as on other aliens: yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied

The naval
power of
England
was in-
considerable in
Mary's
time.

The growth
of com-
merce is
checked by
arbitrary
measures.

with the solicitations of the emperor, and by her prerogative suspended those laws. Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of prerogative: the historians are entirely silent with regard to it, and it is only by the collection of the public papers that it is handed down to us.

An absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen, and this plain reason given; that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufacture, and had ruined several towns. It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth, and still more strange that it should still subsist.*

A passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign, and a beneficial trade with Muscovy established. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity. This seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A law was passed in this reign, by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of one thousand pounds a year, for instance, was to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances; of which three at least were to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen; with furniture and weapons proper for them: he was obliged to have forty corselets fur-

All classes
are made to
contribute
to the de-
fence of the
state.

so perverted by the fierce miscreants she took to her counsel, that she not only allowed the most horrible enormities to be perpetrated in her name, but she could persuade herself that participating in these, would entitle her to the favouring

smile of the Father of all, and secure her a place in Heaven.—ED.

* The law here mentioned was repealed in the reign of George III.—ED.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ELIZABETH.

1558.

QUEEN'S POPULARITY. — RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION. — A PARLIAMENT. — PEACE WITH FRANCE. — DISGUST BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. — AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. — REFORMATION IN THAT COUNTRY. — CIVIL WARS IN SCOTLAND. — INTERPOSITION OF THE QUEEN IN THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. — SETTLEMENT OF THAT COUNTRY. — FRENCH AFFAIRS. — ARRIVAL OF MARY IN SCOTLAND. — BIGOTRY OF THE SCOTCH REFORMERS. — WISE GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

THE QUEEN'S POPULARITY.

IN a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another, who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction: yet so much were men displeased with the present conduct of affairs, that the people, overlooking their theological disputes, expressed a general joy that the sceptre had passed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princess had discovered great prudence during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger to which she was every moment exposed, concern for her safety had rendered her to an uncommon degree the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heath, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamation of 'God save queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may

The accession of Elizabeth causes general joy.

Little regret is shewn for Mary's death.

nished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them, forty coats of plate, corselets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheaves of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberds, twenty harquebusses, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of one thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a year:—a proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above one thousand pounds a year.

We may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance. A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a year of our present money for his house in Channel-row; yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt, and slovenly habits among the people. 'The floors,' says he, 'are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes; under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty.'

Holinshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall; and the smoke sought its way out of the roof, or door, or windows: the houses were nothing but wattling plastered over with clay: the people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood.

In this reign, we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England.*

* We find that in Mary's time the tower had become what would now be called "One of the lions of London." "In January, 1555, the Prince of Orange, being on a visit to the court, was with other

lords conducted by the Lord Chamberlain to the tower of London, where was shewed to him the ordinances, artillerie, munitions, and armerie, &c." — *Holinshed*. — Ed.

Men, horses, arms, and armour, are furnished by the wealthy.

Rents are low.

The habits of the English were uncleanly.

Provision is made by parliament for the repair of highways.



The people
evinced
heartily sa-
tisfaction.

she reign,' The people less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation: and the auspicious commencement of this reign, prognosticated that felicity and glory which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it.

Elizabeth
removes
from Hat-
field to the
tower.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days, she went thence to London through crowds, who strove in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection.* On her entrance into the tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigotted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees and expressed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her: Sir Harry Benni-field himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her

She likens
herself to
the prophet
Daniel,
when
snatched
from the
lions' den.

with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave undistinguishing: when the bishops came to make their obedience to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.†

She mani-
fests dis-
taste for
bish. Bonner.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts her sister's death and her own accession. She sent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately despatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose: but Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance: and that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed, was the prospect of

Her acces-
sion is an-
nounced to
foreign
courts.

Philip of
Spain pro-
poses mar-
riage to
Elizabeth.

* She came from Hatfelde in Harfordesheyre, where she then abode, unto the Charterhouse in London, and wente from thence to the Tower. There she remayned untill the xiiii. daie of January following: at which time, (the Londiners having made sumptuous prouision) she passed throughe the Citee to her Palaice at Westminster, shewinge verie comfortable and gentle countenance unto the people. The nexte daye following, her grace was crowned in saint Maries' church by Doctour Oglethorpe, byshop of Carlile.—*Langwette*.—Ed.

† The good sense of Elizabeth might have caused her to slight him, without reference to his cruelty. He was ridiculously superstitious; and, at this time of day, his injunctions, issued in 1554, and printed at the sign of the "Holy Gost," in the following year, can hardly be read with gravity. He there instructs the people that "the bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday is to put them in remembrance of the

receiving of Christ into Jerusalem before his death and passion; that the creeping to the cross on Good Friday was to signify the humbling of ourselves to Christe before the crosse, and the kissing of it signifieth a memory of our redemption made by Christe for us upon the crosse;" and among these sapient injunctions, one we find "Concerning Mydwyes," which opens thus: "Item, that every woman of the diocese and jurisdiction of London, that now doeth, or hereafter shall occupie or exercise the office and roume of Mydwylfe, shall be faithfull, sobre, dilyginte, discrete, and readye to healepe every woman travayling of chylde, as well the poore as the riche, and shall not use or exercise any witchcraft, charmes, sorcerye, invocations, or praiers, other than such as be allowable, and may stand with the lawes and ordinances of the catholic church."—Ed.

Her affinity with Philip was the same as that of her father with Catherine of Arragon.

She declines the matrimonial offer.

The pope claims to name the sovereign of England.

being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herself to be illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne; and, though the power of the Spanish monarchy might be sufficient to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But, while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.*

The queen, too, on her sister's death, had written a letter to Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and

Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open: and if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced.

He speaks of rigour, but offers lenity.

Elizabeth pays no respect to the pope's suggestions.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

THE queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil,† she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring

In her council she balances protestants against catholics.

* The queen, though she well knew that to allow a dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own birth illegitimate; yet to so great a prince, and who, in her sister's lifetime, had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an answer.—*Baker*.

† The important part acted by Cecil in this reign makes it desirable to know his character, as exactly as may be, as the preference he enjoyed from the queen makes it in some sort an index to that of Elizabeth. He was not only a man of great sagacity, but of wonderful activity and careful arrangement. Besides attending to business in council, we are told he daily wrote twenty or thirty letters on subjects of a domestic character, and many dispatches connected with foreign affairs; while there never passed a day during term time in which he did not receive from sixty to a hundred petitions, which he commonly read the same night. He did not allow himself much rest, and was an early riser.

Sir Thomas Gresham, having occasion to send his factor, Richard Candellor, to Cecil, wrote to him: "Sir, I have commandyd him to be with you by vi. of the clocke in the morning, every morning." "This industry," says one of his household, "caused his friends to pity him, and his very servants to admire him; and I myself, as an eyewitness, can testify that I never saw him half an hour idle in twenty-four years together." It is utterly impossible to survey his papers without surprise and admiration. Their multiplicity astonishes,—their variety altogether perplexes one. Nothing seems to have been considered too momentous for him, or too minute. His opinion was solicited at one and the same time on the execution of a queen and the punishment of a schoolboy; the terms of a treaty, and a regulation for the lining of slope-hose: an insurrection in the north, and a brawl in the streets of London. Queen Elizabeth did nothing without first consulting him.—*Burton*.—ED.

Cecil advises Elizabeth against opening the question of her mother's marriage.

Cecil favours the reformation.

He shews it to be her interest to favour protestantism.

Elizabeth is inclined to countenance the reformers.

the protestant religion. Cecil told her, that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: that happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown incompatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependant footing: that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, will be found very little formidable: that the curses and execrations of the Romish church were in the present age more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would most of them embrace the religion of their new sovereign: that the authority of Henry VIII., so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first inured the people to this submissive deference: and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed: and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferments in civil offices, and the militia, the church, and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reforma-

tion; and she remained not long in suspense: but she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps; and not to imitate Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the protestants: she immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; she readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party: she also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels to be read in English: and having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

These declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee a revolution in religion: they therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was prevailed on to perform the ceremony.

She proceeds by gradual steps.

Elizabeth recalls the protestant exiles.

Preaching without a special licence is prohibited.

Elizabeth forbids the host to be elevated in her presence.

The bishops refuse to officiate at her coronation.

The queen passes triumphantly through London.

She gains much popularity.

Her authority seems derived from the choice of the people.

Elizabeth refrains from entirely changing the religion

When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: and while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her ascension), who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A PARLIAMENT.

A SOVEREIGN of this disposition was not likely to offend by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of the religion until the meeting of the parliament which was summomed to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the su-

* Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the protestant sect, it appears, that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections. Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough, and three to each

periority*; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular. They began the session with a unanimous declaration, 'that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII.' This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and the ministers; and she showed her magnanimity as well as her moderation in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there

county; and, by the sheriff's authority, the members were chosen from among these candidates. See State Papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon, p. 92.

Parliament recognizes her as the true heir to the crown.

She is content that her title to the crown should rest on general opinion;

But takes possession of it as her birth right.

Newly erected monasteries are suppressed.

The queen is denominated governess of the church.

She is made the supreme head.

She is authorized to appoint commissioners to determine questions of heresy.

Persons refusing to acknowledge the queen's supremacy are excluded from office.

denominated Governess, not head of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power which had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them. By this act, the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament, or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, and might ordain or abolish all religious rite or ceremony. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy by the authority of the scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. The queen was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission, which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings indeed were only consistent with absolute monarchy, but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited for the first offence all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a pre-munire; but the third offence was declared

treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A law was passed confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion. The nomination of bishops was given to the crown: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years, or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants brought into parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted as well against those who departed from

Punishments are less severe than those which were during the reigns of her father and brother.

The nomination of bishops is given to the crown.

Church property is, by a fictitious instrument, taken from the clergy.

A solemn disputation takes place, and the protestants triumph.

In a single session of parliament the whole system of religion is altered.

this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments: and thus, in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event, which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths.* The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference towards the queen: even the importunate addresses which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix the choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age.

The commons solicit the queen to choose a husband.

The address was couched in the most respectful expressions;† yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment: that any further interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an encumbrance; much more

Elizabeth had always preferred refraining from marriage.

* See note RR at the end of the volume.

† It was agreed upon by the house of commons, to move the queen to marry, that she might have issue to succeed her. To which purpose Thomas Gargrave, speaker of the house, with some other chosen men, had access to the queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the kingdom infinitely desired, seeing they could never hope to have a better prince than out of her loyns.—*Baker.*—ED.

‡ It is thought remarkable by Camden, that

at present would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted in promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: that as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she shewed her finger with the same gold ring on it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: that if ever she entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people: and that, for her part, she desired that no fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than this inscription on her tombstone, when she should pay the last debt to nature:—'Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen.'

After the prorogation of the parliament [May 8, 1559],‡ the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little opposition from any quarter; the liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season, and all these, except the bishop of Landaff, having refused compliance,§ were degraded

Her disposition remains unchanged.

She declares England to be her husband;

And that the welfare of her subjects will be ever uppermost in her heart.

The laws for altering the religion encounter no opposition.

though this session was the first of the reign, no person was attainted; but, on the contrary, some restored in blood by the parliament:—a good symptom of the lenity, at least of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it should appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

§ The bishops, on this occasion, seem to have acted with courage and dignity. Heath, archbishop of York, reminded the queen of the recent accommodation with the court of Rome, and declared in this

The oath of supremacy, refused by the bishops, is generally taken by the inferior clergy.

from their sees: but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Those in high ecclesiastic stations, being exposed to the eye of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and enjoining observances which enter into the common train of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the reformed; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the protestants. The catholics continued ignorantly and supinely in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: but the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in support of their abstract principles.

The zeal of the protestants exceeds that of the catholics.

Certain forms still preserved, reconciled catholics to the change.

The forms and ceremonies of the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other worship, and struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations,

case he could not conscientiously obey her majesty's commands; and he did not scruple to intimate that, "to act as she now proposed to do, was to violate the promise given on her part, not to change the religion by law established." Kitchen, the bishop of Landaff, who, as mentioned above, separated from his brethren, had possessed the see since 1545, and had determined to hold it under any imaginary circumstance. A moderate Romanist in the time of the queen's father, in her brother's reign he was a protestant; when Mary occupied the throne he returned to popery; and now he thought it virtue to be a

the exterior appearance would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence inspired an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images, or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

Elizabeth appears to have been of the pomp of the catholic religion.

Foreign princes interposed in favour of the catholics, but without effect.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.

WHILE the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negociations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cercamp, then at Château-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which merely on his account had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry, and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all such views, his ministers hinted to her a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she

Negotiations for peace are in progress.

Philip desired a reconciliation, peace with France to conciliate England.

protestant again. The other bishops afterwards petitioned her to follow the example of her deceased sister by seeking a reconciliation with the court of Rome. Elizabeth indignantly replied that some of these very petitioners, with their *great* Gardiner, as she sneeringly called the deceased prelate, had formerly approved of the conduct of her father when it was most offensive to the pope, and she warned them not to persevere in their present course, lest it should subject them to that punishment which had been provided for those who presumed to set themselves in opposition to royal authority.—Lb.

Philip's
portures
e de-
ined.

Elizabeth
orders her
ambassa-
dor to
make a
peace with
France.

It is agreed
to give up
Calais to
England at
the end of
eight years.

This con-
sidered a
virtual
abandon-
ment of
England's
claim to
Calais.

would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years: but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put on Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergence, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand: she ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to settle a peace with Henry on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin and the eldest son of Elizabeth, and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but as the queen was sensible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted on more equitable, at least more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of

her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the war; and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

DISGUST BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BUT though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, and which was attended with the most serious consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it seemed impossible that both of them could be regarded as valid: but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages to which that of her sister Mary was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for protestants as well as Romanists to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate: but his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the catholic communion, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny the queen's right of succession. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Eliza-

Peace is
concluded
with France
and Scot-
land.

Philip
marries the
eldest
daughter of
France.

A new
ground of
quarrel is
discovered

Elizabeth's
right to the
crown is dis-
puted.



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

1567

THE FORTY-THIRD VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

The king of France solicits a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth.

Mary and the dauphin assume the arms of England.

Elizabeth is violently jealous of Mary.

Francis, the new king of France, assumes the title of king of England.

beth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: the duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had done of Scotland to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; and as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom: but besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended on the first opportunity, to dispute her title to the crown. She thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II., continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THE murder of the cardinal primate at St.

Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began to be more remiss. The queen regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors: but the progress and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English preachers, terrified with Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration; and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigotted catholics, and showed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A hierarchy, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages which the legal establishments bestow on it: but where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides religious zeal, have many other motives, derived from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation.

The catholic king of Scots had wanted a leader.

They are presently governed by the queen regent.

The Scottish reformers are aided by the English preachers.

The height to which the church of Rome had been raised, made intolerance appear necessary.

In the end
severities
prove un-
availing.

But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

The Scot-
tish nobles
form an as-
sociation,
called "the
Congrega-
tion of the
Lord."

It engages
to maintain
the word of
God;

And re-
nounces
superstition
and idolatry.

SOME heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorn, the earls of Morton and Glencairn, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond of association; and called themselves the Congregation of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenor of the bond was as follows:—"We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour by all possible means to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble against the said congregation: unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto,

by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December, 1557.*

Had the subscribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society: but they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained that prayers in the vulgar tongue should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom;* and that preaching, and the interpretation of the scriptures, should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers. Such bonds of association are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent evasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of it.

Before this league was publicly known, or avowed, the clergy attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power which tended to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and, having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. Such general aversion was entertained against this barbarity, that it was sometime before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence on Mill; and after the time of his execution was fixed, all the shops of St. Andrews being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage, which,

The league
is duly
described.

The con-
gregation
orders
prayers to
be used in
the vulgar
tongue.

The clergy
try to re-
cover their
lost au-
thority.

Walter Mill
is burnt for
heresy.

* The reformers used at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland.

A monument is built on the place of his execution.

though usual on these occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and, as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

The image of St. Giles is stolen.

Some time after, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church, and they pleased themselves with imagining the surprise and disappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed hastily a new image, which, in derision, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the neighbourhood. The multitude abstained from violence so long as the queen regent continued a spectator; but the moment she retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the priests and friars, who, it was remarked, deserted in his greatest distress the object of their worship, was the source of universal mockery and laughter.

A new one is made, which is destroyed by the populace.

Encouraged by all these appearances, the Congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly soliciting subscriptions; and the death of Mary of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, about this time, contributed to increase their hopes of final success. They ventured to present a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the 'wicked scandalous and detestable lives of the prelates and ecclesiastics.' They

The Congregation crave a reformation in the church.

framed a petition to parliament, in which, after premising that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the papistical church, they desired that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the scripture should be the sole rule in judging of heresy. They even petitioned the convocation, and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue; and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners. The regent prudently temporized; and as she aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the dauphin, she was on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

They petition parliament.

They desire that prayers may be said in the vulgar tongue.

But after this concession was obtained, she received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent spirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some signal act of power. She made the more eminent of the protestant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels, on account of their not appearing:—a measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities against the clergy of the established religion.

Rigorous proceedings are adopted against the reformers.

Their ministers are declared rebels.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years of banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and, mounting the pulpit at Perth, [May 11.] during the present ser-

John Knox arrives in Scotland from Geneva.

He excites
the zeal of
his audience

Catholic es-
tablish-
ments are
attacked by
the popu-
lace.

The queen
regent re-
solves to
punish the
rioters.

The Con-
gregation,
joined by
the earl of
Glencairn,
prepare for
defence.

ment of men's minds, he declaimed with his usual vehemence against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so imprudent, after this, as to open his repository of images and relics, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: they attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases, and left no implement of idolatrous worship, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monasteries of the gray and black friars, which they pillaged: the Carthusians underwent the same fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife soon after imitated the example.*

CIVIL WARS IN SCOTLAND.

THE queen regent, provoked at these violences, assembled an army, and prepared to chastise the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprise, either because they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence, to mediate some agreement between the parties. The Congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencairn from the west, and countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as

from the zeal by which they were animated. They sent an address to the regent, where they plainly insinuated, that if they were pursued to extremities by 'the cruel beasts' the churchmen, they would have recourse to foreign powers for assistance; and they subscribed themselves her faithful subjects in all things not repugnant to God, assuming, at the same time, the name of the faithful congregation of Christ Jesus. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained that their own past violences were justified by the word of God, which commands the godly to destroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was sacred, yet was there a great difference between the authority and the persons who exercised it; and that it ought to be considered whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent papists, religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, 'that as they were already reputed traitors by God, they should likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whose ministers have the same authority which Christ granted to his apostles in these words, Whose sins ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be retained. We may here see, that these new saints were no less lofty in their pretensions than the ancient hierarchy: no wonder they were enraged against the latter as their rivals. They joined to all these declarations an address to the established church; and they affixed this title to it:—'To the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings in Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth.' The tenor of the manifesto was suitable to the title. They told the ecclesiastics, 'As ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the force

They ad-
dress the
queen.

They
fiercely
condemn
the
abomina-
tions of
popery.

They finally
excommu-
nicate
those who
are opposed
to them.

The reform-
ers claim
the power
of remitting
sins.

They ad-
dress the
church as
the genera-
tion of
antichrist.

* See note SS at the end of the volume.

They threaten vengeance.

and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment on you: yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children: and this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered, we signify unto you, to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry. 'Take this for warning, and be not deceived.' With these outrageous symptoms, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which long infested that kingdom; and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is still ready to break out on all occasions.

The queen regent effects an accommodation.

The queen regent, finding such obstinate zeal in the rebels, was content to embrace the counsels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which submitted, on her promising an indemnity for past offences, and engaging not to leave any French garrison in the place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were molested on account of the late violences; and some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which step, though taken on very plausible grounds, was loudly exclaimed against by the Congregation. It is asserted, that the regent, to justify these measures, declared that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged on them, nor was any faith to be kept with heretics; and that for her part, could she find as good a colour, she would willingly bereave all these men of their lives and fortunes: but it is no wise likely that such expressions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princess. On the contrary, it appears, that all these violences were disagreeable to her; that she was over-ruled by the authority of the French counsellors placed about her; and

She is charged with failing to observe its conditions.

Her French counsellors are the cause.

that she often thought, if the management of those affairs had been entrusted wholly to herself, she could easily, without force, have accommodated all differences.*

The Congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, remained not long in tranquillity: even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had signed a new covenant, in which, besides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in destroying every thing that dishonoured his holy name; and this covenant was subscribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews. These two leaders now desired no better pretence for deserting the regent, and openly joining their associates, than the complaints of her breach of promise: the Congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, gave themselves up to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched against them with her army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury: finding nothing able to resist them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they already anticipated the zeal of the Congregation against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

Meanwhile she employed her partizans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from the hands of the sovereign.

The queen regent desisted from them.

The Congregation signs a new covenant.

Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews subscribe to it.

The reformers besiege and take Perth.

The regent takes shelter in Dunbar.

She endeavours to calm the people.

* See note TT at the end of the volume.

The Congregation decreases in number.

The regent and the reformers are pacified.

Troops from France join the regent.

Doctors of the Sorbonne are sent to argue with the reformers.

The constable Montmorency opposes a close connexion with Scotland.

By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay, or any means of subsistence; and the regent, observing the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatelrault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after, they evacuated the city; and before they left it they proclaimed the articles of agreement, but they took care to publish only the articles favourable to themselves; and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed.*

An agreement, concluded while men were in this disposition, could not be durable; the regent, having got a reinforcement of one thousand men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the Congregation seduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy as well as bigotry of Henry and the duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers; and which, they justly presumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery.

The constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be

dissolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would soon become, instead of allies, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for sending over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for attainting the rebels, and for preparing means thence to invade England, and support Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the Congregation were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated on the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwell distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbœuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest.† Maitland of Liddington, therefore, and Robert Melvil were secretly despatched by the Congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth.

He declares it will make the Scots enemies, and not allies.

The king of France dies suddenly.

The Congregationists take the field tumultuously.

They seek aid from Elizabeth.

* See note UU at the end of the volume.

† See note VV at the end of the volume.

INTERPOSITION OF ELIZABETH IN THE AFFAIRS OF SCOT- LAND.

THE wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil represented to the queen that the union of the two crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event;* and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient to prevent it: that the claim which Mary advanced to the crown rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded the greatest precaution: that the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: that, deeming themselves secure of success, they had already taken off the mask: and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over by every courier incontestable proofs of their hostile intentions: that they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: that the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, would bring them considerable reinforcement: that the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure directed only to the ends of self-pre-

servation: that though a French war seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: and that the domestic dissensions of France, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise.

Elizabeth's propensity to caution and economy was, though with some difficulty, overcome by these powerful motives; and she prepared to support by arms and money the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: she appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties; and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men under the command of Lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France offered to make her immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland; she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she still continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland: and having thus taken all proper measures for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of the articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

War with France is anticipated

Elizabeth's propensity to caution and economy is stated as Scotch reformers

A fleet and army are put in motion.

She concludes a treaty with the Congregation.

Cecil favours the application.

Proofs are given of the hostility of the family of Guise to England.

Policy dictates that assistance should be granted the Scotch protestants.

* Cecil was exceedingly jealous of Scotland; and it was the great object of his life to guard against mischief from that quarter. On one occasion, writing to Sir Ralph Sadler, he thus expressed himself: "I covet to have this isle united in concord, and then could I be content to leave my life and the joy thereof to posterity." This sentiment his corres-

pondent seems to have adopted as his own. In a letter to Randolph, Sir Ralph says, "Calais cannot make us neglect or refuse the establishment of this island in perpetual unity and concord, wishing to live no longer than to see the same, and so to leave the joy thereof to our posterity."—Ed.

SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND.

THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith [Jan. 15, 1560.] disconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared for defence. The English army, reinforced by five thousand Scots, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and though repulsed with a considerable loss, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbœuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board; and the death of the queen regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which shone forth in her family, but possessed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of other branches of it. The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw the English continually reinforced, were obliged to capitulate; and the bishop of Valence, and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. [July 5.] It was there stipulated, that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; and that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and the commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four

persons, of whom the queen of Scots should choose seven, and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during their queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without consent of the states. To hasten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country.

Thus Europe saw, in the first transaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her ministers. She discerned at a distance the danger which threatened her, and instantly took vigorous measures to prevent it. Making all possible advantages of her situation, she proceeded with celerity to a decision; and was not diverted by any offers, or remonstrances of the French court. She stopped not till she had brought the matter to a final issue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies trusted for her destruction, into her firmest support and security. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottish malcontents, even during their greatest distresses, she established an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, interest, and religion, she now possessed an influence over them beyond what remained even with their native sovereign. The regard which she acquired by this dexterous and spirited conduct, gave her abroad as well as at home more authority than had attended her sister, though supported by all the power of the Spanish monarchy.

The subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled; and the leaders of the Congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots should ratify that treaty, thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers pre-

The French troops are removed by Elizabeth to France.

The genius of Elizabeth is manifest all her negotiations.

She gains great influence over the Scottish malcontents.

The Congregation summon a parliament.

Hostilities are commenced between the English and the French in Scotland.

The queen regent dies.

The French in Leith are forced to capitulate.

They covenant to vacate Scotland and make reparation to Elizabeth.

They call for the punishment of the Catholics as thieves and murderers.

Severe laws are passed against Catholics.

The Catholic prelates seek redress in vain.

Mary refuses to sanction the new laws.

sented a petition to this assembly, in which they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the Catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that among all the rabble of the clergy, (such is their expression) there was not one lawful minister; but that they were all thieves and murderers, yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority, and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever any where either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; the presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice done them by the invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and, as nobody presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes: but the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers;

they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they despatched Morton, Glencairn, and Lidington, to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

ELIZABETH, on her part, had equal reason to maintain a union with the Scottish protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront which they had put on her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen to the measures of the duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbœuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had engrossed all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of every quality which could command the esteem or

The property of Catholics is assailed.

The protestants seek protection from Elizabeth.

The house of Guise contests Elizabeth's title to the crown.

Francis and Mary refuse to ratify the late treaty.

Violent factions divide the French government.

seduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquisitions. The constable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: the princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: the queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining; and as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the contests of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority.

The theological disputes, first started in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion were secretly increasing in every province. Henry II., in imitation of his father Francis, had opposed the reformers; and though addicted to pleasure, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments: but the cardinal of Lorrain, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to sup-

port the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild disposition, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, having declared themselves in favour of the protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and after a frustrated attempt of the malcontents to seize the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth had probably some intelligence,* every place was full of distraction, and matters hastened to an open rupture between the parties. But the house of Guise, though these factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of Elizabeth's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, they found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence into execution, when the king's sudden death [Dec. 4.] saved the noble prisoner,† and interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her son Charles IX. now in his minority [1561]; the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the constable was recalled to court; and the

On Henry's death the new doctrines are favoured by the people.

The prince of Condé and several distinguished men join the reformers.

Sentence of death is passed on Condé.

The king of France dies.

Through religious disputes all weakness and confusion

Henry II. opposes the reformers.

The Cardinal of Lorrain follows in his footsteps.

* Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to entrust to letters the great secret committed to him, obtained leave, under some pretext, to come over to London.

† The sword of the headsman remained over the head of Condé, and the fatal hour drew near. In five days the sentence of the Commission was to be executed. Condé was tranquilly playing at cards in his prison, when one of the valets de chambre, named Picard, approached the table, and let a card fall. "Our enemy," said he, in a low whisper, as

he stooped to pick it up, "is snatched away." Francis II had just died of an abscess in the ear, at the age of seventeen years and ten months, after reigning a year and a half. His illness had rapidly increased while he was making a beard; and some reported that his barber, who was secretly a Calvinist, uneasy on the subject of a profession of faith, which all the people in the château were required to sign, had, while shaving him, touched the abscess with a poisoned razor.—*Burette*.—*Ed.*

family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great power, found a counterpoise to their authority.

Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of these events against the queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis: but she considered that the English catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minister, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: but though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions.

Meanwhile, the queen mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by d'Oisel, for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England: but she received for answer, that till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to

gratify his mistress in a demand which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him,—‘How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador d'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having asked with so much importunity a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without her leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small a request: but, perhaps, she bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant, that there are now in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and, perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be on a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give a rea-

Mary excuses her conduct to Elizabeth, and her ambassador.

She tells what she has done for a safe conduct, but that to try the friendship of Elizabeth.

Friendship is all she seeks.

She complains of the treatment she had experienced.

Elizabeth still regards Mary as a dangerous rival.

She requires the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

Mary wishes to return to Scotland.

She applies for a safe conduct through England.

It is refused on the part of Elizabeth.

One object of her journey was to give satisfaction to Elizabeth.

Mary wishes Elizabeth allied to her in affection as in blood.

Elizabeth seeks to intercept Mary on her way to Scotland.

Mary quits France.

She leaves it with great regret.

sonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker despatch in this affair: but she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I must be very young indeed, and as ill advised, to treat of matters of such great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood; for that, indeed, would be a most valuable alliance.*

ARRIVAL OF MARY IN SCOTLAND.

SUCH a spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging terms interspersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards.* Mary embarked at Calais [Aug. 19]; and, passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbœuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. Besides her natural prepossessions in favour of a country in which she had been educated from her earliest infancy, she could not forbear both regretting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said that, after she was

embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell: she then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning the land was still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centred. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time; and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat on her couch; and still looking towards the land, often repeated these words:—‘Farewell, France, farewell: I shall never see thee more.’ The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, flocked towards the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign: some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and beauty of her person were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accomplished in all the superficial, but not engaging graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry: and as the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among

Mary fondly gazes on the coast.

She bids France a last farewell.

She reaches Leith.

Mary is enthusiastically greeted.

Her person and accomplishments command admiration.

* She very narrowly escaped being taken by a squadron sent to sea for that purpose. “It was only a thick and unexpected fog which prevented these vessels from falling in with that in which Mary sailed. The smaller craft which carried her furniture they did meet with; and, believing them to be

the prize they were in search of, they boarded and examined them. One ship they detained, in which was the earl of Eglinton and some of Mary’s horses and mules, and under the pretence of suspecting it of piracy, actually carried it into an English harbour.”—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*.—Ed.

them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court but symptoms of affection, joy, and festivity.*

She favours
the leaders
of the re-
formed
party.

The first measures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France by d'Oisel and the bishop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. Her brother, lord James, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him, Lidington, secretary of state, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. By the vigour of these men's measures she endeavoured to establish order and justice; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, seemed, for a time, to submit peaceably to her gentle and prudent administration.

Order is
attempted
to be estab-
lished.

BIGOTRY OF THE SCOTCH REFORMERS.

BUT there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour which her judicious deportment gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and though she published a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that, if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that small indulgence. The cry was,—‘Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?’

She is
reluctantly
allowed the
exercise of
her religion

It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom; lord Lindsay and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, ‘that the idolater should die the death;’ such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was attacked and insulted in the court of the palace; and if lord James and some popular leaders had not interposed, the most dangerous uproar was justly apprehended from the ungoverned fury of the multitude. The usual prayers in the churches were to this purpose:—‘That God would turn the queen’s heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants.’ Nay it was openly called in question, whether that princess, being an idolatress, was entitled to any authority even in civil matters?

The mass is
denounced
from the
pulpit.

Mary is re-
sented as
an idolat-
ress.

The helpless queen was every moment exposed to contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival, she dined at the castle of Edinburgh; and it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist, all the decorations expressed the burning of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punishments inflicted by God on idolatry. The town council of Edinburgh had the assurance, from their own authority, to issue a proclamation, banishing from their district ‘all the wicked rabble of the antichrist, the pope; such as priests, monks, friars, together with adulterers and fornicators.’ And because the privy council suspended the magistrates for their insolence, the passionate historians of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It

She is
insulted in
the castle of
Edinburgh

She is
accused of
favouring
dissolute
manners.

* It is, however, told that tears came into Mary’s eyes, on perceiving the miserable ponies, shabbily

caparisoned, which had been provided to carry her attendants and herself to Holyrood House.

appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed.

But all the insolence of the people was inconsiderable in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess. The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling her that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil; they expressed their hopes, that she should ere this time have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and the sinful people. They required that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators; and they concluded with demanding for themselves some addition both of power and property.

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation; and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured by the most gracious condescension to win his favour, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart.* She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the

whole people: but he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation. The political principles of the man were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen that he would submit to her in the same manner as Paul did to Nero, he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, 'that Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved; neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets and Baal's priests, though king Ahab was present. Phineas,' added he, 'was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication: and so, madam, your grace may see, that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God.' Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: the title of it is, 'The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women.' He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct showed that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female sex.

The whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all command of temper, and dissolved in tears before him: yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity

Knox returns an uncourteous answer.

He is as full of sedition as bigotry.

Knox holds the most outrageous language.

He had written against queens.

Mary's life is filled with bitterness.

The clergy vilify her to her face.

Mary is threatened with the vengeance of God.

John Knox names her Jezebel.

Mary seeks to conciliate Knox.

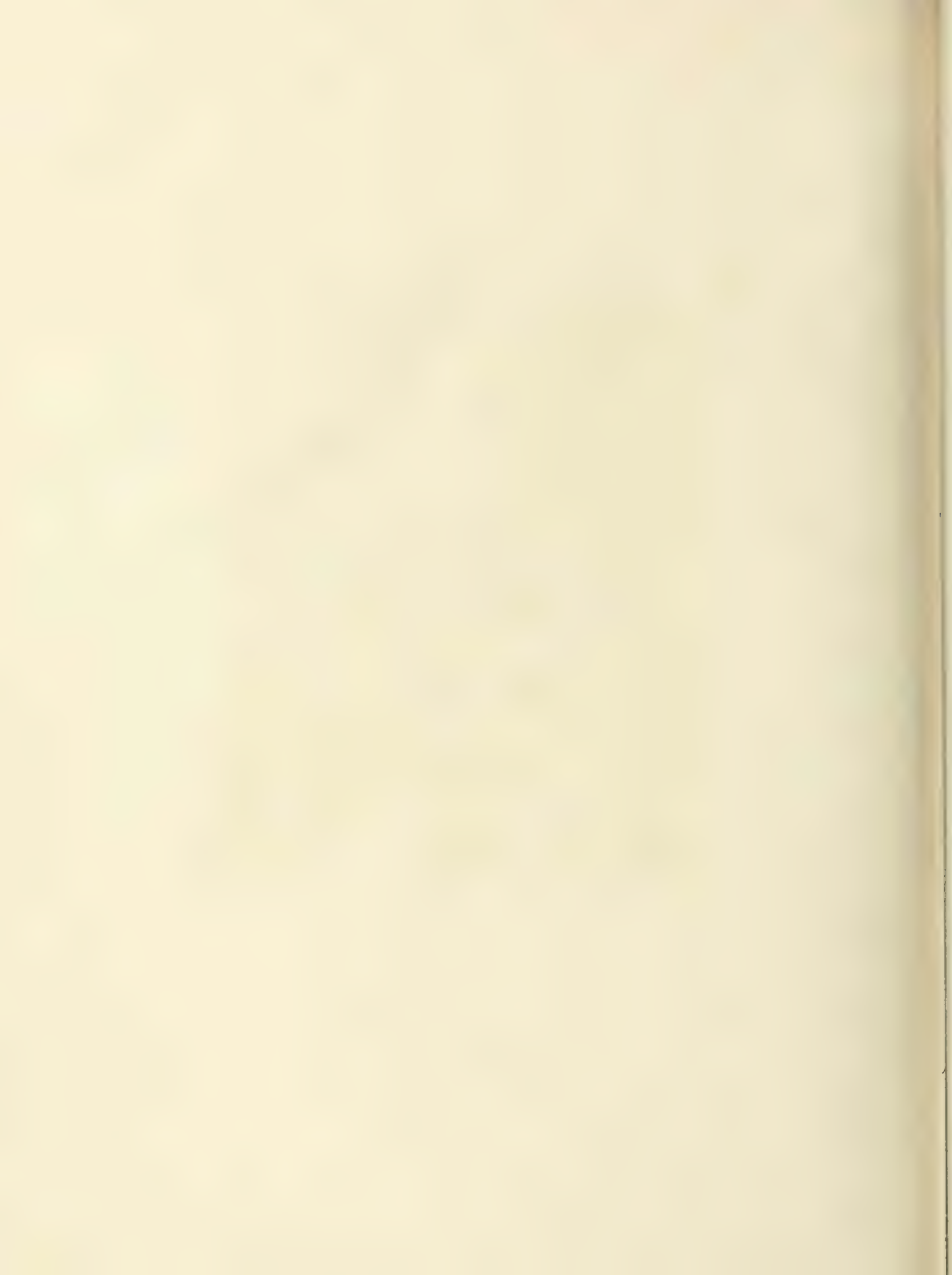
* Two days after Knox had preached a furious sermon against idolatry Mary sent for him. The interview, as described by the sturdy reformer, was remarkable for the rudeness and indelicacy of language in which he indulged, and which it would be hardly decorous to transcribe. Though affected to tears, Mary acted with great resolution. "I perceive," said she, "that my subjects are to obey you and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command; so must I be subject to them, and

not they to me." He replied, that "subjection to God and his church was the greatest dignity that flesh could enjoy in this world, and it was that which would lead to everlasting glory." "But," said Mary, "you are not the church that I will nourish; I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it is the true church of God." "Your will, madam," he answered, "is no reason; neither doth your thought make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ."—ED.



JOHN KNOX

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH





Keen at-
tacks the
ornaments
of ladies

reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct. The pulpits had become mere scenes of railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted, as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore on their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm.

Mary is
curbed in
all her
amuse-
ments.

Mary, whose age, condition, and education invited her to cheerfulness, was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers; and she found every moment reason to regret leaving that country, from whose manners she had in her early youth received the first impressions. Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, soon took leave of her: the marquis of Elbœuf remained some time longer; but after his departure, she was left to the society of her own subjects; men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted beyond their usual rusticity, by a dismal fanaticism. Though Mary had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion, her popery was a sufficient crime: though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners sweet and engaging, her gaiety and ease were interpreted as signs of dissolute vanity: and to the harsh and preposterous usage which this princess met with, may, in part be ascribed those errors of her subsequent conduct, which seemed so little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

She is
pursued by
a mortal
fanaticism.

Her gaiety
is held to be
dissolute
vanity.

The mar-
quis of
Elbœuf and
the earl of
Bothwell
engage in
dissolute
courses.

There happened to the marquis of Elbœuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwell and some other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman

called Alison Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust open the door, and committed some disorders in searching for the damsel. It happened, that the assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and they took the matter under their cognisance. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude:—'To the queen's majesty, and to her secret and great council, her grace's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy evangel, with the spirit of righteous judgment.' The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed to her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the severe punishment of such as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm: that the iniquity of which they complained was so heinous and so horrible, that they should esteem themselves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or servile complaisance, to pass it over: that as they owed her grace obedience, so were they entitled to require of her, in return, the sharp and condign punishment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: and that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aside all private affections, towards the actors in so heinous a crime, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the severest penalties on them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory address; but because she probably thought that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not such severe reprehension, she only replied, that her uncle was a stranger, and that he was attended by a young company; but she would put such order to him and to all others, that her subjects should henceforth have no reason to complain. Her passing over this incident so slightly was the source of great discontent, and was regarded as a proof of the most profligate

The de-
bauch of
some young
courtiers
excited
the
subject of
religious
strangers.

It is said to
have been the
subject of
God's wrath
against the realm.

Severe
punishment
is demanded.

Mary, by
passing
it lightly
over, causes
discontent.

Such misconduct is overlooked in the earl of Arran, a reformer.

The queen's chapel is broken open.

Knox is before the summoned council.

He is acquitted.

The reformed clergy are in a state of beggary.

manners. It is not to be omitted, that Alison Craig was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was without scruple indulged in that enormity.

Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her absence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the most considerable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy sacraments, he there said, are abused by profane papists; the mass has been said; and in worshipping that idol, the priests have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accursed water, that had ever been practised in the time of the greatest blindness. These violent measures for opposing justice were little short of rebellion, and Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his insolence.* He scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning. The matter ended with a full acquittal of Knox. Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, had reason to write to Cecil, speaking of the Scottish nation;—'I think marvelously of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more power nor substance, for they would otherwise run wild.'

The reformed clergy in Scotland had at that time a very natural reason for their ill humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any provision for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions: the

* His courage, however, was sustained by his knowledge of the fact, that those who were his judges were as hostile to the catholic religion as

secular clergy of the catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still held some of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement of the preachers; and though almost every thing in the kingdom was governed by their caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit which they indulged, and their industry in decrying the principles and practices of the Roman communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisitions. The convention, however, passed a vote, by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one shares: they assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors: of the remaining seven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to answer the public expenses, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained that she should afterwards pay to the clergy what should be judged to suffice for their maintenance. The necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence, were necessitated to betake themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, morose manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet mysterious cant; and though the liberality of subsequent princes put

himself, consequently the peril to which he exposed himself was not very great.—Ed.

They are maintained by precarious contributions.

A legal settlement is claimed and granted.

They are still poor.

Their authority is maintained by affecting furious zeal.

Their bad habits are in some degree corrected.

them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in some degree those bad habits; it must be confessed, that, while many advantages attend presbyterian government, these inconveniences are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical polity.

The queen of Scots wishes for a good understanding with Elizabeth.

The queen of Scots, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious, turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who had acquired such authority over all these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation, (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable) be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne: that though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity; she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partisans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: that while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended; it would in her be the most egregious imprudence to

She claims to be declared successor to the crown of England.

The demand is severely commented on by Elizabeth.

fortify the hands of a pretender to the crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, on the part of Mary: that though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others; her present refusal to relinquish them was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: that it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompense from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: that she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant that the same party, which expected great favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine that the title of that princess was superior to her own: that for her part, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to determine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws, or by the right of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might weaken or invalidate it: and that Mary, if her title were really preferable, (a point which, for her own part, she had never inquired into) possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretensions.

These views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: but that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the

She refuses to be declared successor to the crown of England.

She will not renounce her claim, but will do nothing to affect her own safety.

Elizabeth promises to do nothing to affect Mary's claim.

Her conduct is judicious.

She offers to explain the treaty of Edinburgh.

Mary will renounce all present pretensions, if declared heir to Elizabeth.

The two queens affect to be reconciled.

Elizabeth pays the debts of the crown.

words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue; that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor, but such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

WISE GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

THE queen observed, that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous conduct of her own subjects; and instead of giving Scotland, for the present, any disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay on the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors;*

* The coin having been deteriorated, it was the advice of Sir Thomas Gresham among other things to effect a reform in this particular. A letter addressed to Elizabeth shortly after her accession, closed thus:

"An it please your Majestie to restore this your reallme into such estate as heretofore it hath bene,—First, your hyghnes hath none other wayes, butt, when time and oportunty serveth, to bringe your base mony into fine, of xi ounces fine. And so, gowld, after the rate.

"Secondly, nott to restore the Still-yarde to their usurped privelydge.

"Thirdly, to grant as few licences as you can.

"Fourthly, to come in as small debt as you can beyond seas.

"Fifthly, to keep your credit; and specially with

she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn: promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting the undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

It is easy to imagine, that so great a princess would receive proposals of marriage from every one that had likelihood of succeeding: and though she had made some public declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would persevere in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, as well as Casimir, son of the elector palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he thought himself on that account better entitled to succeed. Eric, king of Sweden,† and Adolph duke of

Elizabeth introduces the art of making gunpowder

She favours the shipping interest.

New suitors apply for the hand of Elizabeth.

your owne marchants; for it is they [who] must stand by you, at all eventes in your necessity."

Lives of the Gresham Professors.

† In this year her former suitor, now on the throne of Sweden, renewed his application, sending his brother, John duke of Finland. This royal person made a favourable impression on some of Elizabeth's courtiers. By Sir Ralph Sadler he was described as "courteous, liberal, and well spoken in the Latin tongue." There is in the State-Paper office a letter from Sir Henry Knolles, who was appointed to receive the prince. His account of what passed on the occasion is interesting. The following is a copy of the letter above mentioned—

"Syr,

"1559.

"At seven of the clocke yn the mornynge, thys

The earl of Arran is recommended as a husband to Elizabeth.

Lord Robert Dudley becomes her favourite.

The royal suitors are refused.

Holstein, were encouraged, by the same views, to become suitors; and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was by the states of that kingdom recommended to her. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, a person declining in years, but descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favour ascribed to some violent affection, which could thus seduce the judgment of this penetrating princess; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above princes and monarchs: but the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought

that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes. It is also probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the solicitation, and professions of love, which the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is most singular in the conduct of Elizabeth, is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretensions to the succession should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Gray, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced, she made a private marriage with

There are
suits from
Scotland
which may be
accepted.

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or successors.

Lady Catherine
Gray
younger sister
to the lady Jane
is now the
heir of that
family.

day, y came unto Harwyche: and at 9 of the clocke, after y had taryed together with Sir Thomas Smythe yn the Dukes hall more than halff an howre, y was admitted unto the Duke's presens; who, syttyng yn a chayre without movyng hymself, offered me hys hande,—as yt semed by the maner of the holdyng theroff, to kysse. But y that had bene otherwyse brought up then to kysse the hand of ony subject, other than of the parentage of my naturall prynce, after y had with reverens kyssed myn owne hande y joyned my hand with hys, accordyng to the maner of thys owr natyve countre. The Queen's messag he received very thankfully, but her majeste's lettres he loked not on at that present; only he sayd he wolde take a tyme to deliberat, and then make me further answer. All that y spake yn declaring how moche the Quene's hyghnes rejoysed on hys behalff that he had escaped the perylls of the seas, and was now saffly arryved wythin her Mageste's realme, he ynterrupted yt even as co[ur]tly lovers doe; applyeng yt altogether for a testimony of the Quene's good ynclynatyon towards the lyk- yng of hys Embassade: wheryn he taryed so moche, that y was marveylosly perplexyd, feryng lest that upon occasyon of my wordes, he wolde take holde towards a promyse of some ynconvenyency. Where- for, after he had ended hys tale, y said that yt was the maner, not only of the Quene's hyghnes that

now ys, but also of all her Magesty's progenytors, at what tyme ony noble prynce, suche as he was, came hether to see other the realme or theyr personne, allways to receive them most thankfully; and to omytt no maner of curteysy, or favor, wherby they myght either doe them honor, or shew them ony pleasure. Whereunto when he replied nothyng, I toke my leave of him for that tyme. After diner, my lorde of Oxforde had hym forth on hawking, and shewed hym great sporte, kylling yn hys syght both faysant and partrych; wheryn he semed to take great pleasure. Towardes nyght, as he came home- wardes, y was so bolde to enqwyre of him whether yt wolde please hym to use my servyce ony longer here; or otherwyse, yn case y sholde retorne, whether hys pleasure were y sholde say ony thyng on hys behelff unto the Quene's Magesty? He answered that he intended to wryte unto her hygh- nes; and what tyme he delyvered me hys letters y sholde knowe further what to say. Afterwards, yn talke of hys removyng towards London, y was very desyrous (by rayson of the doubtfulnes that he kept all men yn so long tyme), to know when he intended to take hys jorny that way. Wherunto he answered that, by rayson hys horse[s] were ympayred throughe the noysomnes of the seas, they were not yet able to serve hym; but after 4 or 5 days he thought he sholde be redy to goe."—Ed.

The lady
is com-
mitted to
the tower.

Their mar-
riage is de-
clared un-
lawful, and
their issue
illegitimate.

Lady Ca-
therine
Gray dies
in prison.

the earl of Hertford, son of the protector ; and her husband soon after travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, to answer for his misdemeanour. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which was entirely suitable to both parties ; and for this offence he was also committed to the tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here : she issued a commission to enquire into the matter ; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody ;* but by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse ; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen, who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement thenceforth to be more rigid. He lay in this condition for nine years ; till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This extreme severity must be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealousy of

the queen, who was afraid lest a pretender to the succession should acquire credit by having issue ; or by her malignity, which led her to envy, in others, those natural pleasures of love and posterity, of which her own ambition and desire of dominion made her renounce all prospect for herself.

There happened, about this time, some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and descended from the duke of Clarence, together with Antony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to with draw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant to execute these projects during the queen's lifetime : they had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury, but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.

Elizabeth
acts a more
laudable
part by
others.

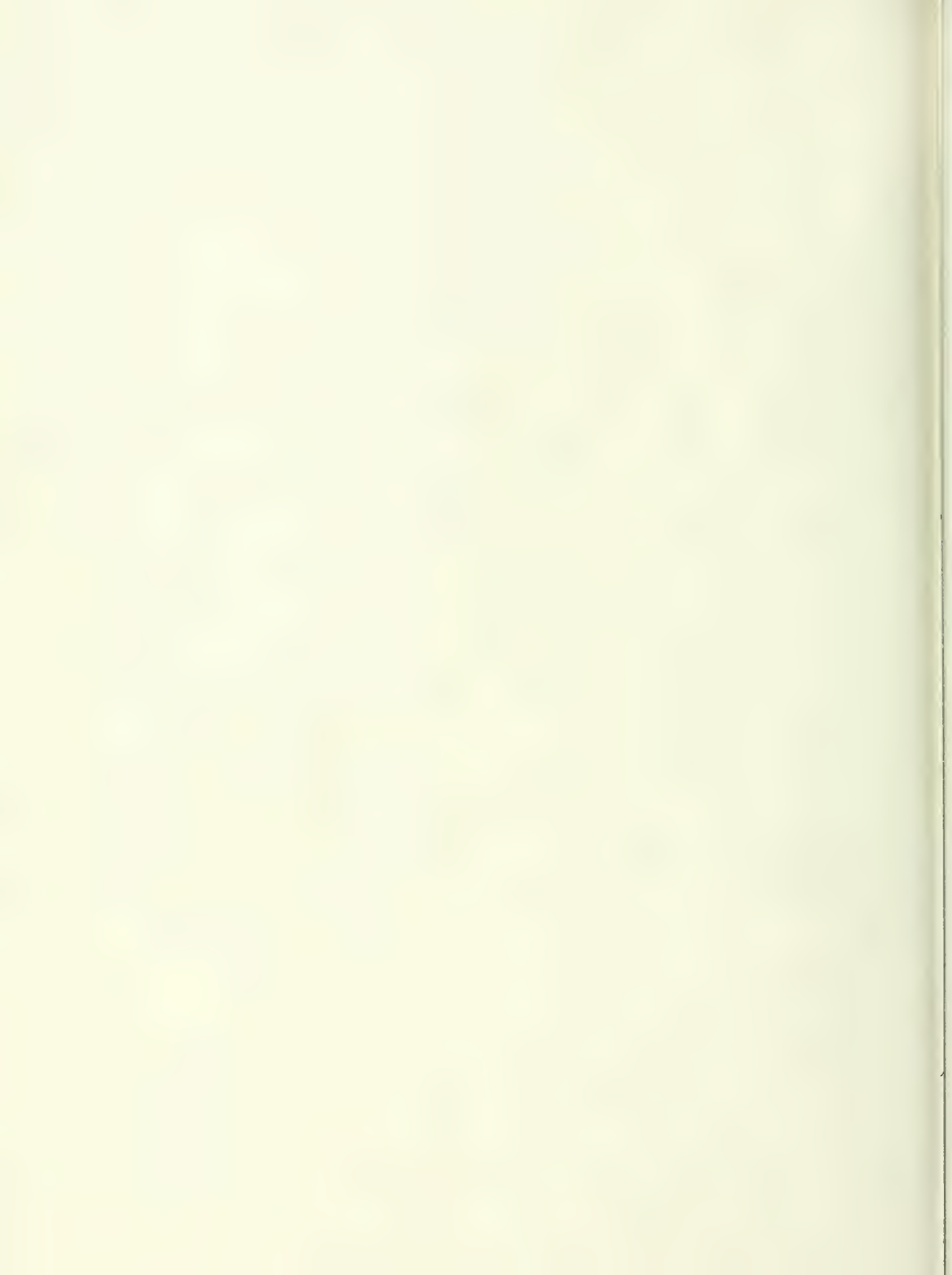
Arthur Pole
and his
brother are
tried for
intending
to proclaim
Mary queen
of England.

They con-
fess guilt,
and are
pardoned.

* Instructions were sent to Sir Edward Warner, lieutenant of the Tower, to examine the unfortunate lady Catherine very closely, with a view to get at the names of all who had been privy to the courtship of Hertford. Certain underhanded proceedings were recommended to him in order to induce suspected parties to confess, as it was stated to be certain,

that there had been "great practices and purposes since the death of the lady Jane." Through being remiss in this, or in consequence of his not being sufficiently watchful or severe, in regard to Hertford and his lady, Sir Edward was deprived of his office.

—ED.



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